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**Formalism and Ideology in 20th century
Art: Cahiers d'Art, magazine, gallery,
and publishing house (1926-1960)**

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2016

Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others. Ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis is not required.

I declare that the Word Count of this Thesis is 84.767

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Signature

Date

22/08/2016

Abstract

The thesis examines the activities of *Cahiers d'Art* as a magazine, gallery and publishing house active in Paris from 1926 to 1960 with special attention, and without particular regards to biography, to the intellectual development of its founder Christian Zervos from his early years in Alexandria at the beginning of the century to his professional establishment in the French capital. Its originality resides in the presentation of a significant corpus of unpublished archival information and the examination of the role that the network centred around *Cahiers d'Art* played in the institutionalisation of independent art in the first half of the century, the propagation of abstraction through the popularisation of European primitivism which was presented as a direct link to the modern era, and the passage from the Mechanist to the Atomic Age, its effects in the artistic domain and the ideological connotations it encased. The overall analysis focuses on particular transitional phenomena that marked the course of the 20th century. Particularly, the passage from analysis to synthesis which found diverse expressions in the contemporary artistic discourse since the beginning of the century giving birth to an increased interest in pragmatist approaches to art and architecture, social engagement, and a course towards formal simplification. The thesis observes the way in which the medieval and the primitive past contributed to the consecration of the international School of Paris and the conflicts of interest of their exponents. It furthermore pays close attention to Zervos' position-taking with regards to these conflicts, his disdain for antiquity, its aftermath in western art, and the way that these positions affected his presentation of Picasso's work in the voluminous catalogue raisonné of the artist's work. Finally, it seeks to re-appreciate from the perspective of *Cahiers d'Art*, a significantly influential network of worldwide reputation, issues associated with the consecration and popularisation of international independent art in France and abroad, as well as the conflicting aspirations for decentralisation in a context dominated by Eurocentric attitudes and the formal and ideological projections of post World War Two liberal critique.

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The present thesis would have never been completed without the remarkable help of Christian Derouet, whose expertise in Christian Zervos and Cahiers d'Art revitalised scholarly interest in this outstanding enterprise that epitomises the history of twentieth century art. It is true that Christian Derouet has brought together throughout his long and painstaking study of this particular topic an extraordinary amount of data that constitute an archive in its own right and I am infinitely obliged for sharing it with me as well as for facilitating my trip to Vézelay and introducing me to the collections of the Zervos Museum. I am equally grateful to Malcolm Gee who has been very supportive throughout these years and supervised with sizeable attention my steps towards the completion of the project. His remarks on the content of the thesis and the history of 20th century French art in general were fundamental to my understanding of the particular aspects of French modernism discussed in the thesis. Special thanks go to Ysanne Holt for her encouragement and support for my research initiatives and her enlightening interest in the connections between French and British modernism. I would also like to thank my family for all the support it has shown for my projects throughout these years involved in the academia. I am furthermore significantly thankful to Didier Schulmann for granting me access to the Cahiers d'Art archive and the staff of the Kandinsky library, namely Veronique Borgeaud and Chloe Goualch, for tolerating my long visits to the library and my tenacious and persistent work in the archive. I have no words to thank the late Yves de Fontbrune for giving me permission to study Zervos' correspondence with Picasso and Laure Collignon chef du service Archives of the Picasso Museum in Paris for her valuable help. My research on Christian Zervos and Cahiers d'Art was indeed the normal outcome of my earlier preoccupation with Tériade and *Verve* magazine. The two topics are obviously interrelated as is also the case with the archival material examined throughout these years. I am grateful to Northumbria University for supporting with two research grants my research on Zervos and to the Marc de Montalembert Foundation and the INHA in Paris for funding my research on Tériade.

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Introduction

The thesis discusses the activities of Cahiers d'Art as a magazine, gallery and publishing house with particular focus on the intellectual and professional development of its founder Christian Zervos. It aims to situate this enterprise in the wider cultural, intellectual, socio-political, and artistic context of the 20th century. Its contribution to knowledge is bipartite. First, it brings to light a significant amount of unpublished archival material relating to Zervos' activities as an editor, gallery owner, art critic and author of a significant number of books of archaeological and artistic focus. Second, it offers new insights into current historiography of 20th century French art by means of a thorough presentation of a. the mechanisms of the field of art publishing mobilised by this enterprise of international reputation, b. the under-investigated topic of the institutional history of French modernism, c. the debates over the origins and development of French art, d. the history of the publication of the Picasso catalogue which remains a key source for scholars, e. the debate between the École Française and the École de Paris, and more generally f. the effects of the *époque de la machine* and the role played by primitive arts in reinstating the aspect of spiritualism in the mindset of the century, g. the modernist distrust over the alleged western cultural hegemonies of Athens and Rome, and their succession by Paris and New York by means of a symbolic transition from totalitarianism to liberalism.

The thesis contends that a. the formalist discourse in the context of the 20th century is replete with ideological connotations which ascribe to artistic production a materialist dimension while in the highly politicised climate of the century even the isolation in the ivory tower and the romanticised *art for art's sake* concept pointed to clear-cut ideological position-takings, b. the developments in science and technology entailed a positivist understanding of the past but the preponderance of the utilitarian/functionalist focus of the Machine Age led to an undesirable spiritual mechanisation and a regressive romanticised approach to the past as a spiritual example for the future, c. the shift of interest to the medieval and the primitive past is core to the understanding of the debate between the École Française and the École de Paris but it furthermore reflects the aesthetic and ideological reaction against the cultural hegemonies of Athens and Rome turning respectively to periods that preceded

and succeeded them, d. the aspect of unity represented by the system of –isms gradually collapsed after the Great War giving way to an excess of individualism that the mechanist aesthetic had previously strived to suppress for the benefit of collective efforts, e. the efforts to enhance public understanding of the primitive past resulted in the shift in focus from the ‘Otherness’ of non-European archaeology to Eurocentric approaches to primitivism by means of a presentation of the pre-historic origins of western civilisation, f. the highly politicised climate of post World War Two Europe almost imposed American liberal critique as the dominant form of expression among formalist circles. The case of Zervos and Cahiers d’Art is central to the examination of these issues.

Although there is no evidence that he was aware of their writings, Zervos’ criticism demonstrates certain affinities with the formalist discourse of Roger Fry and Clive Bell. However his appreciations had a philosophical rather than an art historical background, as was the case, as we shall see, with Sigfried Giedion. Similarly to Le Corbusier, Zervos was interested in the organic entity and viability of the primary plastic effect of a composition, the *a priori* formalism of primitive works. It is evident that Zervos was less concerned about the emotional response than the aesthetic pleasure of the beholder. Furthermore, his formalist discourse should not be confused with the criticism of Alfred Barr or the post war formalist criticism of Clement Greenberg in which art was detached from the ideological context. Zervos does not advocate merely the ontological completeness of the art object but stresses its spiritual output and identifies its social role in terms of its contribution to the establishment of a new order which corresponds to the necessities of modern living. Art, according to Zervos, is supplementary to life with its role being organic. It constitutes a single expression which is in keeping with the laws of life that define the mentality of modern society. The thesis offers an account of the pluralism of ideas that shaped the collective mindset of the previous century and their echoes in the domain of arts. Despite the socio-economical determinism that inevitably guided the overall approach to historical phenomena, the analysis is comparative and largely dependent on the dialectical method of interdependent contradictions aiming to interpret and synthesize particular positions on the basis of their severalty and opposition rather than their homology.

The research was almost entirely based on contemporary sources and unpublished archival material in an effort to ‘colonize the past’ in Christopher

Green's words but consciously acknowledging that all appreciations were shaped from the appropriate distance that their historical dimension imposed.¹ The specialist bibliography on *Cahiers d'Art* is short. It has been progressively enriched by Christian Derouet who has set the foundations for the study of the multifaceted activity of Zervos shedding light on his biography and the age-long enterprise of *Cahiers d'Art*. Derouet has in fact published so far a considerable amount of archival information which constitutes the basis of documentation for the understanding of its history. Green has offered valuable insights into the study of early 20th French art in general and of Picasso in particular giving specialist spotlight to the nature of his collaboration with Zervos and the latter's presentation of his work in the magazine and the catalogue. Kim Grant has discussed the early influences of surrealism in the formalist discourse of Zervos and Tériade with particular focus on the gradual appropriation of the term automatism. Remi Labrusse and Valérie Dupont have furthermore examined the principal axes of Zervos' contact with Ethnology and his profound interest in the primitive arts. Finally Martin Schieder has offered a comprehensive analysis of Zervos' collaboration with Will Grohmann in the years after the Second World War informing the appreciations of the thesis with regards to the German context. The thesis does not seek to question or revise current scholarship in the field but to enhance fragmentary references with a comprehensive analysis of the topic in its organic entity.

Furthermore, the thesis employs a terminology that addresses key-concepts of sociological discourse introduced by Pierre Bourdieu in his analyses of the 'fields' of cultural production and publishing.² The overall approach to the primitive arts draws largely on appreciations shaped by Edward Said's seminal study on Orientalism which is generally considered as the cornerstone of post-colonial studies.³ Several key-ideas relating to the history of 20th century art precondition the reader's familiarity with scholarship associating with the history of the decorative arts in France by Nancy Troy, the *Call to Order* concept studied by Green, Kenneth Silver, and Annick Lantenois, the mechanics of the art market and the interactions with Germany by Malcolm Gee, the history of the modern Salons by Fae Brauer and Claire

¹ Christopher Green, *Art in France, 1900-1940*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001, pp. x-xi.

² Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Randal Johnson, N. Y.: Columbia University Press, 1993. Pierre Bourdieu, 'Une révolution conservatrice dans l'édition,' *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 126-7, March 1999, pp. 3-28.

³ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, N. Y.: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Maingon, the debate over the origins of medieval art extensively discussed by Michela Passini, the debate over the creation of a new museum in Paris briefly presented by Catherine Lawless, the Caillebotte affair debated by Pierre Vaisse, the conditions of artistic production during the German occupation by Laurence Bertrand-Dorléac, the reception of the New School of Paris after the Second World War by Nathalie Adamson, the American strategic efforts to impose Abstract Expressionism on the European context and the symbolic shift of the western cultural centre from Paris to New York by Serge Guilbaut.

The sequence of the chapters is chronological. The presentation is divided into two parts. The first covers the period up to 1930 seeking to highlight the passage from ‘analysis’ to ‘synthesis,’ two ambiguous but ordinary terms in early 20th century discourse which are nowadays identified with the two renowned phases of cubism.⁴ In fact they were mainly used to describe two more general phenomena: a. the passage from individualism to collectivism and b. the transition from impressionism to Cézanne. However the use of these terms was largely dependent on the persuasion of each commentator being subject to diverse interpretations. Chapter one discusses the optimism of the Machine Age and its effects in the domain of arts offering a concise overview of Zervos’ involvement with the Modern Movement in architecture and decoration, his support of the collaboration of art with industry, his anti-individualist rhetoric and conception of art in its universal dimension. The chapter shapes a picture of his *habitus* by means of a close observation of his professional and intellectual activities since 1908. Zervos was installed in Alexandria until 1911. His views were not shaped in Paris but rather constitute personal reflections of ideas circulated around Europe at the turn of the century. What is important is that he assessed and elaborated these ideas before their full development in the European context. Though it is certain that Zervos developed a significant interest in the philosophical and aesthetic currents of his times it was impossible to accurately reconstruct the full range of his reading. However it is certain that he was informed about the developments in both the art historical and philosophical thought at least of the first half of the century. His views constitute original personalised reflections of ideas that influenced the course and defined the mindset of the century.

⁴ It is quite certain that Daniel-Henri Kahnweiler was influenced by the general use of the terms when he introduced in 1920 the division of cubism into these phases.

The various interpretations of materialist philosophy in diverse contexts constitute an issue of systematic reference in the thesis examined through the prism of their contradiction of Zervos' spiritual idealism. The thesis gives generous space to the ideas of André de Ridder for a new classic order through a synthetic approach to French and Nordic traditions which are compared to Zervos' understanding of classicism in its universal dimension. Ridder collaborated closely with Zervos namely by means of exchanging photographs for reproduction in *Cahiers d'Art* and *Sélection* but also ideas and articles about the young generation of painters active in Paris. The aspect of synthesis was omnipresent in 20th century discourse with the thesis attempting to contextualise it in its diversity. The chapter particularly highlights the positions of the relatively unknown artist Marcel Baugniet who stressed the utilitarian role of cubism in terms of social synthesis contradicting the idealist concessions of Zervos and the Purists. Although Baugniet was not connected with Zervos, it is likely that the latter was informed about these positions, which were diffused by the cubist patron Léonce Rosenberg. Baugniet's views on the social synthesis of cubism serve here as an introduction to the debate between utilitarianism and spiritualism that took various forms in the decades to come defining Zervos' post World War Two criticism.

The second chapter situates *Cahiers d'Art* in the world of Parisian institutions. It mainly re-examines from a novel perspective issues that constitute a common ground in the scholarship of French art between the wars several aspects of which have been extensively discussed by Green. The analysis opens a new chapter in the study of the institutional history of the School of Paris through the presentation of a series of debates in the core of the Independent Salon and the public dialogue over the creation of a museum of contemporary art in Paris. Scholarship has almost entirely overlooked the history behind the creation of the museum of modern art in Paris with specialist references being limited to studies by Lawless, Pedro Lorente's more general analysis of the museums of contemporary art in diverse contexts and finally the presentation of the debate initiated by *L'Art Vivant* in 1925 by Jean-Paul Morel in 1996. The thesis brings together a significant corpus of texts that appeared in the contemporary press which is enriched by the presentation of Zervos' involvement in the debate. The analysis, which is fully developed in Chapter five, contributes to a renewed understanding of the institutional history of Parisian modernism setting the ground for future investigations.

Despite the anti-individualist rhetoric in support of collective efforts, independent art demonstrated unparalleled fragmentation throughout the 1920s with artists now failing to conform to uniform tendencies. The schisms among the independents gave way to diverse patterns of classification. The period marks the slow but progressive transformation of *Cahiers d'Art* from an independent publication acting in support of the art market microcosm into a magazine seeking institutional recognition devising mechanisms of criticism in support of the consecration of contemporary art. It is important to observe the way in which the relatively marginalised world of independent art progressively transformed as the prospect of institutionalisation was taken into consideration. The Diaspora of French modern art in foreign collections is placed at the centre of Zervos' dispute against state policies. *Cahiers d'Art* published important surveys on the cultural interactions between France and Germany since the beginning of the century seeking to underline the important role played by German art dealers. However little place is reserved for *Cahiers d'Art* in studies dealing with Franco-German interactions in the cultural domain between the wars, an omission that the thesis has sought to repair.

The magazine's self-presentation as publication acting in the service of international independent art and its involvement in the *review-gallery* system is touched upon in Chapter three. The instability of the French economy after the Great War was followed by the international recession. The editor, according to Bourdieu, is a double personality called upon to reconcile the love for art and the research for profit.⁵ The chapter offers a detailed account of the financial status of the publication and the mechanisms mobilised by Zervos to assure its continuation under conditions of severe deficit. The help offered by artists is indicative of the role played by the review in advancing their careers. His affairs in Germany and particularly those with the art dealer Alfred Flechtheim contribute to the better understanding of aesthetics and the art market in the two countries defining Zervos' position-taking in defence of Parisian art and the nature of his collaborations abroad. The 1929 exhibition of Franco-German sculpture at the Georges Bernheim gallery served as a link between the material aspects of Zervos' collaboration with Flechtheim and the aesthetic positions of *Cahiers d'Art* unveiled through the former's archaeological approach to

⁵ Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, 'Une révolution conservatrice dans l'édition,' *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 126-7, March 1999, pp. 3-28.

statuary. The thesis observes the passage from the aesthetic appreciation of the primitive past to its idealist, materialist and epistemological dimension.

The Ethnographic museum of the Trocadéro was as a matter of fact the first institution to collaborate closely with the magazine enhancing its links to ethnology. The thesis presents the way in which primitivism progressively became subject to aesthetic, materialist, and idealist interpretations. The contact with the German ethnologist Léo Frobenius was fundamental to Zervos' understanding of primitive cultures in their organic entity. The researches of the French palaeontologist Henri Breuil furnished concrete evidence relating to the periodisation of the Palaeolithic era and an approximated chronological plan for the origins of humanity. Zervos' interest in the origins of art and culture was intensified through his contact with the Swiss Etruscologist Hans Mühlestein. *Cahiers d'Art* gave generous space to primitive arts evoking Zervos' anti-academic persuasion and his profound interest in art and culture developed before the historical era (namely the Greek classical period and the Italian Renaissance). The position was not uncommon in the context of the 1930s but rather reflected a general reaction against the aesthetics promoted by totalitarian regimes.

The second part of the thesis continues the discussion relating to the primitive arts. Chapter one gives particular focus on the critical and commercial reception of Zervos' two publications on pre-classic Greek art and Mesopotamian culture before the Semitic domination. The two books are important for they reflect Zervos' Eurocentric approach to primitivism commenting on two civilisations that played a cardinal role in the shaping of Mediterranean identity. Despite his close observation of African and Oceanic primitivism Zervos presumably acknowledged that these cultures could only be conceived in their 'Otherness' with the wider public failing to understand their concrete links to western art and culture. Zervos focused instead in his subsequent publications on the origins of the Greco-Latin civilisation whose links to contemporary art were scientifically undebatable and therefore could better convince the unspecialised audience.

The exclusion of the historical era, which was considered as decadent, from the evolutionary schemes shaped for modern art was in stark contrast to the historical-educational mission of the museum but it furthermore applied to Zervos' approach to contemporary art. As a matter of fact that practice of exclusion appears to have affected significantly Zervos' presentation of Picasso's work in the voluminous catalogue raisonné of the artist published since 1932. The thesis gives generous space

to the history of the Picasso catalogue bringing out the nature of the artist's interventions and Zervos' role in influencing the manner of judgements of the readers namely with regards to Picasso's influences from the past. The illustrations played a significant role in supporting his views. The contact with the entire corpus of Picasso's work certainly contributed to Zervos' re-appreciation of his early positions, namely with regards to the role of the object and the subject-matter in painting after Cézanne.

The analytical approach to the object and the realistic interpretations of the subject-matter in terms of socially-engaged art gave birth to the debate between aesthetics and narratives. *Cahiers d'Art* gave generous space to the debate between non-engaged and politicised art. Surrealism sought to redefine the role of the two from an anti-utilitarian/materialist revolutionary perspective but what was the role it eventually played in the formalist context? Did the symbolic coalition with the School of Paris place surrealism in the middle ground between the two extremes? Was that betraying its ideological commitment being subject to accusations of becoming bourgeois? The highly politicised climate of the late inter war years defined Zervos' manner of judgements. It is pertinent to define the ideological fronts supported by those who sought for a middle ground between the *art for art's sake* exponents and those who stressed art's utilitarian role in the service of proletarian revolution.

Chapter five resumes, enriches and concludes the aforementioned debates. A 1932 exhibition of French art in London prepared the ground for the reception of modern French art in its international dimension reviving the debate over the origins and identity of gothic art. The subsequent announcement of the creation of two museums of contemporary art in Paris raised issues of continuity and rupture in French tradition which culminated with a series of exhibitions organised on the occasion of the 1937 Parisian World's fair. The presentation of modern art in this context was founded to a certain extent on the schismatic tendencies that marked the debates among the independents in the 1920s. Zervos became increasingly concerned with issues relating to museography but was sceptical in inscribing contemporary art in the chain of national evolution. He rather thought that primitive art was the distant heir of the contemporary synthetic approach to naturalist representation. But was the practical application of his proposed scheme viable in the context of the museum? The opening of the Cahiers d'Art gallery in 1934 and its focus on artists with individualist aspirations epitomised the lack of unity in contemporary creation but also Zervos'

lack of faith in the new generation. The chapter furthermore seeks to synthesize Zervos' ideological engagement starting with a discussion of his position-taking during the Spanish Civil War, his denunciation of the Nazi aesthetic and eventually his polemic against the suppression of spiritual values by the Soviet reforms and subsequently by the party-line cultural doctrine of Andrei Zhdanov. The thesis gives little space to the wartime period due to the interruption of Zervos' activities. A significant part of his correspondence has been published by Derouet bringing to light a detailed account of Zervos' life during the occupation. Specialist studies among others by Bertrand-Dorléac have offered valuable insights on artistic life during the Second World War and in fact Zervos' known activity adds little to already established art historical narratives.

The publishing house continued its activities after the war but Zervos' ideological conflicts and his support for individualist apolitical art resulted in significant difficulties in the distribution of his publications to the Eastern and Western blocks. The post war years constituted a period of consecration for the generation that had influenced the course of modernism in the context of the 1930s, which is the centre of gravity of the thesis. Zervos henceforth attempted to inscribe his projects in the core of institutions in France and overseas situating his activity in the cultural domain. His books on primitive civilisations became subject to both scholarly and ideological readings. Although Zervos played a significant role in the cultural life of Paris after the war the thesis interrupts the narrative in 1960, when the magazine ceased its publication, while the gallery and the publishing house continued to exist until 1970. These years are marked by significant activities but its examination contributes little to enriching the overall analysis since Zervos, similarly to most of his colleagues that observed from a close distance the development of the old School of Paris and the supremacy of Picasso and Matisse, like Tériade, remained attached to the developments of their times failing to trace any qualities in the new chapter opened up by the young generation. Their support was reduced to renovated aspects of inter war inventions. In the highly politicised climate of post war France Zervos maintained his formalist persuasion but entered a period of reconsiderations of his earlier positions with regards to cubism, Picasso and the history of art of the first half of the century in general.

Part One: From Analysis to Synthesis

Chapter 1: L'Époque des Bâtisseurs

Whereas Science is infinite deriving the object of its study from the eternal causes that dominate the world [...] Art, on the contrary, has too confined boundaries stopping in front of thousands of phenomena that pass into the stream of eternity and choosing to deal with a contemptible part of the whole [...] We all have to consider art not as a secondary part of life, but as something substantial [...] And only when the pulse of art becomes the pulse of nation, and scholasticism that torments it dies, this nation will mount high, very high.¹ - Christian Zervos, 1908

The first decades of the 20th century carried on a significant part of the lively debates that had defined the intellectual climate of fin-de-siècle Paris. The echoes of these debates were audible in diverse geographical and cultural contexts as the case of the Greek-born future founder of *Cahiers d'Art*, Christian Zervos, writing from Alexandria reveals. The developments in science and technology and the re-appreciation of the past in its epistemological dimension redefined its connection to the present. Many cultivated the idea that the new century signalled the birth of a new civilisation. The Great War became the unfortunate pretext to build anew. It is notably a period associated with the notions of restoration and unity. The general urge for return to normalcy or *Retour à l'Ordre* found its expression in renewed fidelity in the collective spirit and the suppression of romantic individualism. Cubism appeared to some of its observers as the offspring of the symbolic transition from the particular to the general contradicting the romantic and expressionist preponderance of atomism. The *Call to Order* concept should not be understood merely in terms of a classic revival, an inspiration by and imitation of classical models of expression. It concerned the re-appreciation of the catholic as opposed to the particular, the general effect as opposed to the detail, the rational as opposed to the expressionist, the collective as opposed to the individual. The concept of universality in the arts found diverse

¹ Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Λάμπρος Πορφύρας,' *Σεράπιον*, year A, β,' 1909, pp. 48, 52. The text is signed 1908. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. 'Αν η Επιστήμη δεν τελειώνει πουθενά γιατί παίρνει το θέμα της μελέτης της απ' τις αιώνιες αιτίες που διαφεντεύουν τον κόσμο, ζυγιάζει και το διάστημα και το χρόνο που πληρώνουν το άπειρο, ξετάζει τις καθόλου σχέσεις και τις διάφορες κατευθύνσεις της ζωής· η Τέχνη αντίθετα έχει πολύ στενά σύνορα, γιατί σταματά μπροστά στα μύρια φαινόμενα που περνάνε στο ρεύμα της αιωνιότητας και ξεδιαλέγει για να ξετάσει ένα τιποτένιο μέρος από το πλήθος του συνόλου[...] Και μόνον όταν ο παλμός της τέχνης γίνει παλμός ενός έθνους, κι' ο σχολαστικισμός που το βασανίζει σαν πεθάνει, αυτό το έθνος θα σταθεί ψηλά, πολύ ψηλά.'

expressions. The romantic synthesis in terms of the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* was epitomised in the Bauhaus and the compositions of Kandinsky. In the French context, Apollinaire also proposed a synthesis of the arts but rejected the ‘exaggerations of Wagnerian or Rousseau-inspired romanticism’ and ‘the *parole in libertà* of the Italian Futurists.’² These positions became the rallying cry of the Purists in *L’Esprit Nouveau*. The Dutch De Stijl advocated universality in the arts finding a place somewhere between the French Purism and the German Bauhaus.

The monism of Spinoza and Schopenhauer, the anarchism of Max Stirner and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon gave way to new appreciations of order as the result of collective rather than individual effort.³ This transition affected both art and society. ‘The social underlies the vital’ declared later Henri Bergson.⁴ The concept of synthesis was omnipresent. The synthetic approach to historical past and the conception of a universal history of humanity were also present in the historiographical discourse. Henri Berr advocated the synthesis of historical methods proposing a continuously evolving approach that became the central preoccupation of the *Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique* and the homonymous *Revue*. More importantly, the *Evolution de l’Humanité* book series divided in four chronological sections including an introduction on prehistory and proto-history⁵ was conceived as a work in progress. It eventually published 100 volumes starting in 1914 and continuing after the war. Each volume involved a scientific approach to a collective synthesis of history in terms of environment, race, social and individual action, politics, economy, religion, philosophy, science, art and letters.⁶

The suppression of academicism continued to be the abiding preoccupation of the modernist circles which now underwent a significant proliferation with their unity being threatened by the often conflicting aspirations that their seeming consecration entailed. In terms of the optimism of the *civilisation de la machine*, many modernists positioned themselves somewhere between the extreme trends of *passéisme* and

² Stanislaus von Moos, *Le Corbusier: Elements of a Synthesis*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979, p. 55.

³ A similar discussion appears in *Τέχνη και Ζωή*. Δημήτρης Βαλσαμίδης, ‘Η Νέα Κοινωνιολογική Κατεύθυνσις,’ *Τέχνη και Ζωή*, 1914, p. 8-9.

⁴ Henri Bergson, *The two sources of Morality and Religion*, trans. R.A. Audra and Cloudesley Brereton, London: Macmillan, 1935, p. 98.

⁵ Antiquity, Christian Origins and the Middle-Ages, Modern era, Contemporary era.

⁶ Jacqueline Pluet-Despatin, ‘Henri Berr éditeur. Elaboration et production de l’*Evolution de l’Humanité*,’ *Revue de Synthèse* 117, March 1996, pp. 241-267. See also Henri Berr, *En marge de l’Histoire Universelle*, Paris : A. Michel, 1934.

futurism.⁷ The Futurists saw in the Great War an opportunity to revitalise art, but it soon turned out that they had done the reverse.⁸ The reception of the mechanist aesthetic was manifold. Some identified in it the birth of a new civilisation and others a symbolic meaning associated with proletarian revolution (Eisenstein) with the synthetic approach opposing the monism of materialist philosophy.⁹ The *machine* appeared to its opponents as a dangerous invention that was soon to turn against its inventor, the human. The positions of Paul Valéry (*La Crise de l'Esprit*, 1919), Romain Rolland (*La Révolte des Machines ou La Pensée déchainée*, 1921), and Oswald Spengler (*The Decline of the West*, 1918-1922) are symptomatic of the distrust of science and technology after the war.¹⁰ The mechanist theories of evolution advocated a teleological purpose of life. The main hypothesis was that 'the future and the past are symbolic and calculable functions of the present.'¹¹ Many identified the period with the fluidity of the Late Middle-Ages on both a social and a spiritual level, provisioning the flourishing of a second Renaissance exempt from what was viewed as Roman servility to the classic standards. Bergson questioned the mechanist hypothesis, affirming that instinct and intellect are the main components of the *élan vital*.¹²

The industrialisation of craft traditions and the collapse of the hiatus that separated art from life were pivotal to the shaping of the collective mindset of the inter war years, an effort pioneered by the Bauhaus and the Purists, advocating unity of art and technology and producing designs that turned out to be the mould of Machine Age civilisation.¹³ Highly decorative styles, Renaissance art and classic imagery were no longer suitable models for public art. The new aesthetic made concrete efforts to invade private life through furniture and interior decoration presenting new models appropriate to modern living. Although the *époque de la*

⁷ Wanda Strauven, 'Le mécanoïde et l'androïde: deux faces du mythe futuriste dans le cinéma d'avant-garde des années vingt,' *Cinemas: Journal of Film Studies* 3, vol. 12, 2002, pp. 33-51.

⁸ Jan Cordon, 'The Salon d'Automne: Effects of the War on French Art,' *The Observer*, 23 November 1919, p. 10.

⁹ The filmmaker collaborated with *Cahiers d'Art* in 1930. See S. M. Eisenstein, 'Principe cinématographique et la civilisation japonaise,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1930, pp.31-32 and *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1930, pp. 91-94.

¹⁰ François Jarrige, *Technocritiques: Du refus des machines à la contestation des technosciences*, Paris : Ed. de la Découverte.

¹¹ Paul Ardoïn, Stanley E. Gontarski, Laci Mattison, *Understanding Bergson, Understanding Modernism*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013, p. 64.

¹² Henri Bergson, *L'Evolution Créatrice*, Paris: Alcan, 1908.

¹³ See Tim Benton, 'Dreams of Machines: Futurism and l'Esprit Nouveau,' *Journal of Design History* 1, vol. 3, 1990, pp. 19-34.

machine maintained its dedication to human service, its lifeless anti-naturalist forms and the dehumanized qualities they stood for contradicted the inherent humanism of the French tradition. Cubism epitomised painterly synthesis. Its propagation started at the moment when hostile critics, like Louis Vauxcelles, announced its ‘death.’ The cubist dealer Léonce Rosenberg propagated its mechanist aftermath since 1924 in his *Bulletin de l’Effort Moderne*, giving way to Zervos in 1926 and *Cahiers d’Art* to redefine the plastic lesson of cubism. Le Corbusier’s *Pavillon de l’Esprit Nouveau* at the Paris *Exposition des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes* in 1925 projected the role that architecture and interior design should play in modern life protesting against superfluous decoration and the individualist aspirations of artists-decorators.

The Modern Movement in architecture was met with distrust. Most magazines devoted to architecture and decoration in France continued to present traditional models of design throughout the 1920s. Such publications include the conservative weeklies *La Construction Moderne* founded in 1885 by the engineer Paul Planat and *L’Architecture* (1888-1939) a bulletin of the Société des Architectes Français. *L’Architecte* (1906-1935) was the official organ of the Société des Architectes diplômés par le Gouvernement. Its publication was interrupted during the War and until 1924, acting independently for over a decade before its fusion with *Art et Decoration* in 1936. Its director Pol Abraham published in its first number after the war a lengthy critique of Le Corbusier’s *Vers Une Architecture* (1923). The book included seven pioneer essays published in 1921 in the purist magazine *L’Esprit Nouveau*. Abraham confronted with scepticism the views presented in the book, commenting on the ‘curious’ articles published in *L’Esprit Nouveau*, a magazine of art which funnily enough gave generous space to architecture.¹⁴

Abraham’s discussion deserves more attention for he traced in the book a metaphysical approach to views previously presented in *L’Architecture: Le passé – Le présent* by the Art Nouveau opponent Anatole de Baudot. A major representative of structural rationalism and admirer of medieval rationality pioneered by Viollet-le-Duc, Baudot underlined the important role that engineers played in transforming modern architecture adjusting it to the needs of the times. Baudot was sceptical of the adaptation of architectural models of the past to the present and temperate in the use

¹⁴ Pol Abraham, ‘Bibliographie : Vers Une Architecture par Le Corbusier Saugnier,’ *L’Architecte*, February 1924, pp. 9-12.

of decoration.¹⁵ Nevertheless his views were substantially different from those of the Purists namely in his focus on the technical aspects of architecture with an apparent attachment to the French gothic rationalist tradition. The architect was unconcerned with social transformation. The young age of Abraham at the time he published the review reflects the resistance with which the Modern Movement was faced in France, even by architects of the younger generation.¹⁶

The Éditions Morancé and the Modern Movement

An object without utility can not be beautiful¹⁷ -Jean Badovici, 1926.

An early initiative in defence of the 'Modern Movement' in architecture and interior design is to be traced in the publications of the Maison Morancé - installed 30-32 rue de Fleurus. Its director, Albert Morancé, brother of the decorative artist Charles Morancé, was born to a family of painting manufacturers in Le Mans.¹⁸ He was active as a publisher in Paris before the outbreak of the Great War, issuing later catalogues in collaboration with the Louvre and the Bibliothèque Nationale, including the voluminous *Cahiers de l'encyclopédie d'architecture* (1929-1932) that marked his activity in the late 1920s. Morancé was named *Chef des services commerciaux et techniques de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux* in 1930, a fact that defined his activities in the field of art publishing. The house was specialised in architecture but it occasionally published books on music, theatre, art and archaeology, as well as illustrated surveys of the history of prominent French institutions. The album series *Documents d'Art* included two volumes dedicated to the Louvre.

The first periodical issued by Morancé was *Byblis: miroir des arts du livre et de l'estampe* (1921-1931). It was published under the direction of the art historian and engraver, Pierre Gusman. Due to his increasing interest in engraving a 'Prix Albert Morancé de gravure' was established in 1923 by *Les Amis de Byblis*, whose recipients

¹⁵ See Anatole de Baudot, *L'Architecture: Le passé – Le présent*, Paris: H. Laurens, 1916.

¹⁶ On the notion 'Modern Movement' and its historiography see Hélène Jannière, 'Les revues françaises de l'entre-deux-guerres et la genèse de la notion de Mouvement moderne,' *La Réception de l'Architecture du Mouvement Moderne: Image, Usage, Héritage*, Saint-Etienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Etienne, 2005, pp. 263-267.

¹⁷ Jean Badovici, 'La Maison d'Aujourd'hui,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1926, p. 12. 'Aujourd'hui, ce qu'il faut envisager, entre les constructions des architectes libres et celles des ingénieurs et des techniciens qui sont dictées par des nécessités pratiques immédiates, c'est une architecture fonctionnelle qui concilie et unifie les deux tendances. Une chose sans utilité ne saurait être belle.'

¹⁸ Paul Cordonnier-Détré, 'Nécrologie, Charles Morancé, Artiste Peintre,' *Revue historique et archéologique du Maine* 2, vol. 15, 1935, pp. 228-9.

received 500 francs and had their work reproduced in *Byblis* and *Le Livre et l'estampe*, run by Morancé. *L'Architecture Vivante* (1923-1933) dealt with avant-garde architecture. It was edited by the Romanian architect Jean Badovici in collaboration with Auguste Perret and later Le Corbusier. The magazine was richly illustrated and aimed at presenting the manifestations of the 'Modern Movement' in architecture and its echoes from around the world. It published short surveys and reports by Adolf Loos, Fernand Léger, Piet Mondrian, Amédée Ozenfant, Alain, Theo van Doesburg, but mainly Badovici, a fact that was symptomatic of its improvised and independent character.

Morancé launched two more quarterlies. *L'Art d'Aujourd'hui: peintures, dessins, estampes, sculptures de notre temps* (1924-1929) was published under his direction. *Les Arts de la Maison* (1923-1926) was directed by Zervos, his Greek-born secretary since 1923, and was devoted to interior design, furniture, and decoration. The three periodicals featured in a full-page advertisement in Rosenberg's *Bulletin* in 1924. The richly illustrated *L'Art d'Aujourd'Hui* included original etchings by well-known artists such as Henri Matisse, Marc Chagall, André Dunoyer de Segonzac, Dimitris Galanis, Aristide Maillol, Marie Laurencin and others. The magazine was perhaps the first of its kind in Paris to give generous space to foreign artists to present their work. André Warnod and André Salmon were listed among its regular contributors while it also published texts by more conservative critics such as Elie Faure and Vauxcelles. Although its orientation was not cubist, it included texts by several figures that had or eventually played an important role in the history of the movement, notably Maurice Raynal and Zervos. The latter exerted considerable influence over Morancé, gradually turning the magazine into a meeting point for critics that shared the same ideas with him and his protégé and future collaborator on *Cahiers d'Art*, Tériade.

Zervos was assistant editor of *L'Art d'Aujourd'Hui*. Together with Tériade, he contributed to its content. The magazine began in 1926 including discussions on architects and *ouvriers d'art* whose work, Morancé declared, was inseparable from other forms of art. To correspond to its title, it issued autobiographical notes on the most important contemporary artists.¹⁹ *Les Arts de la Maison* was devoted to interior decoration. It attracted the opponents of the Art Nouveau movement, commenting on

¹⁹ Albert Morancé, 'Tout L'Art d'Aujourd'hui,' *L'Art d'Aujourd'hui*, vol.III, 1926, reprint, New York : Arno Press, n.p.

the recent work of several decorative artists, namely Francis Jourdain, André Groult, Georges André, and *Süe et Mare*, prominent Art Deco designers in France.²⁰ Zervos identified in the work of Louis Süe and André Mare the principles of discipline, reason, construction and respect for tradition. Their work was comparable to that of Cochin and Blondel, who had prepared the reform of the style Louis XVI.²¹ Mare was sympathetic to the idea of a French cubism pairing Platonist philosophy with French tradition. In collaboration with Laurencin and Roger de la Fresnaye he had produced decorations for the Maison Cubiste in 1912.²² His work had close affinities to the ‘coloristes-décorateurs,’ a group representing the opposite realm to the ‘ingénieurs-constructeurs.’ The same year, he joined Süe’s *L’Atelier Français*. In 1918, they founded the *Belle France* and about a year later *La Compagnie des Arts Français* (1919-1928) which was active in designing furniture for series production.²³ The company was sympathetic to the collaboration of art with industry, maintaining an unvarying position against Art Nouveau’s ‘monstrous extension’ of individualism – issues that dominated the debates among decorative artists throughout the period in question.

Zervos did not reject individual expression but preferred to associate it with collective efforts. He saw in each individual creation a personalised view of the way artists understood their place in the universe. The order that Zervos sought necessitated the artists’ self-awareness and in-depth understanding of the world that surrounds them. This notably applied to his understanding of architecture, which extended beyond the limits of construction and decoration. It was a symbolic representation of human understanding of universal order. The aesthetic pleasure derived from architectural works he thought resides in the observation of the triumphant opposition between human and cosmic energy, individual and universal action.

Les Arts de la Maison took the side of these artists-decorators that not only opposed Art Nouveau’s pseudo-naturalistic organic decoration but also revived elements inherent to tradition. An early effort to re-establish the links between construction and decoration was traced in the works of *Süe et Mare* and Groult. Their

²⁰ Christian Zervos, ‘Nos décorateurs Süe et Mare,’ *Les Arts de la Maison* (Autumn 1924), pp. 5-13.

²¹ Christian Zervos, ‘Nos décorateurs Süe et Mare,’ *Les Arts de la Maison* (Autumn 1924), pp. 13.

²² Nicole Zapata-Aubé, *André Maré: Cubisme et Camouflage, 1914-1918*, exhibition catalogue, Bernay: Musée des Beaux-arts, 1998.

²³ Catherine Buckner, ‘Süe et Mare,’ in Joanna Banham (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Interior Design*, Routledge, 2015, pp. 1253-5.

imaginative design of the object and its geometrical construction carried the influence of the Renaissance tradition as epitomised in the writings of the Italian Mannerist architect and civil engineer Sebastiano Serlio.²⁴ The use of traditional elements was evoking of the style dating back to pre-2nd Empire. Zervos referred in particular to the period of the reign of the 'bourgeois king' Louis-Philippe, after which the tradition of French decorative art was interrupted. This style, he thought, better responded to the needs of the epoch successfully replacing the bad-proportioned tasteless furniture that Marie-Antoinette preferred in the times of Louis XVI. The first effort to bring back architecture to its fundamental principles, he thought, was traced in the work of Viollet-Le-Duc and his writings on medieval art. The influence of his work was enriched with the study of Japanese art which was introduced to French artists and public by Edmond de Goncourt and the German gallery-owner and Art Nouveau dealer Siegfried Bing.²⁵ The study of medieval monuments in France started in the middle of the 19th century. Adolphe-Napoleon Didron's *Annales Archéologiques* and Louis Courajod's lectures at the École du Louvre in combination with the keen interest of the British in the gothic element revitalised, Zervos reported, French admiration for the Middle-Ages. These developments were pivotal to the evolution of modern decorative art in France.²⁶ The communal character of medieval society was commonplace in discussions throughout the period in question. In France, as we shall see, many believed that art and culture in modern Paris was at the pinnacle of its glory, as was the case with medieval France, cultivating the ambition that its true renaissance will not be interrupted this time as it happened before with the Italian Renaissance.

Zervos published surveys in *Les Arts de la Maison* which identified one after another the first manifestations of the anti-decorative movement in Europe. He acknowledged the pioneer role played by the English School in submitting art to the general laws of life. Its romantic invocation of medieval society had a revitalising effect on art. The error of John Ruskin, William Morris and the English School, he remarked, was their distrust of industry and their persistence in combating the most

²⁴ Christian Zervos, 'Les Tendances Actuelles des l'Art Décoratif,' *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 47, January-May 1925, p.74.

²⁵ For an extensive analysis see Nancy Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts in France: Art Nouveau to Le Corbusier*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

²⁶ Christian Zervos, 'Les Origines de l'Art Décoratif Contemporain,' *Les Arts de la Maison* 2, Automne-Winter 1925, pp. 21-26. See also Nancy Troy, 'Toward a Redefinition of Tradition in French Design, 1895 to 1914,' *Design Issues* 2, 1984, pp. 53-69.

typical manifestation of modern times: mechanism. Dutch artists were the first to draw significant benefits from the medievalism of the British School but managed to transfer its lesson to modern life, also retrieving ideas found in Egyptian sculpture and Japanese art. A third manifestation of a return to the medieval times was traced in Belgian architecture and design, which also carried the British lesson of Morris but turned into a reform movement through the creations of Victor Horta and Henry van de Velde. The interest in artificial decoration gradually weakened. Germany had remained for a long time attached to tradition but the German School, Zervos observed, advanced rapidly with the creation of museums of applied art and the publications of Alexandre Koch which proposed reform projects with 'passionless critique.' The Viennese School was influenced by Otto Wagner who advocated that the architect must be a perfect constructor. Modern design and architecture, Zervos argued, were transformed by Loos who was the first to acknowledge that the suppression of ornamentation was the only way to advance civilisation. Culture, according to Loos, is defined by the degrees of simplicity it introduces.²⁷

The suppression of the guild system with the French Revolution and the involvement of artists-decorators in free trade market systems had the distinction of the metier of the artist from that of the craftsman or the technician as a result. The development led to an excess of individualism. Following Viollet-le-Duc many were those to admit that architecture is not an art, but pure construction. Interior design and decoration could not be isolated from their architectural surroundings. What tormented contemporary decoration, Zervos observed, was the effort of the great majority of artists-decorators to achieve *l'originalité à tout prix*. Having received training as painters and sculptors, these artists failed to understand the metier of the decorator and the architectonic limitations it imposed.

With having envisaged the decorative objects according to the spirit of their previous metier [i.e. painting or sculpture], artists are inclined to see, notably in these objects, the pretext to exploit their virtuosity as painters or sculptors. In a clock or a candlestick, for example, they saw less a utilitarian object than the pretext to create a beautiful sculpture [...] The style *d'après nature*, adopted around 1900, presents the inconveniences of the abuse of ornamentation. The objects disappear under an overflow of flora.²⁸

²⁷ Christian Zervos, 'Les Origines de l'Art Décoratif Contemporain,' *Les Arts de la Maison* 2, Automne-Winter 1925, pp. 5-14.

²⁸ Christian Zervos, 'Les Tendances Actuelles des l'Art Décoratif,' *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 47, January-May 1925, p.70. 'C'est pour avoir envisagé les objets décoratifs selon l'esprit de

In France, Francis Jourdain - son of the architect and president of the Autumn Salon Frantz Jourdain - made concrete efforts to liberate his decorations from traditional models. He introduced extreme simplifications of lines which subordinated 'the value of each one of the objects composing the ensemble to the general effect.'²⁹ Zervos' shift in focus from the particular to the general is attested to in his early writings and has to be understood foremost in terms of his attachment to the idea of the 'universal' as opposed to the 'individual.' Pierre Chareau contributed to the avant-garde production of the modern decorative movement with his work demonstrating an inherent respect for tradition and more importantly an architectonic conception of objects. His art represented all that Zervos' understanding of modern design stood for: duration through the rejection of the ephemeral, unity and harmonic movement of lines. A praiseworthy effort was traced in the designs of the Irish Eileen Gray. The support of these architects-decorators was not restricted to short articles in Morancé's periodicals. The house published richly illustrated catalogues devoted to works by the most outstanding representatives of the movement.

By 1924, Morancé was running four magazines dealing with architecture, contemporary art, interior design, and *mise-en-scène*, which was the central theme of inquiry in *L'Oeuvre* magazine. The house promoted unity among the arts seemingly contemplating the mid-19th century Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk*. However, Badovici's magazine advocated ideas that opposed romanticism with Le Corbusier and Perret exerting considerable influence over its content. The magazine primarily included discussions on Purism, De Stijl and Russian Constructivism. German architecture and design were absent in the numbers prior to 1926. The publishing house was confronted with scepticism by more conservative architects and decorators namely for the pioneer ideas it introduced and to a lesser extent because of their diffusion by its international personnel – both Zervos and Badovici held leading posts. A letter from the religious architect Dom Bellot epitomised the hostility with which

leur ancien métier, que les artistes inclinaient à voir, dans ces objets surtout, des prétextes à mettre en valeur leur virtuosité de peintres ou de sculpteurs. Dans une horloge ou un chandelier, par exemple, ils voyaient beaucoup moins l'objet que le prétexte à créer une jolie statuette. En même temps qu'ils faisaient disparaître la relation entre la forme de l'objet et son emploi, l'excès ornemental supprimait le rapport entre le décor et la construction qui doit toujours le déterminer. Le style d'après nature, adopté vers 1900, nous montre les inconvénients de l'abus d'ornementation. Tous les objets disparaissent sous une flore débordante.'

²⁹ Zervos, 'Les Tendances Actuelles des l'Art Décoratif,' p. 74. Christian Zervos, 'Nos Décorateurs,' *Les Arts de la Maison* 1, Spring-Summer 1924, pp. 39-43.

the ideas promoted by Morancé were met but was revealing of the values they stood for. The letter is not saved but it is cited in Roland Horst's correspondence with Zervos.

Clearly the spirit is nationalist, antisocialist and [...] anti-Semitic. None of these three states of mind surprises me in a catholic priest [...] A Frenchman, away from his country, will be rather nationalist, certainly if he is like father Bellot, a refugee priest and an artist. His anti-socialist sentiments are very natural [...] As for his opinion concerning your friend Badovici, it is unfair and full of bitterness, but it concerns his style of writing and his conception of the treated topic, rather than his person [...] it stems above all from great irritation, the entire letter is moreover irresponsible, but in an audacious manner, the audacity of an artist [...] What he says about the De Stijl group amuses me a lot, I share his views, that there is nothing colder and more dead in Holland. The way in which this group insinuates itself and struggles to make others talk about it, irritates a great number of artists, they try more to intimidate by their actions than convince by their intrinsic value.³⁰

Badovici's *La Maison d'Aujourd'Hui*, published in 1925 by Morancé, gave a precise picture of the author's positioning in reference to contemporary construction. The architect found great support in Zervos. In a promotional article published in the first number of *Cahiers d'Art*, Badovici presented the central ideas of his new book noting that the suspicion with which the modern movement was met was the result of the general lack of proper education – an elitist remark, also employed by the champions of cubism, addressed here to both architects and the public. The architect affirmed with optimism that the habits introduced by the Machine Age, in addition to the modern working conditions and the changes in economic life, transformed progressively both the sensibility of the masses and the artists' vision.

The universal rejection of ornamentation is a striking sign. Works by Coquart, Labrouste, Hittorf, Dutert, Eiffel and Perret, in France, Otto Wagner, Berlage, Van de Velde, Endelle. Olbrich Dinge, abroad, express pure technical functions confirming that these artists were [...] liberated from traditions [...] This spirit appears almost everywhere [...] It is like a universal desire demanding [...] works that conform to

³⁰ Letter to C. Z. by Roland Horst, 10 December 1924. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 1, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Décidément l'esprit en est nationaliste, antisocialiste et [...] antisémite. Aucune de ces trois états d'esprit ne m'étonne dans un prêtre catholique [...] Un français, loin de son pays, sera plutôt nationaliste, surtout s'il est comme le père Bellot, prêtre réfugié et artiste. Ses sentiments antisocialistes sont très naturels [...] Quand à son opinion sur votre ami Badovici, elle est injuste et plein d'aigreur, mais elle s'adresse plutôt à la manière d'écrire et à sa conception du sujet traité, qu'à sa personne [...] elle provient surtout d'une grande irritation, toute la lettre est d'ailleurs irresponsable, mais d'une façon qui a tant de même de l'audace, l'audace d'un artiste [...] Ce qu'il dit du groupe De Stijl m'amuse du trop beaucoup, je partage son opinion, qu'il n'y a rien de plus froid et de plus mort en Hollande. La façon dont ce groupe s'insinue et lutte pour faire parler de lui, irrite un grand nombre d'artistes, ils essayent davantage d'intimider par leur manière d'agir, que de convaincre par leur valeur intrinsèque.'

the new spirituality and unity of modern life. It is to be hoped that this multiple effort can rediscover the architectural unity lost since the Renaissance.³¹

The Modern Movement represented for Zervos a concrete effort to suppress individualism through the mutual collaboration between artists and architects for the creation of 'architectural ensembles' where painting proposed to assume a role, not necessarily a functional one. His support of the fusion of art with industry is inscribed in the same anti-individualist rhetoric supporting the production of multiple designs for wide circulation out of a single model – a practice that found its equivalent in the serial reproduction of etchings that Morancé published. These views need to be compared to the positions of Jacques Mesnil a regular contributor to Morancé's publications, former collaborator in *L'Humanité* and more apt in mingling art with politics than Zervos. Mesnil contributed studies on interior design drawing parallels from medieval and Renaissance societies.³² He approached art and architecture from the perspective of historical materialism. Zervos was more of an idealist with his appreciations being closer to Neo-Platonist ideas traced in the writings of Hegel and Kant. In his discussion of Soviet art, Mesnil observed in 1922 that in every communist society architecture was the predominant art which together with sculpture and painting completed *l'impression d'ensemble*. 'The greatest works in architecture can only be materialized in periods of relative calmness, where community wealth is sufficient and working hands are available to build monuments.'³³ He criticised Le Corbusier's interpretation of the modern house as a *machine à habiter*. The idea, he thought, was conceived in the period of *grand capitalisme* attached to an economic system considered as a social regime.³⁴ A single and generalising model, he thought,

³¹ Jean Badovivi, 'La Maison d'Aujourd'hui,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1926, p. 12. 'Le rejet universel de l'ornementation est un signe frappant. Les œuvres de Coquart, Labrouste, Hittorf, Dutert, Eiffel et Perret, en France, Otto Wagner, Berlage, Van de Velde, Endelle. Olbrich Dingo, à l'étranger, tendant à exprimer des fonctions purement techniques, témoignaient que ses artistes s'étaient aisément et entièrement affranchis des traditions [...] Cet esprit se fait jour un peu partout....C'est comme une volonté universelle demandant de toutes parts des œuvres conformes à la nouvelle spiritualité et à l'unité de la vie moderne. Il est à souhaiter que cet effort multiple puisse retrouver l'unité architecturale perdue depuis la Renaissance.' Jean Badovivi, 'La Maison d'Aujourd'hui,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1926, p. 12.

³² Jacques Mesnil, 'L'aménagement Intérieur,' *Les Arts de la Maison* 1, Spring-Summer 1924, pp. 29-38.

³³ Jacques Mesnil, 'L'Art dans la Russie des Soviets,' *Bulletin Communiste* 8, 23 February 1922.

³⁴ Jacques Mesnil, 'Le Mur Vivant,' *Les Arts de la Maison* 1, Spring-Summer 1926, p. 20. 'L'idée de la maison machine à habiter n'a pu être conçue qu'à l'époque du grand capitalisme et est étroitement liée à ce système économique qu'il est difficile de considérer comme un régime social, car la société n'existe aujourd'hui que de nom. Or la maison implique une vie sociale, qui peut être de caractère individuel (familles ou personnes seules) ou collectif.'

can apply with difficulty to every individual expression of modern living. 'Applying the same mechanist formula to everyone is setting aside every expression, every form of art.' Mesnil's anarchist-communist persuasion is evident in the text which questioned the suppression of individualism identifying Le Corbusier's project with the cold and lifeless operating theatres. Art, according to Mesnil, should not be excluded from researches seeking to respond to the needs of reality. 'Individualism, he concluded, is still predominant, collective conscience is formed slowly.'³⁵

Les Arts de la Maison was born out of the context of the 1925 Parisian Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs. It ceased to exist shortly after the end of the show. The magazine appeared at the moment of the renaissance of the decorative arts aiming at reconciling minor with 'liberal' arts. Its principal concern was to report on the aesthetic evolution of interior decoration studying the period that preceded and prepared the 1925 Fair, as an editorial note informed its readers. This was the moment when the decorative arts started to develop in full accordance with architecture, so that the magazine could no longer report on these developments in its present form.³⁶ The note announced the discontinuation of the magazine and its replacement by the *Encyclopédie des Métiers d'Art* which was the *terminus ad quem* of the periodical.³⁷ In 1926 Zervos launched *Cahiers d'Art*. His correspondence with Mesnil reveals that he sought to disassociate the new magazine from the Maison Morancé expressing his interest in collaborating with the prestigious Maison Hachette.³⁸ This arguably indicates his intention to fuse the content of Morancé's periodicals in one.

Though it excluded discussions of decoration, *Cahiers d'Art* reflects Zervos' increasing interest in architecture, the Purists, and to a lesser extent the Neoplasticists. The periodical was primarily devoted to painting, sculpture, architecture, but also music and *mise-en-scène*. It eventually published its first numbers under the aegis of Morancé. Zervos opened later in 1926 an office located at 157 Boulevard Saint-Germain, subsequently transferred to the rue Bonaparte in 1927, when he was granted

³⁵ Jacques Mesnil, 'Le Mur Vivant,' *Les Arts de la Maison* 1, Spring-Summer 1926, pp. 17-22.

³⁶ 'Note de l'Editeur,' *Les Arts de la Maison* 2, 1926, n.p.

³⁷ *Encyclopédie des Métiers d'Art*, vols. 1-2, Paris : Morancé, n.d. (ca 1925-1930).

³⁸ Jacques Mesnil letter to C. Z., 2f. 6 September 1925. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 1, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Masereel me dit que vous avez l'intention de publier un projet de revue d'art moderne à la Maison Hachette et que, ne connaissant personne dans cette maison, vous voudriez un mot d'introduction de moi. Je ne connais malheureusement pas le directeur de ce secteur de la maison, ni du tout personnellement aucun des directeurs...'

French nationality. *Cahiers d'Art* was finally installed at 14 rue du Dragon in 1928. The collaboration with Morancé was vital to the shaping of Zervos' aesthetic orientation securing him the reputation of an influential champion of the 'Modern Movement' and a significant place in the Parisian avant-garde art scene between the wars.

Τα πάντα ρεῖ³⁹ / Omnia mutantur

Human disquietude in front of the eternal variation of the worlds and the observation that objects' forms, spouting into the running flow of the eternal becoming imagined by Heraclitus, are inapprehensible, together with all the ancient oriental people, exerted lively influence over ancient art [...] Contemporary life found in an environment where the theory of natural sciences, on the one hand, returns to the limitless eternal becoming of the living universe, and philosophy, on the other, which instead of subduing nature to the individual, it disperses it to infinitude – Shelley, Goethe, Schopenhauer – prepared art for its return to variability (*το ευμετάβλητον*).⁴⁰ – Christian Zervos, 1914.

By the time Zervos arrived in Paris, in 1911, he was not acquainted with the latest developments in Parisian art. He even appears to ignore cubism in 1914, when he was still a student at the Sorbonne publishing an improvised journal - sold at 1,25 francs - which issued a single number, titled *Τέχνη και Ζωή* (Art and Life). The magazine was printed in Paris and included Greek texts on art, philosophy, sociology and religion, signed by Zervos and his Parisian circle of young Greek intellectuals. Zervos quit Paris with the outbreak of the Balkan Wars and moved to Athens in 1912, the year of the remarkable cubist Salon de la Section d'Or.⁴¹ He returned by the autumn of 1913. In his letter to the philologist Jean Psycharis, in November, Zervos mentioned his earlier attendance at university lectures, reporting his decision to quit his studies in Law, a direction imposed on him by his parents, turning to ancient

³⁹ The aphorism is attributed to Heraclitus but its meaning was derived from Plato's *Cratylus*. It is translated as 'everything flows.'

⁴⁰ X. Ζερβός, 'Μια μεγάλη γλυπτική τέχνη,' *Τέχνη και Ζωή*, 1914, pp. 13-14. 'Η ανησυχία του ανθρώπου ενώπιον της αεννάου μεταβολής των κόσμων και η παρατήρησις ότι εἶνε ασύλληπτοι αἱ μορφαὶ των πραγμάτων που κυλάνε μέσα εἰς τὸ ἀδιάκοπον ρεῦμα του αἰωνίου γίνεσθαι που ἐφ'αντάζετο ὁ Ἡράκλειτος, καὶ μαζί του ὅλοι οἱ ἀνατολικοὶ λαοί, ἐπέδρασαν ζωηρότατα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας τέχνης [...] Ἡ σύγχρονος ζωὴ, εὐρισκόμενῃ σ' ἓνα περιβάλλον, ὅπου ἡ μὲν θεωρία των φυσικῶν ἐπιστημῶν, ἐπανερχεται εἰς τὸ ἀνεὺ ορίων αἴνναον γίνεσθαι του ζωντανοῦ Σύμπαντος, ἡ δὲ φιλοσοφία ἀντὶ νὰ υποτάσῃ τὴν φύσιν εἰς τὸ ἀτόμον, τὸ διασκορπίζει μέσα εἰς τὸ Ἄπειρον – Σέλλευ, Γκαίτε, Σοπενάουερ – προετοίμασαν τὴν τέχνην διὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τῆς εἰς τὸ ευμετάβλητον.'

⁴¹ His connections with his compatriot Dimitris Galanis, who had participated at the cubist Salon, begin in the mid-1920s when Zervos worked with Morancé. Their correspondence includes formal letters, written mainly in French, which discuss the reproduction of the artist's works in Morancé's periodicals.

Greek and Byzantine philology.⁴² His early published texts evoke a certain preoccupation with the Philosophy of the Mind and his attachment to the Platonist body-mind dualism exemplified in the writings of Descartes. Zervos' faith in 'human intelligence' has to be combined with the Cartesian faith in consciousness/self-awareness, which was originally the Socratic γνώσις σαυτόν. He eventually submitted a thesis at the Sorbonne on the neo-Platonist philosopher Michel Psellos in 1918.⁴³ As a student, he wrote a short dissertation on the Alexandrian poet Constantinos Cavafis⁴⁴ and studies on Arab and Greek philosophy.⁴⁵

An early article on the Italian post-Impressionist sculptor Medardo Rosso is arguably revealing of Zervos' unfamiliarity with the cubist aesthetic. Considering the circumstances, it is unlikely that he had come across cubist works and quite impossible that he had seen the work of Picasso or Braque, artists that he subsequently championed. Zervos' information about modern French art appears by that time to have stopped at post-Impressionism. He considered in fact the period as a reversion to the variability of the Middle-Ages. Art, according to him, recaptured the aspect of movement that the classic aesthetic had previously expelled. What attracted Zervos to the work of Rosso was his love for life and his ability to discard the details for the benefit of the whole, similarly to the Greek artists of the 5th century.⁴⁶ The sculptor depicted modern life in its general effect. Zervos maintained that the period was transitional. The aspect of variability in impressionist art appeared to him as the most profound indication that the period was preparatory foretelling the emergence of something durable. Considering his professional connections with architects and decorators, it appears that Zervos became acquainted with cubism through his contact

⁴² C. Z. letter to Jean Psychari. 8, rue des Dames, Marie Sèvres, Ville d'Auray, Seine et Oise. Ms. 1833, ff. 135-138. Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de la Sorbonne, Paris.

⁴³ Christian Zervos, *Un philosophe néoplatonicien du XI^e siècle, Michel Psellos: sa vie, son œuvre, ses luttes philosophiques, son influence*, Paris, E. Leroux, 1919. See also Christine Angelidi, 'Observing, Describing and Interpreting Michael Psellos on Works of Ancient Art,' *Νέα Πόμψη: Rivista di recherche bizantinische* 2, 2005, pp. 227-242.

⁴⁴ C. Zervos, *Constantin Cavafis*, 17 f. n.d. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 217. Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Following Cavafis' death in 1933, Zervos published his poems (*Un de leurs dieux; Dans Le Havre; Les Rois d'Alexandrie; Les chevaux d'Achille; Ithaque*) in his new journal *14 rue Dragon* 3, May 1933, p. 5.

⁴⁵ C. Zervos, *Sur la possibilité de la conjonction ou de l'union de l'homme avec l'intellect actif et avec Dieu d'après Al Kindi, Al Farâbi Avicenne, Al Gazâli, Ibn Gebirol, Ibn Badja et Obn Thufail*, 74 f., n.d. and C. Zervos, *Les idées sociales du gnostique épiphane dans leurs rapport avec les doctrines philosophiques de la Grèce*, 12 f. n.d. and C. Zervos, *De Trebizonte à Metaponte et au-delà, suivi des petits poèmes*, 29f. n.d. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 217. Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁴⁶ X. Ζερβός, 'Μια μεγάλη γλυπτική τέχνη,' *Τέχνη και Ζωή*, 1914, p. 15.

with architecture and this is how he understood and interpreted the formalist aspects of the movement – a position sustained by Siegfried Giedion, the architectural historian of *Cahiers d'Art*. As was the case with the Purists, Zervos could not possibly have had a full picture of the development of cubism before the auction of Daniel-Henri Kahnweiler's estate between 1921 and 1923, which brought into light the most significant perhaps period of cubist art. Jean de Heer has observed that even the Purists, who had accused cubism of becoming too decorative, changed their appreciations after their involvement in the auction on behalf of the banker Raoul La Roche.⁴⁷

Zervos' aesthetic was not shaped in the Paris of the 1920s. This is what renders his early positions significant given they were in keeping with ideas developed around Europe at the turn of the century. In fact his early orientation was literary. He wrote a significant number of prose-poems and was part of the editorial board of three literary journals in Alexandria;⁴⁸ here the position he took with regards

⁴⁷ Jan de Heer, *The Architectonic Colour: Polychromy in the Purist Architecture of Le Corbusier*, 010 Publishers, 2009, p.124.

⁴⁸ Zervos was involved in the activities of the literary society Νέα Ζωή (New Life) founded in Alexandria in 1904. The society published the homonymous literary journal which adopted demotic Greek as its official language. In 1908, Zervos contributed to the magazine translations of two texts: Oscar Wilde's *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* and Frederic Mistral's *La Fin du Moissonneur*. He later followed Petros Magnis who departed from the board of the society in reaction to its purist regression. Magnis subsequently founded with Christian Zervos, Kostas Tsagkaradas, Dimitris Chrysanthis, Pilios Zagras, Nikos Nikolaidis and Aristos Maxouris, all working as commercial agents, the literary society *Σεράπιον* (Serapion) which published the homonymous journal. Zervos worked for the Salvagos commercial firm, owned by Konstantinos Salvagos, co-founder of the Bank of Alexandria together with Emmanuel Benakis and Ioannis Choremis. The *Σεράπιον* society's maxim which was printed on the magazine's front cover was: Two things – seems to me – will elevate us and will open the magic gate of our civilisation: Commerce and Art. Merchants have always been great artists/technicians.' *Σεράπιον* was printed in 750 copies, 600 of which were distributed to Greece, and published only 13 numbers between 1909 and 1910. Its content was more radical with regards to the language question than *Νουμάς* (Noumas), a journal of similar orientation published in Athens [Επιθεωρητής, 'Το Σεράπιον; Ο Νουμάς 356, 6 September 1909, p. 8.] Zervos published in *Σεράπιον* a significant number of prose-poems and literary reviews. His contributions however were strongly criticised namely by the poet of the Eptanesian School who declared his influence by the Romantic poet Giacomo Leopardi, Stefanos Martzokis. In his letter to the journal, Martzokis accused Zervos of partisanship and of inexperienced critical spirit which was otherwise excused by his young age, asking however the journal to omit his texts from its content. In 1911, Zervos became member of the editorial board and contributor to the Alexandrian journal *Γράμματα* (Letters). The same year he moved to Paris sending to Stefanos Pargas published material and ideas from foreign journals for reproduction in *Γράμματα*. His letters from Paris were sent in 1912, so that hypothetically Zervos left Alexandria in the autumn of 1911, returning to Athens in 1912 during the Balkan Wars. See also Δημήτριος Παντελοδήμος, *Τα Πραγματικά Αίτια Ιδρύσεως του ΣΕΡΑΠΙΟΥ και η Προσφορά του εις τα Αλεξανδρινά Γράμματα*, Αθήνα, 1974. Μανώλης Γιαλουράκης, 'Το Ανέκδοτο Καταστατικό του Περιοδικού Σεράπιον,' *Κριτικά Φύλλα* Α, 1971, pp. 340-344. Μανώλης Γιαλουράκης, 'Χρίστος Ζερβός,' *Κριτικά Φύλλα* Α, 1971, pp. 125-126. Τώνης Σπητέρης, 'Χριστιάν Ζερβός,' *Παγκόσμιο Βιογραφικό Λεξικό* 4, Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Αθηνών, 1985, pp. 9-10. Μαρία Ρώτα, *Το Περιοδικό Γράμματα της Αλεξάνδρειας*, διδακτορική διατριβή, Αθήνα, ΕΚΠΑ, 1994, pp. 43-44, 49-51, endnotes to part Δ quoting Zervos' correspondence with Pargas (Archive Στέφανος Πάργας, Ε.Α.Ι.Α.), pp. 14-17. In Greece, *Cahiers d'Art* was

to the language question in Greece was in support of the establishment of demotic Greek at the expense of the purist *katharevousa*. The latter stood for the eclectic mingling of ancient and demotic Greek. The former was the impulsive development of ancient Greek spontaneously adapted to modern living.⁴⁹ Zervos' views on this question evoke his rejection of artificial academicism for the benefit of spontaneous forms of expression. 'We are all obliged, he wrote, to direct the ideas of our epoch and not just sustain their distant impact.' Art and Life, he thought, should be considered as one and the same thing. 'No deed of human thought is viable unless it is in full accordance with the supreme laws of life.' His early texts include references to several philosophers, including the Austrian Theodor Gomperz, the German Georg Simmel, the French Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Georges Sorel, Etienne Bonnot de Condillac, and the Italian Vilfredo Pareto.⁵⁰

Zervos maintained that the deep and profound understanding of the epoch was the only way to realize that it is not substantially different from the greatest periods of humanity. In its most brave expressions, he wrote, human thought remains immutable and anonymous. However life finds its expression in the idea of the 'eternal becoming' which featured prominently in Homer's *Iliad*.⁵¹ Each century is not the

subsequently sold at Eleftheroudakis international bookstore in Athens. Among the Greek subscribers were Dimitris Pikionis, Angelos Sikelianos, and the father of Orestis Kanellis from the island of Lesbos, Tériade's birthplace. The literary magazine *Γράμματα* with which Zervos collaborated earlier in Alexandria signed sporadic subscriptions throughout the inter war years. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 6 – CA 15, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁴⁹ A brief account of the Greek language question is provided here by the Greek writer and diplomat Vassilis Vassilikos in one of the very few texts that mention Zervos' indirect involvement in the debate. The latter's preoccupation with the Greek language question was nonetheless more conscious and direct but unfortunately remains to this day under-investigated. Vassilikos wrote: 'From abroad Yannis Psycharis becomes the theorist of the movement; an extreme demoticist, he exaggerates to the point of fanaticism. In 1911 a civil war sparked off over the language; there are casualties: among these is the brother of Christian Zervos, later renowned as patron of the arts. The unfortunate consequence is that, with the October Revolution, the question of the language – until then simply a cultural issue – takes on a political complexion. The proponents of demotic become those of the left, those of purist language the reactionaries. Until, at the the end of the 70s, demotic Greek is established as the official language of education: scarcely within a few years demotic – spoken language is imposed as the official language of the state.' Vassilis Vassilikos, 'Antiquity Revisited,' *The Irish Review* 10, Spring 1991, p. 63. Tériade was also preoccupied with the Greek literary developments. In 1919, he published a series of poems in *Γράμματα* while his positions were clearly mirrored in his article on Jean Moréas. See Tériade, 'La Jeunesse de Moréas,' *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, 2 October 1926, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Editorial Note, 'Η Εποχή μας,' *Τέχνη και Ζωή*, 1914, pp. 1-2.

⁵¹ Zervos cites a few verses from *Iliad* (Book VI: 119-211) which are revealing of his faith in the notion of continuous 'renewal' which became the rallying cry of the new century: 'Like the generations of leaves are those of men. The wind blows and one year's leaves are scattered on the ground, but the trees bud and fresh leaves open when spring comes again. So a generation of men is born as another passes away.' Editorial Note, 'Η Εποχή μας,' *Τέχνη και Ζωή*, 1914, p. 2. The same verses are oftentimes inscribed in analyses that are part of the so-called generational studies. On the concept of

artist's creature, artists are creatures of their times, Zervos remarked in a text written at a young age in his hometown, Alexandria. 'Artists take the dominant stream of their epoch and make it subject to their personality, they subjectivize it.'⁵² Zervos' influence from naturalist philosophy and more particularly from the work of Lamarck is evident in his understanding of human evolution. 'Le milieu crée l'organe' he wrote quoting Lamarck and evoking the external influences on human psychology and thought as well as the reception of evolution in the mindset of the early 20th century.⁵³



1. The editorial board of the magazine *Γράμματα*, Alexandria, 1909 (Zervos is the standing figure on the left), E.L.I.A. Library, Athens.

By the mid-1920s, when he turned professionally to the domain of arts, Zervos had admitted the solid character of the cubist synthesis. The aspect of movement in contemporary art evoked Heraclitus' dictum 'everything flows' indicating the transition to something new and orderly. Cubism appeared to some observers as the first step towards greater achievements and Zervos sustained these views for quite some time. André de Ridder's *Le Genie du Nord*, published in 1925 in Antwerp, drew little attention from the contemporary French press. The book included essays

generation in Greek thought and its origins see Laura L. Nash, 'Concepts of Existence: Greek Origins of Generational Thought,' *Daedalus* 4, vol. 197, fall 1978, pp. 1-121.

⁵² Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Σημειώματα,' *Σεράπιον*, χρόνος Α, β', 1909, σελ. 120. 'Ο καλλιτέχνης λοιπόν παίρνει το κυρίαρχο ρεύμα της εποχής του και το κάνει υποταχτικό της προσωπικότητάς του το υποκειμενικοποιεί.'

⁵³ Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Σημειώματα,' *Σεράπιον*, χρόνος Α, β', 1909, σελ. 117..

previously published in the Belgian *Sélection* aiming to prompt Latin intelligence to benefit from the lively sources of septentrional instinct. Ridder literally argued that France should not claim autonomy in its artistic production throughout the centuries since foreign influence has always been central to its evolution. He proposed a synthetic style, similar to the one that marked the gothic period. The most interesting part of the book is Ridder's references to the fluidity and variability of contemporary art. Time, he wrote, 'has not yet come for us to sit on the comfortable throne of certitude, to repose on the pillow of categorical imperatives.'

The art of today does not have the power yet to be crystallised in clear formulas, in clearly defined precepts, in definitive conclusions. We are in full research; I will not stop repeating it, and the more we have searched, even without finding, the more we have established the new paths, looking at the signals and listening to the sirens calling us, even more we will have deserved a tomorrow. Perhaps we will succeed [...] in establishing an art that is wholly renewed, detached from all outdated formulas, and which will end up, a few decades or centuries from now, appearing as a new classicism, which is our own and properly belongs to us.⁵⁴

Ridder's remarks conceptualized ideas associated with the suppression of individualism for the benefit of collectivism, which were widespread in the early writings of Zervos through his contemplation of the universal. The Belgian author proposed collaboration through the mutual influence between France, with its inclination to the meridian spirit, and the North. The influence that these two distinct *états d'esprit* exerted over one another has always been reciprocal but now, he observed, it was time to acknowledge it and draw benefits from it. Zervos and Ridder reflect the uncommon cases of two 'peripheral cosmopolitans' coming to the modernist capital respectively from Greece and Belgium.⁵⁵ De Ridder was an author, literary critic⁵⁶ and professor of economics and statistics at the University of Ghent,

⁵⁴ André de Ridder, 'Le Génie du Nord I,' *Sélection* 1, November 1923, p.14. 'L'art d'aujourd'hui n'en est pas encore à pouvoir se cristalliser en formules claires, en préceptes nettement définis, en conclusions définitives. Nous sommes en pleine recherche, je ne cesserai de le répéter, et plus nous aurons cherché, même sans trouver, plus nous aurons battu les sentiers nouveaux, regardé les signaux qui nous font signe et écouté les sirènes qui nous appellent, plus aussi aurons-nous mérité de demain. Peut-être réussirons-nous, malgré tout, à fonder un art tout entier renouvelé, détaché à tout jamais des formules périmées et qui finira, d'ici quelques décades ou quelques siècles, par apparaître comme un classicisme nouveau, le notre qui nous appartient en propre.'

⁵⁵ The term 'peripheral cosmopolitan' is used here to indicate the geographical origins of the two critics, but more importantly to highlight the fact that they both shaped a cosmopolitan identity which was in keeping with the profile of Paris as an international capital but was shaped independently in the periphery.

⁵⁶ André de Ridder, *La Littérature Flamande Contemporaine (1890-1923)*, Anvers and Paris : E. Champion, 1923.

publishing Belgian chronicles in French magazines since the early 1920s.⁵⁷ In 1920 he launched, in collaboration with Paul-Gustave van Hecke, the revue *Sélection* which championed Flemish avant-garde art - mainly surrealism and expressionism, but also cubism.⁵⁸

The interesting part in *Sélection* is its editors' persistence in tracing the roots of Belgian expressionism in France and not in Germany, demonstrating - under the influence of Paris - a certain interest in primitivism. Essential parts of their aesthetic views were in keeping with Zervos' overall conception of art as a 'cosmic,' 'universal' phenomenon.⁵⁹ Zervos was acquainted with the writings of Belgian authors since his early years in Alexandria, when he translated texts by the poet-essayist Maurice Maeterlinck and the art historian Hippolyte Fierens-Gevaert, father of his future collaborator on *Cahiers d'Art* Paul Fierens. Presumably Zervos had read Fierens-Gevaert's *Nouveaux Essais sur l'Art Contemporain*, which influenced his aesthetic positions.⁶⁰ *Sélection* published texts by several Parisian critics such as Florent Fels and Waldemar George but also Léonce Rosenberg. Salmon had his own regular column titled 'Les Arts à Paris' and played a significant role in the publication of the literary periodical *Signaux de France et de Belgique*. Ridder underlined the threat of neo-classicism in his texts in his attempt to furnish a model for the creation of a new classic order stemming from the successful mingling of French rationalism and Flemish expressionism. His writings were supportive of those French or Belgian artists who achieved a combination of the two. Despite his early interest in Lhote and Le Fauconnier, Ridder later turned to Dufy and Kisling who were closer to what he described as figurative expressionism. The magazine later embraced - the same as *Cahiers d'Art* - the abstractions of Kandinsky and Mondrian, while Zervos played a role in the exchange of photographs for reproduction in *Sélection*.

⁵⁷ De Ridder published a book on the cubist Henri Le Fauconnier in 1919 and maintained close connections with Ossip Zadkine, Lhote and the Belgian painter James Ensor to whom he devoted three monographs between 1929 and 1931. André de Ridder, *Le Fauconnier*, Brussels: Editions de l'Art Libre, 1919. André de Ridder, *André Lhote*, Amsterdam: Van Munster, 1931. *James Ensor*, Paris: Ed. Rieder, 1930. *Ossip Zadkine, Lettres à André de Ridder*, Anvers: Librairie des Arts, 1963. *James Ensor, Lettres à André de Ridder*, Anvers: Librairie des arts, 1960.

⁵⁸ Virginie Devillez, 'Les Peintres Belges dans la Tourmente. Du Krach économique à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale,' *Bijdragen tot de Eigentijdse Geschiedenis* 2, 1997, pp. 35-66.

⁵⁹ Francis Mus and Hans Vandevoorde, 'Streetscape of new districts permeated by the fresh scent of cement: Brussels, the Avant-Garde, and Internationalism,' *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vol. III, Europe 1880-1940, eds. P. Brooker, S. Bru, A. Thacker, Ch. Weilop, Oxford University Press, 2013, 355. See also Paul Hadernann, 'Les Métamorphoses de Sélection et la Propagation de l'Expressionisme en Belgique,' in Jean Weisgerber (ed.) *Les Avant-Gardes littéraires en Belgique*, Brussels: Labor, 1991, pp. 241-274.

⁶⁰ Hippolyte Fierens-Gevaert, *Nouveaux Essais sur l'Art Contemporain*, Paris: F. Alcan, 1903.

Zervos was unconcerned with ephemeral solutions in art. He supported inventions of long-standing impact and it was under these terms that he understood and interpreted cubism. He was in fact sympathetic to the periods of transition, such as the years that preceded and succeeded cubism. The mechanist aesthetic⁶¹ was symptomatic of the mentality of the century but Zervos declined its romanticised adaptation to painting. The aspect of functionalism was central to his appreciations. The investigations of modern artists, he wrote, are increasingly influenced by forms invented by engineers, who are the only true creators of new lines and modern proportions capable of giving decorative art a universal value.⁶² ‘This is how will be materialised the desire of the old Bramante, who was dreaming of an art that did not consider at all the individual, the race, the climate.’⁶³ Zervos thought that the new century could set the foundations for a true ‘Renaissance’ to take place, the one that ‘gives our artists the principle to establish a measure that determines the relations among forms placing them in reference to each other in mutual dependence.’⁶⁴

Zervos was in search of a new plastic order whose integrity, authenticity, and equilibrium would be granted as classic by the generations to come – classic in its encompassing of universal ideas. These views are comparable to the *Retour à l’Ordre* concept which mirrored the fragmentation that accompanied the Great War but was retrogressive in its norms. Zervos advocated the invention of an order exempt from pre-established formulas. He did not however reject the past. His admiration for ancient and primitive cultures was the result of scientific and historical stimuli that justified his polymath aspirations. His views were in keeping with Fierens-Gevaert’s assertion that ‘our love is not addressed to the antiquity of a work, but on the contrary to the youth of an art [...] *Archéophylie* is not our passion.’⁶⁵ Order was understood

⁶¹ See Nina Rosenblatt, ‘Empathy and Anaesthesia: On the Origins of a French Machine Aesthetic,’ *Grey Room* 2, 2001, pp. 78-97.

⁶² Christian Zervos, ‘Réflexions d’Auguste Perret sur l’Architecture,’ *Les Arts de la Maison*, printemps – été, 1924, p. 16. Zervos did not entirely subscribe to the dream of the machine age. He explained: ‘il ne faut pas oublier que l’admirable finalité qui s’inscrit dans une belle machine, la parfaite cohésion de toutes ses parties, ne suffisent pas à créer la beauté. La machine ne saurait être placée qu’au premier échelon de nos réalisations, car la vérité des choses nous touché par le besoin, celle de l’art nous intéresse par le beau. Ainsi une automobile n’est pas belle par la perfection de sa mécanique. Il faut encore qu’il y ait arrangement, accord parfait et entière correspondance entre la carrosserie et la mécanique, que l’esprit ait pénétré dans la chose. Par là seulement nous imitons la véritable harmonie qui, elle-même, n’existe nullement en image.’

⁶³ See G. Remon, ‘Doctrines d’Art,’ *La Lanterne*, Jeudi 17 janvier 1924, p. 3.

⁶⁴ Christian Zervos, ‘Essai sur la Décoration d’aujourd’hui,’ *Les Arts de la Maison*, automne/hiver 1923, pp. 13-18.

⁶⁵ Hippolyte Fierens-Gevaert, *Nouveaux Essais sur l’Art Contemporain*, Paris : F. Alcan, 1903, pp. 19-191.

by Zervos as the prerequisite of civilisation. He traced an inherent inclination to order, as we shall see, in French culture. Zervos did not interpret modernist phenomena as results of virgin birth. Artists, he maintained, ought to accept and develop the lesson of the past, combining objective knowledge and subjective observation. Artistic evolution was interpreted in terms of Isaac Newton's laws of action and reaction. The masterpiece, he wrote, constitutes an exception since in this case reaction is not equal to action with its effect being disproportional to the stimulus. He accepted Hippolyte Taine's appreciation that it is possible to create masterpieces not only based on classic standards but also on counterstandards, but declined his assertion that this could even be achieved with no standards at all. Those who dream of a prototypal art liberated from the past, he ironically affirmed, should wait for Nietzsche's *Übermensch* to open the new road.⁶⁶

In an early essay on the Greek poet Cavafis that he probably submitted as a degree assessment to the Sorbonne, Zervos explained that throughout time humans conserved the memory of the past but being unaware of the evolution of forms of life they imagined anterior epochs as being similar to their own. They represented ancient life, language, images and architecture according to the taste of their times. But today, he added, this historical lack of curiosity has disappeared with the development of new sciences such as archaeology, ethnography, numismatics, sigilography, philology and epigraphy. 'In this movement of universal curiosity almost all the manifestations of human spirit carry the influence of this century of science and erudition.' Even poetry, he argued, conformed to the epoch with the list of the erudite poets-philosophers getting longer after Leconte de Lisle and Sully Prudhomme.⁶⁷ Zervos' interest in archaeology went hand in hand with a transparent admiration for pre-historic art which was conceived as a spontaneous and anonymous positioning of the individual in reference to the universe. Zervos established contacts with pre-classic art later in his career. He traced in primitive works a pure architectonic conception which was viewed as an instinctive inclination to order. Primitive art and artefacts played a dominant role in the shaping of his rehabilitating aesthetic for modern art. In his understanding of cubism, particularly, his appreciations need to be viewed through the

⁶⁶ Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Σημειώματα,' *Σεράπιον* Ε', May 1909, pp. 156-162.

⁶⁷ Christian Zervos, *Constantin Cavafis*, 17f. n.d. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 217. Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

prism of Neo-Platonism. Zervos' admiration for the cubist synthesis resides in that he saw in it a sincere effort in western art to be reconciled with human instinct.

The interesting point with Zervos and Ridder's views lies in that they were shaped at a decade's distance from one another. The new classicism that Ridder anticipated in 1924 had been contemplated by Zervos in 1914, a fact that distinguishes their appreciations. Although Zervos' early texts pointed to a cultural renaissance of the Hellenic civilisation, he gradually adopted a nation-less approach in his anticipation of a new classicism. In fact his aesthetic was subsequently enriched by the study of the Purist and De Stijl theories, and particularly the writings of Van Doesburg.⁶⁸ In his 1918 remarks, the Dutch artist maintained that the possibility of a new style resides uniquely in the harmonic relation between the particular and the general. The evolution of art towards the abstract - the universal – furnished the occasion, he wrote, for a collective style extending beyond the individual and the national.⁶⁹

By founding *Cahiers d'Art* in 1926, Zervos did not seek, as Rosenberg did two years earlier, to perpetuate or re-interpret the cubist aesthetic. He rather tried to register its influence at the time when Rosenberg was preoccupied with demonstrating that after a long transitional period, cubism was reaching its synthetic destination, interpreting the passage from individual to collective, in terms of analysis and synthesis.⁷⁰ *Cahiers d'Art* published texts *d'actualité artistique* and not recycled cubist-centred theories and mechanist art as was the case with the *Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne*. The movement was treated as a single expression of a general phenomenon, a symptom of the era it belonged to. Although being highly didactic in his articles, Zervos opened a broad discussion that questioned the future of modern art 'après le cubisme' and not a utopian forum for a circle of cubist artists-aestheticians who sought to theorise its principles, as was the case with the *héroïque phalange* of Gleizes, Metzinger, Severini, Lhote and even Léger. Rosenberg demonstrated a keen interest in the mechanist aesthetic in painting, to which Zervos remained indifferent.

Cahiers d'art, although it championed the pre-war cubist pantheon Picasso-Braque-Léger-Gris, may be viewed today as a magazine created at the moment when cubism started entering its historical era, aiming to report its evolution internationally,

⁶⁸ Texts that he could easily find in the *Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne* and *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'Hui*.

⁶⁹ Theo Van Doesburg (1918), 'Vers un Style Collectif,' *Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne* 4, 1924, p. 16.

⁷⁰ A synthesis in terms of the principles of the mechanist aesthetic.

to appraise its impact, but mainly to influence its course.⁷¹ However Zervos' expectations from the new generation of artists were soon to prove delusive, with him appearing unable to escape from being categorical and often dogmatic. Unlike Zervos, who saw cubism as a striking sign that foretold the invention of a new order, Lhote maintained his loyalty to the formula of Cézanne who, he thought, 'has defined painting for a century or two, and perhaps for longer still.' Lhote responded with hesitation to any violent rupture with the past while he preferred neo- to post- when he referred to modern movements – notably cubism - in his writings. Cubism, he thought, had a long way to go until it reached its end. The artist maintained that 'to desire to discover a definitive formula too soon would be to confuse death with stability, and not to understand that the intoxication one experiences in constructing a work of art has after all some resemblance to a departure for distant adventures.'⁷²

Zervos was well-disposed to Purism and paid close attention to the views initially expressed by Loos⁷³ (*Ornament and Crime*, 1908) and subsequently developed by – *les frères siamois du Purisme*⁷⁴ - Ozenfant and Le Corbusier in *L'Esprit Nouveau*.⁷⁵ The magazine defined the early identity of *Cahiers d'Art* while similar views were moderately diffused to the Greek press by Tériade.⁷⁶ The controversial Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau⁷⁷ at the 1925 Paris Exposition des Arts Décoratifs proved to be fundamental to motivating Zervos' decision to quit *Les Arts de la Maison*⁷⁸ and found *Cahiers d'Art*, the greatest part of which was devoted to art, architecture and archaeology. To better illustrate Zervos' positions it is pertinent to consider the articles signed by the Belgian artist Marcel Baugniet published by Rosenberg in 1925. The artist advocated the social/utilitarian as opposed to the universal/intellectual role of cubism.

⁷¹ Cf. Christopher Green, *Cubism and its Enemies, Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-1928*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 106.

⁷² André Lhote, 'The Two Cubisms I,' *The Athenaeum*, 23 April 1920, pp.547-8.

⁷³ For the connection of Le Corbusier's ideas with those expressed by Loos see Stanislaus von Moos, Margaret Sobiesky, 'Le Corbusier and Loos,' *Assemblage* 4, 1987, pp. 24-37.

⁷⁴ Pierre Villoteau, 'Plastique,' *L'Essor* 14-15, January-February 1922, p. 46.

⁷⁵ About the magazine see Stanislaus von Moos (ed.), *L'Esprit Nouveau. Le Corbusier et l'Industrie (1920-1925)*, Zurich: Museum fur Gestaltung-Wilhelm Ernst&Sohn Verlag, 1987.

⁷⁶ E. Ελευθεριάδης, 'Μια Βιεννέζικη Παρέα (Πιέτερ Αλτενμπεργ - Adolphe Loos),' *Πρόοδος*, 8 August 1926, n.p.

⁷⁷ Tag Gronberg, 'The Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau,' *Oxford Art Journal* 2, vol. 15, 1992, pp. 58-69.

⁷⁸ Christian Zervos, 'Essais sur la décoration d'aujourd'hui,' *Les Arts de la Maison* (Winter 1923) 19-28.

Cubism: Aesthetic and Social Synthesis

Our entire modern civilisation sublimely triumphs in the utilisation of the materials, the captivation of natural forces, and we will define it with the characteristics already employed by Marxist sociologists: technical, mechanical, industrial.⁷⁹

– Paul Dermée, 1920

Cubism itself still constitutes the tragic image of a transitional epoch.⁸⁰

– J.J.P. Oud, 1923.

Bagniet was influenced by Purism and abstraction, which were fathered by cubism. The Belgian artist was discontented with the unfavourable reception of the movement arguing that this hostility was prompted by artists working outside its sphere of influence and the so-called *petit-amateurs*. The general public due to its failure to understand the cubist principle was indifferent to it, turning it into an object of sarcasm and laughter. Bagniet addressed his polemic to painters that declared the death of cubism and to a circle of critics and magazines that supported these ideas. Now that cubism had its own discussion board, Rosenberg's *Bulletin*, it was time to put things straight. 'Cubism cannot be dead,' he wrote, 'since its complete evolution has not been yet accomplished. Cubism will probably die one day, this is also possible, but not before having its work done.'⁸¹ The most interesting part of this text is to be traced in its contemplation of a social synthesis of cubism through its connection with architecture and decoration. However, it is not clear whether he advocates the 'equality of consumers' as Roger Marx did earlier in his discussion of the social role of decorative art.⁸² The ideas aired in Bagniet's essays were reminiscent of Le Corbusier's *Vers une Architecture*. Bagniet thought that the 'need for optical illusion is symptomatic of the mindset of the century pushing the bourgeois

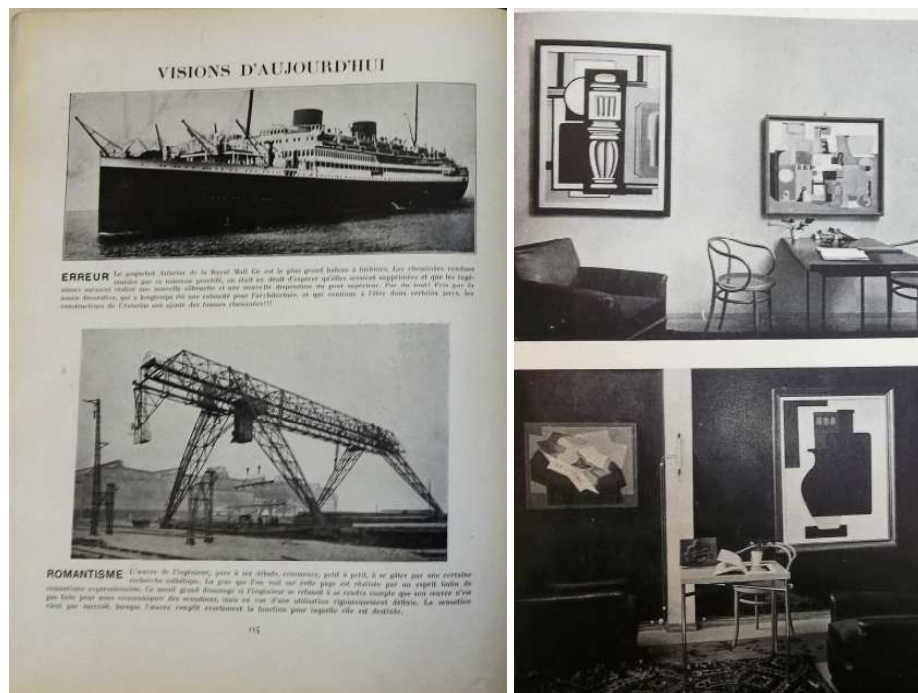
⁷⁹ Paul Dermée, 'Découverte du Lyrisme,' *L'Esprit Nouveau* 1, 1920, p. 29. 'Toute notre civilisation moderne triomphe merveilleusement dans l'utilisation de la matière, dans la captation des forces de la nature, et l'on pourrait la définir par les caractéristiques déjà employées par les sociologues marxistes: mécanique, machiniste et industrielle.'

⁸⁰ J. J. P. Oud, 'L'Architecture de demain et ses possibilités architectoniques,' *Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne* 4, 1924, p.5. 'Cubisme lui-même constitue encore l'image tragique d'une époque de transition'.

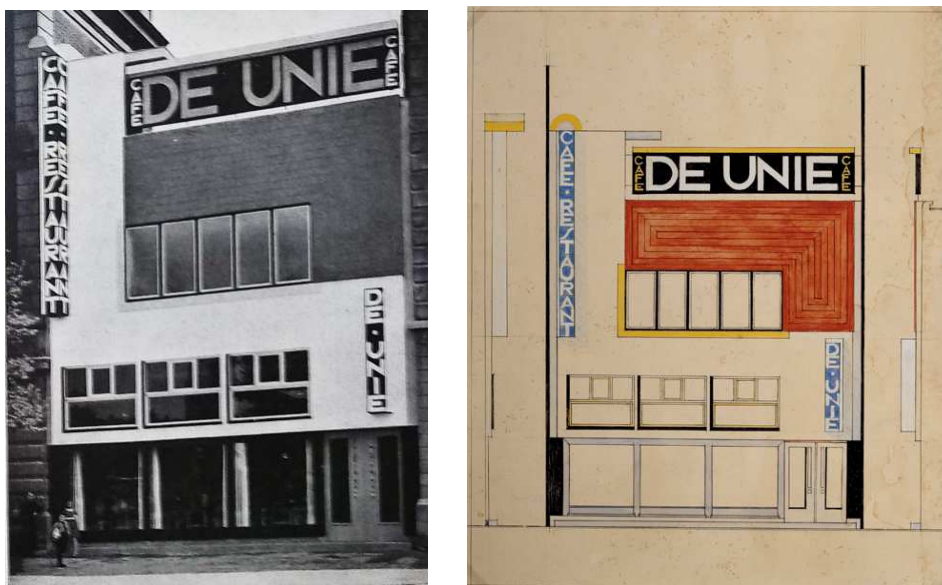
⁸¹ Marcel Bagniet, 'Vers une Synthèse esthétique et sociale,' *Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne* 17 July 1925, p. 3.

⁸² Roger Marx, 'De l'art social et de la nécessité d'en assurer le progrès par une Exposition,' *Idées Modernes* 1, 1909, pp. 46-57. For an extensive discussion see Simon Dell, 'The Consumer and the Making of the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes,' *Journal of Design History* 4, vol. 12, 1999, p. 313 (311-325).

to produce marble imitations on his corridor walls in order to give, if he is not rich, at least the illusion that he is. Cubism is inclined to remove from art what is fake, artificial, easy.’⁸³



2. 'Visions d'Aujourd'hui,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5, 1926, p 114.
3. Interior ensembles by Ozenfant and Le Corbusier, *Cahiers d'Art* 6, 1926.



4. J. J. P. Oud, *Café De Unie* façade, Rotterdam, 1925, *Cahiers d'Art* 6, 1926.
5. J. J. P. Oud, *Café de Unie*, Rotterdam, 1925, Paris, MNAM.

⁸³ Marcel Baugniet, 'Vers une Synthèse esthétique et sociale,' *Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne* 17 July 1925, p. 2.

Similar views appeared in the first numbers of *Cahiers d'Art* but were not cubist-oriented. Zervos condemned the aesthetic that favoured fake representations of outdated models in contemporary engineering. In a page titled 'Visions d'Aujourd'hui,' he published two photographs condemning *la manie décorative* and *le romantisme expressioniste*. The first example concerned the British Royal Mail ship *Asturias*, the biggest of its kind to operate with turbines. The engineer of the new model, Zervos reported, instead of removing the chimneys that henceforth were useless, added fake chimneys to remain faithful to the ship's standard outline. Similar practices were commonplace in architecture and engineering. A second picture reproduced a tow track whose form was the result of the engineer's *recherche d'esthétique*. The error in this romanticised expression in engineering was that it mainly focused on the aesthetic output of its design, rather than the accurate execution of the function it was designed to serve (**Plate 2**). These views can not but reflect the prominence of pragmatism in contemporary thinking and are comparable to the ideas contemplated in Bagniet's article.

Pure plasticity, viewed through the pragmatist lens of William James,⁸⁴ liberated artists from the burden of aristocratic expression (easel painting) making them realize the artisanal nature of their work. The error into which most artists fell, Bagniet wrote evoking the writings of William Morris, was the illusion that by working on canvas they became superior to what they really were, artisans. Artists have to accept their true nature and transfer the lesson of cubism to everyday life. Cubism is interpreted here as the only pictorial equivalent to architectural synthesis. The lesson of cubism is purely functional serving as a reaction against the useless illusionistic decoration. Unlike romantic artists, who declared war against the machine instead of turning it into an ally and whose aristocratic theory of *l'art pour l'art* kept them isolated from society, the cubists deliberately accepted both the positivist and the social role of art turning their interest to the minor arts that had previously fallen into decadence.

The cubist spirit aims at reconstituting the minor arts giving artists their true and much more reasonable artisanal value expressed without distinction in a vase, a piece of furniture, a poster or stained glass. The first condition of a canvas is to be well-

⁸⁴ Cf. Eliza Reilly, 'Concrete Possibilities: William James and the European Avant-Garde,' *Streams of William James* 3, vol.3, 2000, pp. 22-29.

balanced (*équilibré*); not only in its own elements, but also in reference to everything that surrounds it.⁸⁵

The close connection of cubism with architecture features here as the most clear demonstration of the movement's social function. Although architecture, he observed, is generally restricted to pre-established urban standards seeking to conform to the functionalism of the whole. Interior architecture, according to Baugniet, is more independent in bearing the mark of the inhabitant and capable of giving an individualised interpretation of form which is nonetheless adapted to the indispensable order of utility and pragmatism. 'It is form and not ornament that creates style.' A canvas contributes to the function of the whole whose conception is *a priori* monumental. It obtains immediate value only when it is positioned in the right place and in conjunction to the whole. Forms, lines, and colours conform to the general effect. Eventually the canvas becomes part of a different whole – a room – and contributes to its functionalism through its harmonic conjunction with the other forms that surround it (furniture etc.)

The transformation of society was the Modern Movement's major preoccupation in the European context. To Zervos this was an opportune occasion for the reconciliation of Art with Life which led to an introduction to the *Art de Vivre* and the new role shaped for the modern house as a *machine à habiter* - tasks undertaken by *L'Esprit Nouveau*.⁸⁶ Zervos did not however see cubist painting as a decorative substitute but rather acknowledged its intellectual function. The social role of cubism, as explained by Baugniet, was in fact a misinterpretation of what Ozenfant and Le Corbusier described in their writings as the purist aesthetic. It was to a great extent a subjectified understanding of Le Corbusier's architectural *ensembles* which were the result of communal effort and collaboration.⁸⁷ Baugniet isolated certain purist concepts such as the persistence in functionalism for the benefit of comfortable living, and the general urge for total transformation. But in *La Peinture Moderne* (1925) the Purists reflected on the status of contemporary painting at the moment when its

⁸⁵ Marcel Baugniet, 'Vers une Synthèse esthétique et sociale,' *Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne* 17 July 1925, p. 5. 'L'esprit cubiste tend à réhabiliter les arts mineurs et à rendre à l'artiste sa véritable et combine plus logique valeur d'artisan s'exprimant indistinctement dans une vase, dans une meuble, dans une affiche, ou dans un vitrail. La première condition d'un tableau est d'être équilibré, non seulement dans des éléments propres, mais par rapport à tout ce qu'il entoure.'

⁸⁶ Iuliana Roxana Vicovanu, *L'Esprit Nouveau (1920-1925) and the shaping of modernism in the France of the 1920s*, Ph.D thesis, John Hopkins University, 2009. See also Amédée Ozenfant, *Art*,

⁸⁷ Cf. Christopher Green, *Cubism and its Enemies: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art: 1916-1928*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, pp.143-167.

utilitarian tenor has been dismantled. Unlike Bagniet, the Purists declared that ‘the artisans of the past were not artists, but primitive machines.’⁸⁸ Now that real machines undertook their work, it remains for art to commit itself to satisfying ‘the superior needs of our senses and of our spirit.’⁸⁹ Painting was perceived by the Purists as a highly idealized procedure which involved the concepts of plasticity and lyricism, terms that dominated the content of *Cahiers d’Art*. Its commitment to be set in the service of the modern human was reduced to the needs of the intellect. Zervos widely accepted the purist aspects of plasticity (form) and lyricism (expression). Human civilisation he declared in 1926, through the oft-quoted example of ancient Greece, was based on mathematic poetry without being limited to scientific conception. He maintained that the Renaissance spirit destroyed ancient lyricism perpetuating its false influence in the western world. French lyricism found its most powerful expression in Romanesque architecture. The same aspect, he observed, re-emerged in Latin civilisation through Henri Poincaré’s *poésie des nombres*.⁹⁰

The extent to which Zervos was concerned with the social aspects of art remains obscure at this phase of his career. His early involvement with politics in Alexandria and his subsequent contact with Mesnil, a Belgian anarchist-communist art historian, could arguably cast light on the ideological basis of his understanding of architecture.⁹¹ Zervos became acquainted with his writings through the international magazine of sociology, arts, letters and science, *La Société Nouvelle*, published in Paris and Brussels since 1894 by Fernand Brouez. The magazine became the meeting point of several - but not limited to - Belgian anarchists with a strong attraction to

⁸⁸ Ozenfant and Jeanneret, *La Peinture Moderne*, Paris: Crès, 1925, p. 7.

⁸⁹ Ozenfant and Jeanneret, *La Peinture Moderne*, Paris: Crès, 1925, p. 8.

⁹⁰ Christian Zervos, ‘Lyrisme Contemporain,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 2, 1926, pp. 36-37. ‘La culture française, par exemple, lyrique à ses débuts – les architectures romaines en sont le beau témoignage – a vu ses qualités de poésie supplantées pour la mesure, la logique et le bon sens, qui ne sont pas des qualités suffisantes pour la grande création. Il faut à cela les élans enthousiastes, les hardiesses générales, les aventures les plus inouïes de l’esprit. De nos jours le lyrisme a reparu, pour la seconde fois, dans la civilisation latine, dans les spéculations du plus grand lyrique des temps modernes: Henri Poincaré. Par lui l’ingénieur a subi dans son inconscient la poésie des nombres. Bien que ramenée au domaine de la construction, cette poésie a conservé quelques-unes de ses qualités essentielles [...] l’œuvre de l’ingénieur ne saurait se confondre ni se comparer avec les créations de l’artiste. Car, si le lyrisme de Poincaré dépasse en portée tous les lyrismes, même celui de la musique, le lyrisme de l’ingénieur reste fonctionnel.’

⁹¹ For a brief appreciation of Mesnil’s writing see Michela Passini, *La Fabrique de l’Art National: Le Nationalisme et les Origines de l’Histoire de l’Art en France et en Allemagne (1870-1933)*, Paris: Ed. de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 2013, pp. 204-206.

colinsisme.⁹² Although Zervos does not generally appear to have been influenced by the positions expressed in this publication, he refers to the magazine while citing an article by the Belgian architect and painter Henry van de Velde,⁹³ who had exerted considerable influence over his early writings on architecture and decoration.⁹⁴ The influence of van de Velde's essays is equally present in Baugniet's text notably in his discussion of easel painting and his effort to interpret the canvas not as an autonomous work of art, but as an object whose function is dependent on the *ensemble* that surrounds it – a practice pioneered by van de Velde in his interior decorations. In fact, Baugniet's interpretation of easel painting was in stark contrast to Rosenberg's role as a *marchand de tableaux* (his articles were published in his bulletin), while part of this critique was obliquely addressed to the latter and his business which specialised in exalting individualism – a position that Zervos would subsequently adopt. Rosenberg would later acknowledge that the role of cubism was to rescue the individual from 'imitation and individualist sentimental anarchy.' Like primitive painters, contemporary artists regained their dignity by standing behind and not in front of their *tableaux*.⁹⁵

L'Esprit Nouveau ceased its publication in 1925 when its Purist founders parted ways. Ozenfant contributed to Rosenberg's *Bulletin* extensive articles 'Sur les Écoles cubistes et post-cubistes' published together with Oud's comments on architecture and texts by Léger, Severini, Gleizes, Metzinger, Mondrian, Herbin, but also Raynal and Pierre Reverdy, well-known cubist champions. While *L'Esprit Nouveau* has been identified as a publication that sought to highlight the French aspects of cubism,⁹⁶ Zervos envisaged a magazine that would report on its international impact, covering the entire spectrum of the avant-garde manifestations of his time as the first ten issues of *Cahiers d'Art* informed the readers. Zervos managed to create a publication that continued the work initiated by *L'Esprit Nouveau* with a profound interest in the simultaneous developments in art and architecture. Up to

⁹² A marginalised leftist doctrine often referred to as rational socialism which derived its name from its founder, the Belgian Jean-Guillaume Hyppolyte Colins de Ham. See Marc Angenot, *Colins et le socialisme rationnel*, Toulouse: P.U.M., 1999.

⁹³ See Henry van de Velde, 'Déblaiement d'art,' *La Société Nouvelle* 10, 1894, pp. 444-456 and 'Prédication d'Art,' *La Société Nouvelle* 12, 1896, pp. 54-65.

⁹⁴ Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Σημειώματα,' *Σεράπιον*, Α, β, 1909, p. 162.

⁹⁵ Tériade, 'Nos Enquêtes : Entretiens avec Léonce Rosenberg,' *Feuilles Volantes* 6, 1927, p.2.

⁹⁶ François-René Martin, 'La France Eternelle dans l'Esprit Nouveau. Questions d'Historiographie et de Nationalisme,' Rossella Froissart Pezone, Yves Chevretil Desbiolles (eds.), *Les revues d'art, Formes, stratégies et réseaux au XXe siècle*, Rennes : P.U.R., 2011, pp. 227-239.

1925, Purism encouraged the understanding of cubism in reference to interior design, as Bagniet previously argued. However Zervos appeared less preoccupied with the social effects of architecture or perhaps he was to the extent that it communicated the mentality of its times. In the first number of *Cahiers d'Art*, he presented the new aesthetic in pictures, publishing images of the interior of two rooms decorated according to the principles of Purism – one of which was a view of the interior of the 1925 Esprit Nouveau Pavilion including works by Léger (*The Baluster*) and Le Corbusier (*Nature Morte du Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau*) - (**Plate 3**), and the façade of a coffee shop in Amsterdam which, he explained, was conceived by J.J.P. Oud as a poster and was in keeping with the colour theories of De Stijl (**Plate 4-5**).

These images, together with the richly illustrated commentaries on architecture that Zervos regularly published, turned *Cahiers d'Art* into a competent successor to its Purist progenitor. Disdain for surrealism was something that both magazines shared in common since the publication of the movement's first manifesto in 1924.⁹⁷ The difference between the two magazines notably lies in their 'methodological' orientation and needs to be understood in terms of the distinction between the aesthetician and the Platonist thinker. Initially published as a 'Revue Internationale d'esthétique,' *L'Esprit Nouveau* was primarily concerned with presenting art as both action and knowledge. The explanation and theorisation of the purist aesthetic was central to its analyses. Zervos was preoccupied with aesthetics before the publication of *Cahiers d'Art*, the early orientation of which sought – like the late issues of *L'Esprit Nouveau* - to report on contemporary manifestations of human thought compared to archetypical models of expression under the latent influence of neo-Platonism.⁹⁸

Plasticity and *lyricism* were terms originally introduced by *L'Esprit Nouveau*, notably in the writings of Paul Dermée, Ozenfant and Le Corbusier.⁹⁹ Zervos'

⁹⁷ Zervos maintained his lack of faith to the movement until the late 1920s, before turning into a surrealist ally in the decades to come.

⁹⁸ Susan Ball, *Ozenfant and Purism: The Evolution of a Style, 1915-1930*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981. On the neo-Platonist and Machine art aesthetic between the wars see Jennifer Jane Marshall, 'In Form We Trust: Neoplatonism, the Gold Standard, and the Machine Art Show, 1934,' *The Art Bulletin* 4, vol. 90, December 2008, pp. 597-615. Zervos' attraction to both schools of thought is evident in his early writings, notably in his 1910 Greek translation of the text of the French anthropologist, Charles Letourneau (1831-1902), titled 'Two Schools', which presented in the form of a 'Socratic Dialogue' the differences between the Platonist and the aesthetician. Charles Letourneau, trans. X. Ζερβός, 'Δυο Σχολεία,' *Σεράπιον*, 30 January 1910, pp. 34-41.

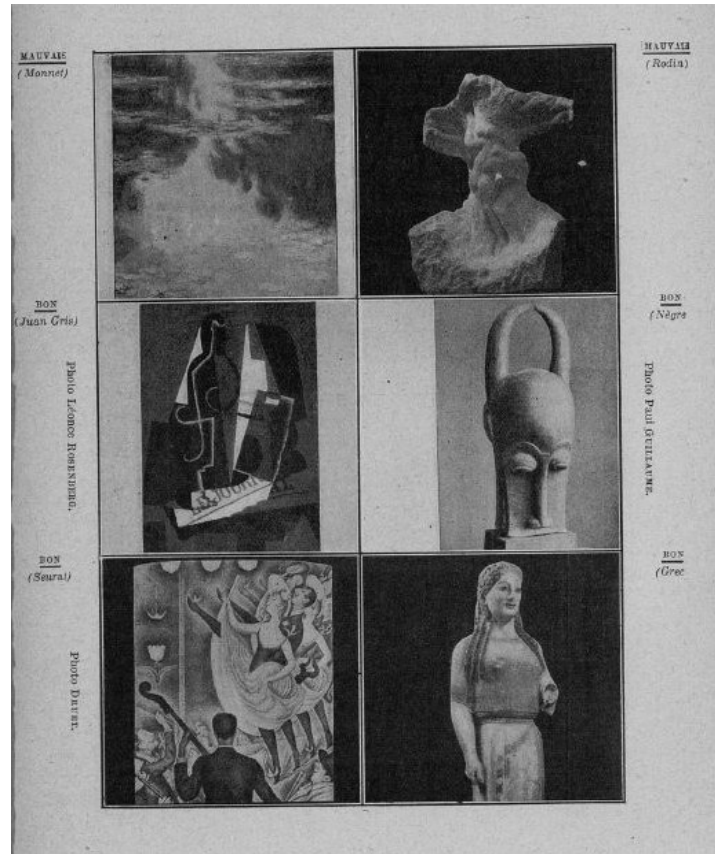
⁹⁹ Paul Dermée, 'Découverte du Lyrisme,' *L'Esprit Nouveau* 1, 1920, p. 29-37. A. Ozenfant et Ch.-E. Jeanneret, 'Sur la Plastique,' *L'Esprit Nouveau* 1, 1920, p. 38-48.

understanding of these terms was formalist. Dermée interpreted lyricism in terms of automatism, of action driven by instinct, a definition closely associated with surrealism. Zervos adapted the term to his writings to describe the poetic values of contemporary art. Under the influence of surrealism, he later combined the aspects of poetry and lyricism to underline the spontaneity of the creative process. Plasticity was a term that *Cahiers d'Art* adopted with enthusiasm. Considering the Greek definition of the word, it is evident that Zervos and Tériade used the term to refer to the shaping, creation, giving form to ideas. Both terms were associated with the creative process and found equivalents in poetry and music. Though the term better applied to sculpture than painting, an illustration in *L'Esprit Nouveau* offered enlightening examples of the way plasticity found its expression in both media. Impressionism, as represented by Monet and Rodin, totally lacked the aspect of plasticity in both painting and sculpture due to its fluid and amorphous formal aspects. Gris' cubist composition was compared to an African figurine and Seurat's *Le Chahut* to an archaic Greek *Kore* (**Plate 6**), both epitomising plasticity in painting.

An independent publication, *Cahiers d'Art* adopted a critical position towards the French establishment supporting independent art and taking the side of less-privileged artists. Zervos embraced the young generation of artists working in Paris and abroad turning his publication into a precious ally for foreign artists who sought their establishment in the Parisian art scene. The magazine's support for the Spaniards was explicit, notably because of Picasso. Zervos warmly supported the group of young Spanish artists (Francisco Borès, Ismael de la Serna, Pancho Cossio, Joaquin Peinado, Manolo, Mateo Hernandez, and Hernando Viñes) that frequented the studios of Gris, Gargallo, González and Picasso.¹⁰⁰ The group worked under the 'meridional' influence of cubism aspiring to transform its colour-light perspectives, an initiative that Zervos and Tériade encouraged. The publication of *Cahiers d'Art* is conventionally situated in the period when independent art had triumphed over academicism, Impressionism had been classified as a historic style, and cubism had seemingly reached its peak of success. Tériade exalted in his texts the democratic character of the independent Salons that welcomed all artists to present their work, highlighting the spirit of artistic freedom that the decline of academicism entailed. A

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Laetitia Branciard, 'Diffusion de l'art espagnol contemporain en Europe,' *Un art sans frontières : L'internationalisation des arts en Europe, 1900-1950*, eds. Gérard Monnier, José Vovelle, Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne, 1994, 123-131.

closer observation of the function of the Salon and the critical reception of cubism in the mid-1920s is revealing of the magazine's pioneer role and nonconformist orientation but also of its early activity on the margins of official institutions.



6. A. Ozenfant et Ch.-E. Jeanneret, 'Sur la Plastique', *L'Esprit Nouveau* 1, 1920, p. 45.

Chapter 2: Institutions and Independent Art

In France generally and in Paris particularly, there is a tendency to believe in the supremacy of French art in contemporary production. There is certainly a chauvinist sentiment expressed here that should not be too rigorously condemned since this sentiment is somewhat justified in this case. It only remains to see if this French art is of uniquely French creation or if peoples have contributed to its formation.¹

The critical debates of the inter war years touched upon issues of institutionalisation of independent art advocating either its rupture with the past or its integration in the evolutionary narratives that were shaped for French museums. The debate over the creation of a museum of contemporary art that Paris was lacking went public in 1925 following the election of the radical Cartel des Gauches in 1924. A survey launched by *L'Art Vivant* considered the prospects for the creation of a new museum with private funding and the re-organisation of the Luxemburg. France suffered a severe financial crisis from 1923 to 1929. The radicals failed to stabilise the Franc giving space to the centre-right Democratic Alliance to win the 1928 election due to Raymond Poincaré's effective intervention. Concrete efforts were made to re-organise the public collections until the creation of two new museums in Paris was announced after the re-election of the radicals in 1932. The recognition of the Autumn Salon (1920) and that of the Independents (1923) as establishments of public benefit offered beneficial rates for acquisitions by the public sector and was a significant development towards the consecration of contemporary art. The benefits from this change in status were limited. The Réunion des Musées Nationaux suffered significant privation introducing budgetary reforms in three phases (1923-1926, 1927-1928, 1929-1931), all associated with the developments in the economic and political climate of the period. The funds reserved for contemporary art continued to be restricted.²

¹ H. Lempereur-Haut, 'Propos d'Art,' *Vouloir : Organe constructif de littérature et d'art moderne* 18, (Lille) February 1926, np. 'En France et général et à Paris plus particulièrement on est porté à croire à la suprématie de l'art français dans la production contemporaine. Il y a certainement là un sentiment chauviniste qu'il ne faut pas condamner avec trop de rigueur, car en l'occurrence ce sentiment a un peu raison. Seulement, il reste à voir si cet art français est de création uniquement française ou si d'autres peuples ont contribué à sa formation.'

² Agnès Callu, *La Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1870-1940 : Genèse et Fonctionnement*, École Nationale des Chartres, 1994.

In June 1925, Paul Léon, director of Fine Arts, explained that works by modern artists such as Matisse, Picasso, Utrillo etc, were too expensive to be purchased by public funds.³ The lack of space in Parisian museums rendered the integration of donated works problematic. The Luxembourg museum, the first Museum of Living Artists in Paris, carried still the responsibility for the controversial fortune of the Caillebotte Bequest.⁴ Vaisse has tried to revise since the 1980s the dispute over Impressionism maintaining that it was an unconsidered misinterpretation perpetuated by the succeeding generation.⁵ It is true however that the Caillebotte Affair became the central argument in the discourse that sought to condemn the state's policies towards modern art and in fact the state did little to repair its reputation. The Sembat-Agutte bequest to the Grenoble museum in 1923 served as a second example to sustain the debates.⁶ It was offered to the Luxembourg which only accepted a part of the works leading the family of the deceased collector to bequeath the entire collection to the provincial museum of Grenoble.⁷ Pierre Andry-Farcy became the oft-quoted example of the museum official who was remarkably supportive of contemporary art. He was committed since his appointment in 1919 to create the first museum of contemporary art in France. In September 1924 he opened two new rooms displaying works by modern artists, most of which reached the museum through

³ Florent Fels, 'Entretien avec Paul Léon,' *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, 6 June 1925, p. 4. See also Jean-Paul Morel, *Pour un Musée Français d'Art Moderne : Une Enquête de L'Art Vivant*, Paris, RMN, 1996, pp. 30-1.

⁴ Cf. Jeanne Laurent, *Arts & Pouvoirs en France de 1793 à 1981: Histoire d'une Démission Artistique*, Université de Saint-Etienne, 1982, pp. 84-99. Jesús Pedro Lorente, *The Museums of Contemporary Art: Notion and Development*, Ashgate, 2013.

⁵ Cf. Marie Berhaut, 'Le Legs Caillebotte. Vérités et contre-vérités,' *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'art français*, December 1983, pp. 209-239. Pierre Vaisse, 'Le legs Caillebotte d'après les documents,' *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'art français*, December 1983, pp. 201-8 and *Deux façons d'écrire l'histoire. Le legs Caillebotte*, Paris : Orphys, 2014.

⁶ Commenting on the Grenoble museum Waldemar George maintained that 'Grenoble prides itself on being the only town in France possessing a museum of really modern art [...] The Parisian museums have not achieved that revision of aesthetic values accomplished years ago by so many German and Scandinavian museums. On returning from Moscow, Morand wrote that to understand modern French painting it was necessary to visit the former Stchoukine and Morozoff collections, now transformed into museums [...] Visitors to Paris who wish to see contemporary French art are entirely dependent on dealers. No public gallery gives them even an approximate idea of the present state of this art.' Waldemar George, 'Art in France: The Grenoble Museum,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 51, 1927, p. 201. See also Paul Morand, 'Notes sur les Galeries Morozov et Chitchukin à Moscou,' *Les Nouvelles Littéraires, Artistiques et Scientifiques*, 21 February 1925, p. 4.

⁷ Waldemar George, 'Le Musée de Grenoble,' *La Presse*, 13 December 1927, p.2.

donations by artists, dealers and collectors.⁸ Grenoble ended up in the 1920s having the richest public collection of contemporary art in France.⁹

The history of the Cézanne Monument gives further evidence of the ineffectual character of initiatives administered independently from the state. The affair is important for it concerns a monument in memory of the pioneer of modern art, Paul Cézanne, commissioned from Maillol. It was the artist's first public commission to be placed in Aix-en-Provence, Cézanne's birthplace. Shortly after Cézanne's death, in 1906, a *Comité du Monument Cézanne* was founded naming Claude Monet and Auguste Renoir *presidents d'honneur*.¹⁰ The war interrupted the works for the monument. It was completed by Maillol in 1924. The work, representing a classicizing reclining nude woman holding an olive branch, was declined by the city of Aix-en-Provence in 1925. In due course, it was replaced by a marble fountain designed by Georges Rouault. Its cost was covered by Ambroise Vollard. The work by Maillol, now belonging to the City of Paris, was proposed to be located by 1927 in the Tuileries gardens, close to the Orangerie.

L'Art d'Aujourd'Hui published a special number on Maillol in 1925. Zervos invited several important personalities to pay homage to the sculptor.¹¹ Waldemar

⁸ Anon., 'Nouvelles salles au musée de Grenoble,' *Le Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, 1 October 1924, p. 441-2.

⁹ Farcy's policies were greeted with praise by the French press. However several members of the museum's advisory board reportedly confronted with ironic distrust the institutionalisation of contemporary art referring, in its procès-verbal, to the new room as 'Le Rigolarium.' Anon., 'Musées de Province,' *Le Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, 15 December 1925, pp. 543-4. The response of the advisory board to the commentary published in *Le Bulletin de la Vie Artistique* was published in the same journal about a month later. T. 'Musée de Grenoble,' *Le Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, 1 January 1926, pp. 12-3.

¹⁰ The committee had Frantz Jourdain as its president. Pierre Bonnard, Maurice Denis, Edward Vuillard, and Octave Mirbeau formed the monument's executive commission, while the list of the committee members included the names of several renowned Parisian dealers, critics, collectors and museum directors such as Ambroise Vollard, Louis Vauxcelles, Léonce Bénédict, Félix Fénéon, Arsène Alexandre, Georges, Paul and Joseph Durand-Ruel, Paul Gallimard et als. Part of the expenses for the monument was covered by an auction held in collaboration with the Bernheim jeune galleries at the Hotel Drouot the previous year that raised 10,703 francs. Part of the expenses for the monument was covered by an auction held in collaboration with the Bernheim jeune galleries at the Hotel Drouot the previous year that raised 10,703 Frs. Anon., 'Le Monument Cézanne,' *Gil Blas*, 20 May 1908, p. 1. The sale included twenty one artworks disinterestedly offered by several artists and members of the committee, among them Matisse (*Pose du nu*, sold at 1,450 Fr.), Denis (*Premiers pas*, sold at 1,650 Fr.), Bonnard (*Cabinet de Toilette*, sold at 2, 450 Fr.), and Vuillard (*Femme au fauteuil*, sold at 2, 300 Fr.). ¹⁰ Anon., 'A l'Hôtel Drouot,' *Le Temps*, 24 May 1911, p. 4. A new campaign was launched after the war asking for donations on the benefit of the Cézanne monument. In 1922, the bulletin of the Bernheim jeune galleries published a short note, mentioning that the amount gathered from donations and sales reached 30.000 Francs. Anon., 'Le Comité du Monument Cézanne,' *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, n.8, 15 April 1922, p. 189.

¹¹ Andry-Farcy, Galanis, Roger Fry, Emile Waldmann, Georg Biermann, Hans Tietze. Dossier Hommage à Maillol, 1925. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 1, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges

George wrote in *L'Art Vivant* that the sculptor is the 'living and authentic incarnation of the *génie français*,' comparing his Cézanne Monument to the *Diane Couchée* by Jean Goujon, usually referred to as the 'French Phidias.'¹² Due to its perpetual relocations within the garden the placement of Maillol's sculpture turned into an affair of continuous disgrace. In 1928, *Cahiers d'Art* invited its readers to protest against the peregrinations of his *Monument à Cézanne* and *La Pensée*, now under the jurisdiction of the City of Paris and placed in the Tuileries where sculpture from the 18th and 19th centuries was primarily on display.¹³ Maillol reported in his interview with Tériade that his works featured in several public collections abroad, namely in Germany and the United States, bringing out publicly his disappointment over the unfortunate reception of his work in France.¹⁴

The role reserved for foreign artists in certain classification schemes for modern art raised alternative issues of debate. Despite its highly receptive environment for foreign artists, a xenophobic narrative kept resurfacing in Paris throughout the inter war years. The problem of origin for modern art kept tormenting Paris-based 'Diaspora modernism' which could not avoid being marginalised, as Fae Brauer observed, 'having to form sub-cultures or countercultures in order to achieve visibility.'¹⁵ The projection of works by artists of the younger generation relied on two well-devised mechanisms: the illustrated periodical press which met a remarkable proliferation after the war, and the public display of artworks by means of gallery exhibitions and official Salons. The Salon des Indépendants was an opportune occasion for a large number of marginalised foreign artists, who did not act under the patronage of certain dealers and collectors, to present annually and sell their work. The placement itself was crucial to the success that a particular work could achieve while on display at the Indépendants, considering its annually increasing number of

Pompidou, Paris. Matisse and Picasso were also invited to contribute to the booklet. 'Je prépare un fascicule spécial de *L'Art d'Aujourd'hui* sur les sculptures de Maillol. A cette occasion je demande aux artistes que je considère comme les meilleurs de notre époque à exprimer leur avis sur cette œuvre. Matisse, que je viens de voir, croit qu'il serait heureux que vous manifestiez votre sentiment pour l'artiste qui réalisa dans la solitude une œuvre très belle. C'est entièrement mon avis. Aussi je vous prie de bien vouloir m'envoyer quelques lignes à ce sujet. Mon enquête en sera enrichie.' C. Z., letter to Pablo Picasso, 25 July 1925. Archives Picasso, Musée Picasso, Paris.

¹² Waldemar George, 'Un Sculpteur Classique Français – Maillol,' *L'Art Vivant* 3, 1 February 1925, p. 1.

¹³ Christian Zervos, 'Aristide Maillol et la Ville de Paris,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8, 1928, p. 360.

¹⁴ Tériade, 'Confidences d'artistes: Aristide Maillol,' *l'Intransigeant*, 5 November 1928, published in *Tériade, Ecrits sur l'art*, Paris: A. Biro, 1996, pp. 153-6.

¹⁵ Fae Brauer, *Rivals and Conspirators: The Paris Salons and the Modern Art Centre*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Cambridge Scholars, 2013, p. xxiii.

participants and visitors. However this small practical detail could easily turn into an ideologically-nuanced dialogue.

The institution of the Salon may be viewed as the first phase of a filtering process with regards to institutionalisation, which concerned, at least at the start, two distinct microcosms. The first was that of the Official institutions which annually selected awarded works namely from the Salon de la Nationale and the Salon des Artistes Français to be acquired by the state. These were destined for the Luxembourg museum, which was in its turn a second *lieu de filtrage* for works that would eventually pass to the Louvre. The second microcosm involved the counter-cultures of the art market system and found its expression in the independent Salons. Most of the participants in the annual shows sought for critical and/or commercial attention aspiring to establish a career on private sales. The filtering process, in this case, had as a point of departure the critical appreciation of their work, its reproduction in art journals, its exhibition in private galleries and finally its sale. The long-term contracts with art dealers, although reserved for a few, continued to be the abiding concern of the great majority of early career artists.¹⁶ The process indicates the role that the review-gallery system played on the margins of officialdom – a reality that changed considerably as the prospect of institutionalisation was becoming concrete. *Cahiers d'Art* needs to be understood as part of this 'counter-culture' with Zervos proceeding to a filtering process for the selection of artists presented in his magazine, most of whom established successful connections with the art dealers that the magazine attracted. Although *Cahiers d'Art* was well-disposed towards the institution of the Independent Salon, Tériade declared in 1926 its decline. The art galleries, he maintained, furnished the occasion to many artists to present their recent work in 'more intimate atmospheres than the annihilating rabble of the Salons.'¹⁷ By 1931, *Cahiers d'Art* concluded that the idea of the Salon had become all the more outdated since the works presented there had been previously displayed in gallery shows where the contact with collectors, amateurs and the public had been more direct.¹⁸ These views need to be understood in the context of the recent history of the Independent Salon.

¹⁶ For an extensive discussion on the connection of the Salon with the art market see Christopher Green, *Cubism and its Enemies: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art: 1916-1928*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, p. 133-139.

¹⁷ E. Tériade, 'Les Expositions,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1926, p. 38.

¹⁸ 'Les Expositions à Paris et ailleurs,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8, 1931, p. 376.

The Independent Salons

They warned us that on the opening day foreign artists will be kept in the basements of the Grand Palais and will be forced, all at the same time, to sing their national anthems; that they will be grouped by enemy nationalities, Turks and Greeks, Serbians and Bulgarians etc [...] that a certain number of foreign artists [...] will have their canvases hung upside-down etc [...] It is comprehensible then that many of us have thought about quitting the Société des Indépendants.¹⁹ – Jules Pascin, 1924

In March 1923 the Société des Artistes Indépendants was recognised as an establishment of public benefit.²⁰ The development was accompanied by the decision of its committee, presided over by Paul Signac, to group its participants by nationalities in the forthcoming 35th annual Salon to be held in the spring of 1924. The regulation received mixed views. Most artists reacted against the danger of marginalisation that it entailed.²¹ Léger resigned from the society in support of his foreign peers. André Dunoyer de Segonzac disappeared from the list of the committee the same year. Lurçat declared: 'I will not exhibit this year at the Independents. The applied measure seems to me [...] as an inopportune gesture at the moment when chauvinism invades Europe and the Jew gets whipped in the streets of Berlin and Bucharest.'²² His views were in keeping with those expressed by the French proto-socialist realist Marcel Gromaire, the first to protest against the regulation, and the landscape painter Antoine Villard, who later became president of the Association de l'Art Français Indépendant.²³

¹⁹ Jules Pascin, 'La Querelle des Indépendants,' *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, 15 January 1924, pp. 33-4. 'On nous prévenait que le jour du vernissage les artistes étrangers seraient enfermés dans les sous-sols du Grand Palais et forces, tous à la fois, de chanter leurs hymnes nationaux ; qu'ils seraient groupés par nationalités ennemies, Turcs et Grecs, Serbes et Bulgares, etc. [...] qu'un certain nombre d'artistes étrangers, tirés au sort, auraient leurs tableaux accrochés à l'envers, etc. [...] Il est compréhensible qu'alors beaucoup d'entre nous aient songé à quitter la Société des Indépendants.'

²⁰ The Société des Artistes Indépendants was founded in 1884 under the principle of suppressing admission juries and allowing artists to present their works to public judgement with complete freedom. On the first Salon see Dominique Lobstein, 'Un Salon de Babel : la première exposition de la Société des Artistes Indépendants,' 48/14 *La Revue du Musée d'Orsay* 20, Paris, 2005, pp. 38-51.

²¹ The commentator of *Los Angeles Times* thought that an American millionaire has caused this change in grouping with his decision to buy a considerable number of works by non-French artists, who exhibited at the 1923 Salon, for the profit of 'a Paris specialist in freak art, who, it is asserted, remitted only very small sums to French artists represented.' Anon., 'French Artists Putting Up Bar,' *Los Angeles Times*, 9 December 1923, p. 16.

²² Jean Lurçat, 'La Querelle des Indépendants,' *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique* 3, 1 February 1924, pp. 63-4.

²³ The first Salon took place at the Palais des Fêtes, ancien Panthéon de la Guerre, 14, rue de l'Université, in 1929. The aim of the Society was to 'restituer aux artistes vraiment indépendants le cadre de l'esprit des Indépendants d'avant-guerre.' In 1932, under the presidency of the architect Romain Delahalle, the Salon de l'Art Français Indépendant was commonly referred to as the Salon de l'Œuvre Unique due to its regulation that each artist should be able to present only one of his recent

The grouping by nationalities appeared to its adversaries as a purely nationalist denotation, a ‘concentration camp’ to which foreign artists would be deported.²⁴ Others saw in it an innovation, a *nouvelle attraction* for the international art loving public that would cast light on the ambiguous contribution of foreign artists to French art and *vice versa*. In fact, the debate was merely an introduction to what was about to follow in the years to come – a debate epitomised in the quarrel between the École Française and the École de Paris. The incident was given a careful presentation in the *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*.²⁵ It was called ‘La Querelle des Indépendants.’²⁶ The decision was met with sympathy by *La Revue de l’Art Ancien et Moderne*,²⁷ founded in 1897 by Jules Compté (membre de l’Institut), reappearing after the war with the support of the *Association Française d’Expansion et d’Echanges Artistiques*,²⁸ under the direction of André Dezarrois. The role of Dezarrois was pivotal to supporting foreign artists in Paris, notably in his future post as the director of the Musée des Écoles Étrangères (Jeu de Paume). His sympathetic attitude towards Signac’s controversial grouping has to be linked to the transfer in 1922 of the collection of works by foreign artists from the Luxembourg to the Jeu de Paume.²⁹ The development was catalytic to the institutionalisation of the École de Paris.

achievements. P.L., ‘A travers les Expositions: Le Premier Salon de l’Art Français Indépendant,’ *L’Art et les Artistes*, nos 95-99, March-July 1929, pp. 209-210. Maximilien Gauthier, ‘Le Salon de l’Art Français Indépendant: Un Premier Coup d’œil,’ *La Gazette de Paris*, 9 February 1929, p. 4. Anon. ‘L’Œuvre Unique,’ *Bec et Ongles*, 6 February 1932, p. 21.

²⁴ Cf. Kate Kangaslahti, ‘Foreign Artists and the École de Paris: Critical and Institutional Ambivalence between the Wars,’ in Nathalie Adamson, Toby Norris (eds), *Academics, Pompiers, Official Artists and the Arrière-garde: Defining Modern and Traditional in France, 1900-1960*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009, pp. 85-112.

²⁵ About the magazine see Rossella Froissart Pezone, ‘Le Bulletin de la Vie Artistique: Un réseau Moderniste autour de la Galerie Bernheim-Jeune,’ in Rossella Froissart Pezone, Yves Chevretils Desbiolles (dir.), *Les revues d’art. Formes, stratégies et réseaux au XXe siècle*, Rennes: P.U.R., 2011, pp. 205-225.

²⁶ Kate Kangaslahti, ‘The École de Paris, Inside and Out: Reconsidering the Experience of the Foreign Artist in Inter war France,’ in *Crossing cultures: conflict, migration and convergence*, The proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of the History of Art, Melbourne: CIHA, 2008, pp. 602-6.

²⁷ Raymond Bouyer, ‘Le Salon des Indépendants,’ *La Revue de l’Art Ancien et Moderne* 45, January-May 1924, pp. 213-9.

²⁸ The Association, renamed *Association Française d’Action Artistique* (AFAA) in 1934, was founded in 1918 to promote artistic exchanges between France and other foreign countries in the domains of music, theatre, and the plastic arts. It recognised as an association of public benefit in 1923 and aimed at ‘organising, alone or with the participation of other societies, artistic manifestations, spectacles, concerts, temporary or permanent, national or international exhibitions. And, eventually, to create and maintain courses, conferences, lectures, publications, organise concours, sustain education.’ See André Dezarrois, ‘L’Association Française d’Expansion et d’Echanges Artistiques,’ *La Revue de l’Art Ancien et Moderne*, 12 June 1922, pp. 11-12.

²⁹ Jesús Pedro Lorente, *The Museums of Contemporary Art: Notion and Development*, Ashgate, 2013, pp.127-8.

The proliferation and diversity of the participants echoed the consecration of the Independent Salon and the liberal principles it typified as exemplified in its rallying cry *ni jury, ni recompenses*, but its radicalism was now deemed questionable.³⁰ Its oft-quoted liberalism was equally often paired with mediocrity, notably in terms of quality, being considered as a refuge of artworks that the two conservative Salons and the modernist Salon d'Automne refused or chose not to expose. The Independents' triumph over fin-de-siècle naturalistic academicism as represented by both the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts and the loudly trumpeted eclecticism of its former rival, now ally, the Official Salon des Artistes Français³¹ could be easily proved by numbers. It currently counted about 1.700 participants - each presenting up to six works - a number that did not reach 300 in 1900. The Great War interrupted the activities of the Society.³² The first show after the War did not open until January 1920, now held at the Grand Palais, the same as the other two conservative Salons and the highly-esteemed Salon d'Automne. This was certainly a great step towards its consecration entailing state recognition. The question was about how it could maintain its liberal principles while striving to improve the quality of its exhibits.

Over the course of the 1920s, the Salon des Indépendants – together with the Salon d'Automne - was the most concrete manifestation of a certain sort of institutionalisation for which the majority of early career artists sought. Due to the increasing number of participants, the presentation of their work soon became an issue of debate. Until 1922, artists were grouped *par tendances*.³³ The presentation *par ordre alphabétique* was introduced in 1922. The method proved confusing, ineffectual and incapable of giving a coherent picture of contemporary art production in France. The new regulation that sought to group artists by nationality further complicated a

³⁰ For the Independent Salon see Claude Darcy, *L'Art Indépendant*, Paris : Ed. de la revue moderne des arts et de la vie, 1942. Jean Monneret, *Le Salon des Indépendants*, Paris, 1996. *Un siècle d'art moderne : l'histoire du salon des Indépendants, 1884-1984*, Paris : Denoël, 1984. Pierre Sanchez, *Dictionnaire des Indépendants : répertoire des exposants et liste des œuvres présentées : 1920-1950*, 3 vols, Dijon : L'Echelle de Jacob, 2008.

³¹ In 1919 the Salon des Artistes Français and the Salon de la Nationale reunited. Despite the queries published in contemporary press advocating the creation of a Salon Unique, they continued to organise separate exhibitions throughout the 1920s and 1930s, each one publishing its own catalogue. Their first joint-exhibition was held in 1940. In 1921, the *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique* advocated, however, the creation of a 'Salon Unique' in which the Salon d'Automne would also be incorporated.

³² Cf. Claire Maingon, *L'Age Critique des Salons : 1914-1925. L'école française, la tradition et l'art moderne*, Rouen : PUR, 2014.

³³ Claude-Roger Marx, 'Le Cinquantenaire du Salon des Indépendants,' *La Renaissance de l'art français et des industries du luxe* 3, March 1934, np.

problem that had remained unsolved. The question was not about the way in which works by the French André Favory would look next to those by the Japanese Foujita, both names starting with the same letter and consequently would be placed in the same room, as an American commentator pointed out.³⁴ It rather concerned the Salon committee's attempt to exalt individualism at the expense of collective efforts (-isms), a practice that was in keeping with Signac's anarchist persuasion and was also applied to the Salon d'Automne. The recent transfer of the collection of foreign works from the Luxemburg to the Jeu de Paume definitely played a role but the disappearance of the system of -isms was another reality that the regulation brought forward. In fact, the grouping was in stark contrast with the aspirations of the great majority of young artists working under the influence of successful styles. A cubist dealer, Léonce Rosenberg encouraged artists to present annually their works in the Salon, being referred to as property of his gallery while he was eager to remind the public on every occasion of the unceasing impact of the movement. The grouping method was equally at odds with those who identified, as we shall see, in the system of -isms the revival of the French artisanal tradition of the Middle-Ages.³⁵



7. Gerald Murphy, *Boatdeck*, on display at the American section, Salon des Indépendants 1924.

³⁴ S. H., 'Modified Cubism a Strong Note in the Salon des Indépendants,' *The Christian Science Monitor*, 2 April 1923, p. 16.

³⁵ Commenting on the 1922 Salon the British commentator for *The Observer* noted: 'Art has learned much in the process. For the first time in history it is thoroughly conscious. Now it needs but a civilisation worthy of its consciousness to make it rise to heights as great as that to which any art has risen. Everything is there but the social background, that final *point d'appui* of the artist, without which art remains the mere effort of an individual. No matter how great an individual may be he can never rival the force produced by collective effort. It is not true that history is the record of great men, any more than it is that the hands make the clock go round. All really significant art is the expression of a civilisation. The Indépendants is a true type of our own.' Jan Cordon, 'The Salon des Indépendants: Features of the Paris Show,' *The Observer*, 29 January 1922, p. 8.

The 1924 regulation raised alternative problems regarding the placement *per se* of the works. The most striking example was that of the American group and the monumental – now lost - *Boatdeck* by Gerald Murphy (**Plate 7**) which was literally an enormous painted machine executed in minium, the size of which generated controversy with regards to its hanging. The work was reproduced in Rosenberg's *Bulletin* the same year and was in keeping with the mechanist aesthetic promoted by the latter. Its extraordinary dimensions may be viewed as an ironic exaltation of Signac's individualist aspirations with its painted theme standing for precisely the opposite, the collective spirit of the mechanist aesthetic. Signac and three members of the committee temporarily resigned in protest 'on the eve of the private view day,'³⁶ but soon returned to their posts and the Salon opened as scheduled the next day by Léon Bérard (Minister of Fine Arts and Public Instruction) and Paul Léon.

The Salon des Tuileries was founded in 1923. Its president was the impressionist decorative artist, recipient of the highly coveted Prix de Rome and director of the École des Beaux-Arts since 1922, Albert Besnard. Many saw in its creation the first step towards the idea of a Salon Unique.³⁷ Though regretting to remark the absence of the younger generation, Tériade wrote in 1926 that the Tuileries signals the end of a period of turmoil and the consecration of those who merited to be called revolutionaries. 'An order was accepted, it became official.'³⁸ The Salons became increasingly neglectful of the young. In 1928, a group of artists protested against the Independants and established its rival, the erratic *vieux-jeune* Salon des Vrais Indépendants presided by Paul Seguin-Berhault. The artists involved in the group – no more than a hundred mainly early career artists of the École de Paris - were either cubist disciples (Beaudin, Borès, Viñes, Herbin, Gounaro, Alexandre Fasini, Tarsila do Amaral) or naives (René Rimbert, Lesaffre, Georg Merkel, Celso Lagar, Emmanuel Mané-Katz). The group committed itself to refrain from participating at any juried Salon, even upon invitation.³⁹ The effort was treated with

³⁶ *Le Gaulois*, 8 February 1924, p.3 'Des protestations s'élevèrent contre le placement dans le pourtour d'une grande machine de M. Gerald Murphy, peinte au minium! Las de batailler pour l'ordre dans une association sans discipline, M. Signac, président, et M. M. Luce, Carlos Raymond et Léveillé membres du comité, donnèrent leur démission [...] Mais les révolutions ne sont pas durables au Grand-Palais.' Francillon, 'Une Révolution de Grand-Palais.' See also Philip Carr, 'Equality in Art: The Salon des Indépendants : Alphabetical hanging and its results,' *The Observer*, 10 February 1924, p. 7.

³⁷ *Dictionnaire du Salon des Tuileries : Répertoire des exposants et liste des œuvres présentées 1923-1962*, Dijon : l'Echelle de Jacob, 2007.

³⁸ Ε. Ελευθεριάδης, 'Το Σαλόν των Τυλιερί,' *Πρόοδος*, 13 June 1926, n.p.

³⁹ Maximilien Gauthier, 'Salons d'Art Moderne,' *La Gazette de Paris* 1, 17 novembre 1928, p.7.

irony by the contemporary press.⁴⁰ Waldemar George was hostile to the idea referring to it as a skeleton, a Phantom of the Salon, acknowledging that many artists abandoned it to join the Surindépendants.⁴¹

A scission among the Vrais Indépendants took place about a year later giving birth to the Salon des Surindépendants. The latter, presided by Louis Bilard, attracted artists with abstract, cubist, surrealist and expressionist leanings (Ozenfant, Lurçat, Picabia, Halicka, Gromaire, van Dongen, Braque, Bauchant and Rimbert). The most methodical reaction against the Société des Indépendants was effectuated from the inside and was the result of repressed discontent which was ongoing among its members leading to the formation of the Association L'Art Français Indépendant in 1928. Its annual Salon was open to all French or naturalised French artists. Foreigners participated upon invitation by the committee. In fact, their participation was remarkable with the Salon being identified by George as a champion of the École de Paris at the expense of the École Française.⁴² As we shall see, however, the named Association stood in reality for what was later to be conceived as the crowning achievement of the evolutionary narrative for French art. Although all tendencies were represented, it is interesting that it only accepted professional artists excluding the Peintres du Dimanche,⁴³ who had a strong presence at the Independents provoking exasperation and debate.

Signac's grouping methods in addition to the radically increased number of participants at the Independents led to disruption of homogenous groups and sowed the seeds for these schisms among the independent groups. *Cahiers d'Art* was supportive of the groups represented in both the Vrais Indépendants and the Surindépendants. As a matter of fact, the two groups constitute the opposite wings of the association L'Art Français Indépendant in the struggle for institutionalisation of contemporary art that took place in the decades to come. Zervos was invited to the first exhibition of the Surindépendants in 1929 and was asked to publish the statute of

⁴⁰ Michel Herbert, 'Le Premier Salon des Authentiques, Seuls, Incontestables, Vrais Indépendants,' *Cyrano* 5, 4 November 1928, p. 29.

⁴¹ W.G. 'L'Art à Paris,' *Formes*, December 1929, p. 32.

⁴² The first Salon de l'Art Français Indépendant presented at about 900 works by 400 participants, including Kupka, Estève, Crotti, van Doesburg, Hofer, Makowska, Per Krohg, Lipchitz, Pascin, Georg, Vlaminck, Gromaire, Dupont etc. A commentary published in the conservative paper *Le Matin* in February 1929 was sensibly hostile to the choice of the works presented. See Anon., 'Un nouveau Salon d'Artistes Indépendants,' *Le Matin*, 10 February 1929, p. 6.

⁴³ Anon., 'L'Art Français Indépendant,' *La Renaissance* 15, 14 April 1928, p. 6. P. L. 'Le Premier Salon de l'Art Français Indépendant,' *L'Art et les Artistes* 95-99, March-July 1929, pp. 209-210.

the association which had as its slogan the ambiguous 'Indépendance et Discipline.'⁴⁴ *Cahiers d'Art* offered a detailed account of the Salon the next year announcing that it appeared at a moment when the young generation had started liberating itself from the influence of the preceding generation.⁴⁵

Although Signac's regulation only applied to the 1924 Salon, returning to the previous grouping by alphabetical order the following year, it set up a public debate launched by the *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique* run by the Bernheim Jeune Gallery, which collaborated closely with both Paul Léon, honorary member of the Salon des Indépendants, and the architect Frantz Jourdain, founder and president of the Salon d'Automne. The magazine zealously advocated the establishment of a Salon Unique in 1921 and organised fundraising activities for the Cézanne Monument over the course of its age-long preparation. It was furthermore positively disposed to the decorative arts. In 1924, it proudly announced the attribution of the Prix de la Critique Independent – Prix Frantz Jourdain to its managing editor (together with Félix Fénéon and Guillaume Janneau),⁴⁶ the impressionist champion, anarchist critic and close friend of Signac, Adolphe Tabarant.⁴⁷ In January 1924, it launched a survey, the answers to which are revealing of the way that foreign artists were thought of by their French peers. The debate was initiated by Signac who invited his peers to comment on the named decision. The same number only featured the views of the members of the committee (André Léveillé, Victor Dupont, Alexandre Urbain, Charles Jacquemot). Most responses were, as expected, sympathetic to the regulation. Yves Alix and Lhote advocated the grouping *par tendances*.

Léger declared a couple of years earlier, when Signac proposed the alphabetical grouping, that the Salon should include three major sections having cubism as a point of departure and grouping the 'untalented sous- impressionnistes' altogether in the same section (cubism, peintres du dimanche, sous-impressionnistes sans talent).⁴⁸ Lhote now proposed four groups following a chronological order. The first two included academicism and impressionism – the hallmarks of French painting.

⁴⁴ Letter to the artistic director of *Cahiers d'Art* from the general secretary of the Association des Surindépendants accompanied by the statutes of the association, n.d. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 1, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Pompidou, Paris.

⁴⁵ Christian Zervos, 'Salon des Surindépendants,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4, 1930, p.221.

⁴⁶ Guillaume Janneau, inspecteur des antiquités et objets d'art, administrateur-adjoint du Mobilier national (1923).

⁴⁷ 'Prix Frantz Jourdain,' *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, 1 January 1924, p. 23.

⁴⁸ Cf. Christopher Green, *Cubism and its Enemies, Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-1928*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

The remaining two distinguished ‘constructive naturalism,’ a gimmick term that distinguished French proto-cubist Cézannesque art, from the – much despised – internationalised cubism. The latter was thought of by many as a purely foreign contribution sheltering a significant number of foreign artists that worked under its – contaminating to some – influence.⁴⁹ The suggestion was arguably revealing of Lhote’s reconciliatory mood or mirrored his desire to connect cubism, hierarchically, with the most outstanding achievements of French art, perhaps proposing an ideal grouping that could serve his somewhat absurd desire to see the Independents representing all tendencies and taking perhaps the place of the much-desired Salon Unique. Nevertheless, the suppression of academicism appeared to Lhote – and to many other cubist exponents – as a national triumph over the ‘degenerative’ influence of Rome and the Renaissance tradition, which was regarded as ‘the enemy’ and was held responsible for interrupting and distorting the French medieval tradition. The artist commented with audacity:

It is true that other foreigners, less modest, pretend that without their contribution French art would not exist, and threaten Paris to depart, them and their lights, for Rome [...] I would be the first to be sorry.⁵⁰

A considerable number of foreign artists responded to the survey (Lipchitz, van Dongen, Francillon, Galanis, and Sabbagh). Pascin parodied the Salon thinking that it was becoming obsolete at a moment ‘when everyone can exhibit everywhere and even the Peintres du Dimanche have their own dealers.’⁵¹ The most interesting point of the survey is traced in the responses of the French artists that defended the decision of the committee. Far from being identified with the reactionary groups that saw the presence of foreign artists in Paris as contaminant to French art, these artists felt that the foreign contribution to the evolution of modern French painting was small and in fact it was the French masters that exerted a determinable influence over their émigré peers. This reality, they thought, ought to be clarified in order to demonstrate that it was the foreigners who turned their contact with French painting to profit and

⁴⁹ ‘La Querelle des Indépendants,’ *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, 1 January 1924, pp. 5-13. Cf. Christopher Green, *Cubism and its Enemies, Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-1928*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁵⁰ André Lhote, ‘La Querelle des Indépendants,’ *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, 1 January 1924, p. 13. ‘Il est vrai que d’autres étrangers, moins modestes, prétendent que sans leur apport l’art français n’existerait pas, et menacent Paris de partir, eux et leurs lumières, à Rome [...] J’en serais le premier désolé.’

⁵¹ ‘La Querelle des Indépendants,’ *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, 15 January 1924, pp. 29-38.

not the opposite as many believed.⁵² The overall discussion was basically centred on the origins of cubism. The opinion of Gaspard-Maillol⁵³ epitomized the entire debate: 'If it is true that cubism appears to have come from abroad, from Germany or Italy, what has it really brought to us given we already had a Cézanne and before him a Chardin?'⁵⁴

The 1925 Exhibition of Decorative Arts

The 19th century presented an impossible anomaly. It encouraged an anachronism [...] The age of the railroad, of the telegraph, of the automobile, slept in a Louis XVI bedroom, dined in a Henri II dining room, and held receptions in a Louis XV salon. There are those who begin to protest [...] and who try to construct a veritable 20th century art that will not be in contradiction with 20th century invention and machinery.⁵⁵

Léger's protestation against the Salon committee was offensive to the circle of Signac. Even Lhote, who departed from the committee a couple of years later together with Alix, Marchand and Gromaire joining the association 'L'Art Français Independent,'⁵⁶ commented on the meaningless effect that a single departure could have on the named decision, thinking of it as a 'ridiculous' overreaction. An incident that took place about a year later at the Paris International Exhibition of Decorative Arts arguably indicates the target of the Salon Officials' disdain. Upon a visit to the French Embassy building constructed by Mallet-Stevens, Paul Léon (commissaire adjoint de l'exposition) and Fernand David (commissaire générale) commanded the removal of two 'decorative' abstract panels by Léger and Robert Delaunay (**Plate 8-9**) from the hall. The intervention provoked protest and was primarily viewed as an *abus de pouvoir*. In defence of their peers, an important number of artists signed a petition which was sent to the Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts. The exhibition officials declared that their action was not motivated by aesthetics. In fact they focused on the two panels although the building also included a sculpted panel

⁵² 'La Querelle des Indépendants,' *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, 1 February 1924, pp. 53-63 and 15 February 1924, pp. 78-90.

⁵³ Aristide Maillol's nephew.

⁵⁴ Gaspard-Maillol, 'La Querelle des Indépendants,' *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, 1 February 1924, p.60.

⁵⁵ Sisley Huddleston, 'International Decorative Art Exposition Opens in Paris,' *The Christian Science Monitor*, 8 June 1925, p.5.

⁵⁶ On 28 October 1928, Lhote invited Jacques Lipchitz to become member of the Society's committee mentioning that he would be elected the same day as Kisling, both naturalised French in 1924 and in 1914 respectively. Léger was also involved in the Society. Lhote, letter to Lipchitz, 18 Oct. 1928, inv. MS/Fds Lipchitz A 031.4. MAHJ, Paris.

by Henri Laurens. The building next to it presented cubist panels by Lipchitz and Lurçat. Rosenberg thought it was a transparent attack against cubism and angrily defended his protégés in his bulletin which was overtly supportive of the mechanist aesthetic viewed as the synthetic offspring of cubism.⁵⁷ The *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique* was highly apologetic about the officials.⁵⁸ In due course, the panels returned to their initial place. As to the intentions of the officials one is given pause to wonder as to whether their intervention was aimed at Léger, Delaunay or Maillat-Stevens in particular, or at cubism in general, as Rosenberg thought.

The incident can not be isolated from the debates accompanying the organisation of the 1925 Exhibition and the conflict between artists/decorators and industry, the origins of which date back to the turn of century with the competition raised by the rejection of French prominence in design by Germany and Britain.⁵⁹ The show was the first concrete effort after the Great War to present the achievements in industrial design and decoration of the struggling to recover French nation. Germany and the United States did not participate in the show. Paul Westheim, editor of *Das Kunstblatt*, addressed his polemic to French chauvinism which had Germany excluded from the exhibition reducing the presentation to aspects of 'pseudo-decoration.'⁶⁰ Most American commentators, although noting with regret the absence of their nation, thought that the exhibition was a triumph of French industrial production projecting the evolution of its admirable arts and crafts tradition.⁶¹ Moreover, many were those to see that Germany, despite its exclusion, dominated the show with this 'art of straight lines, of inclined planes, of contrasted masses, of a somewhat violent rapprochement of colors, which is to be seen almost everywhere,' being

⁵⁷ L. R. 'Un Incident à l'Exposition des Arts Décoratifs,' *Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne* 16, June 1925, pp. 14-15 and *Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne* 17, July 1925, pp. 11-12. An open letter was sent to the Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux Arts the same year. For a thorough presentation of the reactions to the incident see Christian Derouet, *Fernand Léger, Une Correspondance d'Affaires*, Les Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne – Hors Série/Archives, Paris: Centre Pompidou, 1996, pp.178-180.

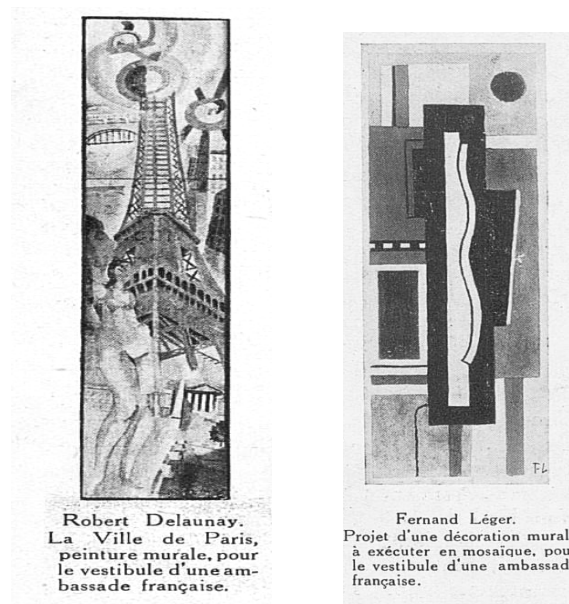
⁵⁸ Anon., 'Un Incident à l'Exposition des Arts Décoratifs,' *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, 15 June 1925, p. 261-2.

⁵⁹ For an extensive discussion on the decorative arts in France see Nancy Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts in France: Art Nouveau to Le Corbusier*, New Haven:, Yale University Press, 1991.

⁶⁰ 'En leur qualité de grande nation, ils ont l'orgueil de tomber eux-mêmes dans toutes les fautes et les sottises.' The text was initially published in *Das Kunstblatt* and was republished here in French translation. Paul Westheim, 'Une opinion allemande sur l'Exposition,' *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique* 14, 15 July 1925, pp. 313-5.

⁶¹ Alfred C. Bossom, 'The World of Art: Two Views of the Paris Exposition of Decorative Arts,' *New York Times*, 16 August 1925, p. 18.

‘characteristically German.’⁶² In France, reactions were marked among those who opposed the alliance of art with industry, a reality that encompassed the works of their competitors, the Germans, since the *Austellung München* in 1908, and was largely promoted in the contemporary works of Le Corbusier, a profound admirer of the German *Werkbund*.⁶³



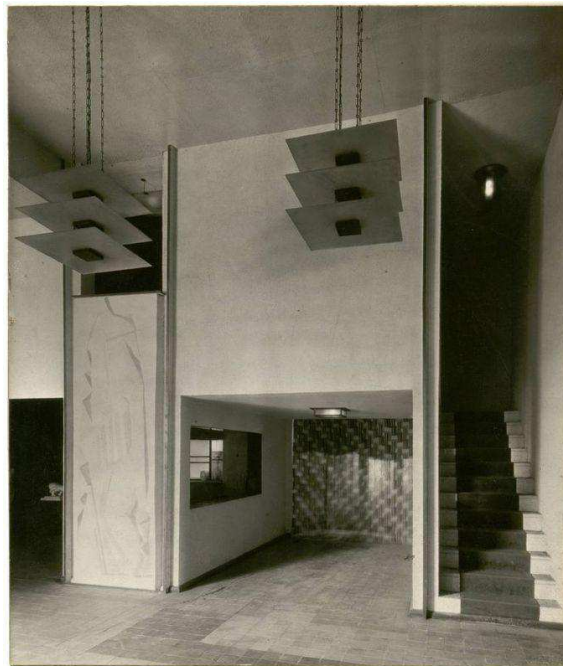
8-9. Panels by Léger and Delaunay at the Pavilion of the French Embassy at the 1925 Exhibition.

The imaginary city with its temporary constructions on the banks of the Seine was commented on around the world. Even the most conservative did not trace in the presentation a considerable threat to tradition. The show appeared to them as a transient demonstration of industrial advancement, an episodic nation-centred competition with most of its ‘advanced’ exhibits considered utopian and unable to penetrate modern living. These views were in fact sustained by Tériade who thought the new models presented could not practically apply to the pre-established order of living. They commanded the creation of a new order which, he implied, was in reality fictitious and he seemed to prefer it that way. Tériade disapproved of radical

⁶² Sisley Huddleston, ‘International Decorative Art Exposition Opens in Paris,’ *The Christian Science Monitor*, 8 June 1925, p.5.

⁶³ For Le Corbusier’s fascination with German production see Maris Stavrinaki, ‘Big Flower, Small Root: Germany, War and Revolution According to Le Corbusier,’ *Oxford Art Journal* 34, 2011, pp. 157-177. Janneau regretted the absence of Germany declaring that ‘l’art du mieux armé de nos concurrents eût démontré notre réelle prééminence dans le domaine de l’invention.’ Guillaume Janneau, ‘Ce que sera l’exposition de 1925,’ *La Revue de l’Art Ancien et Moderne* 45, 1924, p. 322.

solutions. He preferred the harmonic conjunction between the old and the new.⁶⁴ Of course these views did not appear in *Cahiers d'Art* but offer an enlightening account of the way in which the mingling of art with life that the magazine sought for was deemed impractical even by critics who were in theory supportive of innovative projects. A second commentary published a few days later is arguably revealing of Zervos' intervention in the positions of his protégé. Tériade now appears to praise urbanism and the innovative spirit of mathematics and science.⁶⁵



10. Panel by Henri Laurens, Hall of the French Embassy at the 1925 International Exhibition.

The international show, Zervos thought, had left unsolved the problem of architecture and interior design. He admitted with hesitation in *Les Arts de la Maison* that the ideas sustained in the magazine did not affect the majority of works presented in the show. The dominant style, he acknowledged, was decorative. Change was reduced to decorative motives. Previous forms were replaced by new ones without regards to economy of space, metier, and money. The problem, he underlined, was unconcerned with form. It was about permitting the average proprietor to advance practicality and suppress domesticity at the smallest possible cost. The observation

⁶⁴ Ε. Ελευθεριάδης, 'Η Έκθεσις των Διακοσμητικών και Βιομηχανικών Τεχνών των Παρισίων,' *Πρόοδος*, 23 May 1926, n.p.

⁶⁵ Ε. Ελευθεριάδης, 'Η Έκθεσις των Διακοσμητικών και Βιομηχανικών Τεχνών των Παρισίων,' *Πρόοδος*, 30 May 1926, n.p.

needs to be understood in terms of the crisis of the Franc during the same period and the general destabilisation of the French economy after the war that necessitated a new order of living. The works by Tony Garnier, Henri Sauvage, and Sue were contaminated by the overflow of decoration, Zervos argued. With the exception of the works by Perret, Jeanneret, Mallet-Stevens and Le Corbusier there was nothing new in the overall presentation.⁶⁶

Following Zervos' disappointment, Tériade affirmed a year after the end of the show that the exhibition had left no traces after its conclusion, since the styles presented were lost in purely decorative researches failing to satisfy the necessities of the period. Unlike the Americans, he wrote, who adapted design to the needs of everyday life, the French risked at giving in to wearisome auto-admiration. Tériade affirmed, however, that the period was transitional with architecture making its first steps to resolve the problem of interior design that the exhibition left unsolved.⁶⁷ *Cahiers d'Art* was about to continue the lesson of *Les Arts de la Maison*. Its early numbers gave generous space to architecture. Zervos declared in a survey the unanimous acquiescence towards the reconciliation of architecture and decoration with the social needs and mechanical inventions of modern life. The major disagreement among artists, he added, resides in the 'sacrifice de la personnalité.' The survey published a summary of the intentions of Chareau, José de Andrada and Le Corbusier, which corresponded to Zervos' aesthetic.⁶⁸

Zervos only made a passing reference to the decorative misappropriation of cubism in the show, though the overall presentation generated a cubist-centred debate. George thought that the two controversial panels in Mallet-Stevens' hall 'deserved to be included in an exhibition of industrial and decorative arts' - despite their non-representational, abstract character, as Matthew Affron has noted - since they exemplified 'the best modernist interpretation of an industrialised civilisation.'⁶⁹ Warnod, the first to use the term *École de Paris* in *Comoedia* the same year,⁷⁰ also

⁶⁶ Christian Zervos, 'La Leçon de l'Exposition des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels de 1925,' *Les Arts de la Maison* II, 1925, pp. 27-29.

⁶⁷ Tériade, 'An An Après. Quelques Considérations sur les Arts Décoratifs,' *Les Arts de la Maison* I, 1926, pp. 5-9. Tériade, 'Architecture Intérieure,' *Les Arts de la Maison* II, 1926, pp. 13-16.

⁶⁸ Christian Zervos, 'Architecture Intérieure: Enquêtes,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1926, pp. 14-15.

⁶⁹ Cited in Matthew Affron, 'A Parisian Art Critic on Modernism and Fascism,' in Matthew Affron and Mark Antliff (eds), *Fascist Visions: Art and Ideology in France and Italy*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997, p. 177.

⁷⁰ André Warnod, *Les Berceaux de la Jeune Peinture : Montmartre, Montparnasse*, Paris : A. Michel, 1925.

commented on the incident in his extensive discussion of the exhibition placing cubism at the centre of the debate. It is interesting that Warnod's text was published in a magazine which had Paul Léon on its editorial board.⁷¹

Scandalous? Why? Because they are cubist? [...] Besides, whether one likes it or not, cubism had to find its place in the exhibition. Don't we see in many places the very clear influence of this art? Was not The Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau, where also figured several works by Braque, Ozenfant, Léger, one of the most original manifestations, the newest to be seen here?⁷²

The contribution of cubism to the evolution of French modern art could not be overlooked even by its most myopic and reactionary adversaries. However, most critics identified *grosso modo* two distinct schools of cubism. French cubism was more rational and perceptual than the internationalised conceptual cubism and its descendant, geometrical abstraction. Lhote, loyal to the French tradition, had organised in March 1922, with the help of a committee – which turned out to be the precursor of the Société des Amis des Musées founded in 1924 – consisting of the newly elected president du Conseil des Musées Nationaux and contributor to *Cahiers d'Art*, Raymond Kœchlin, the figurative artist Georges Lecaron, and the novelist Jean-Louis Vaudoyer, the retrospective *Cent Ans de Peinture Française 1820-1920: De J.A.-D. Ingres au Cubisme*. The show, held at the Chambre Syndicale de la Curiosité in Paris (18, rue de la Ville-l'Evêque) for the benefit of the Museum of Strasbourg, was inaugurated by Léon Bérard and Paul Léon. It displayed 182 works (Ingres, Delacroix, Corot, Courbet, Géricault, Bonnat, Cabanel, Carrière, Cézanne, Renoir, Pissaro), more than half of which were by living artists (Matisse, Signac, Bonnard, Braque, Delaunay, Laurencin, Rouault, Dufy, Vlaminck, Lhote etc.) The works presented humanism as an inherent aspect of French tradition.

Lhote was represented by three canvases. Derain and Segonzac, artists opposing classifications, refused to participate in the show. Most independents were

⁷¹ Together with Léonce Bénédict, conservator at the Musée du Luxembourg, Jean Guifrey, conservator at the Musée du Louvre, Théophile Homolle, General administrator of the National Library, Emile Male, Art History Professor at the Sorbonne, André Dezarrois, director of the Musée du Luxembourg, and Emile Dacier, librarian at the National Library.

⁷² André Warnod, 'La Peinture à L'Exposition des Arts Décoratifs,' *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 48, June-December 1925, p. 300. 'Scandaleux ? Pourquoi ? Parce qu'ils sont cubistes ? [...] Et puis, qu'on le veuille ou non, le cubisme devait avoir sa place à l'Exposition. Ne voit-on pas en maints endroits l'influence très nette de cet art ? Le pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau, où figurent aussi plusieurs tableaux de Braque, d'Ozenfant, de Léger, n'y était-il pas une des manifestations les plus originales, les plus neuves qu'on y rencontrait ?'

absent. The exhibition drew much attention and the contemporary press was in general terms friendly to the organisation. Others confronted with scepticism Lhote's dogmatic-didactic style of presentation and his simplistic connection of modern art with tradition.⁷³ From the title alone it is evident that the major theme on display was continuity in French art that not only had cubism as its crowning achievement, but also traced its origins in the French neo-classical tradition. In fact, the exhibition constitutes an early effort to inscribe cubism in the national-traditional narrative. Cubism, Lhote affirmed, recovered Cézanne's desire to 'make impressionism something durable as is the art of the museum.'⁷⁴ Earlier the same year another exhibition at the gallery l'Effort Moderne presented another aspect of French cubism. It was called *Le Cubisme Français* and displayed works by Rosenberg's protégés, namely Léger, Villon, Laurens, Herbin, Gleizes, and Metzinger.

Lhote's conservatism 'should not be confused with the chauvinism of the period around the First World War,' Jane Lee argued.⁷⁵ The artist, however, was mainly preoccupied with the particularities of the French idiom, understanding the symbolic transition from the particular to the general in terms of inscribing cubism to the French painterly tradition of the Middle-Ages.

The French painter has a total lack of imagination in the general sense of the word [...] The idiom of the French artist [...] seeks its elements in the particular [...] The attitude of the French artist has not varied since the Middle-Ages and it seems to me that his programme ought not to change from what it has been so long despite the impressionist renovation. It is the fidelity in racial traditions that led the most patient among the Cubists, perhaps unconsciously, to turn to the external world. Their aim is essentially Cubist.⁷⁶

A cubist theorist, Lhote had classified since 1920 the cubists into two groups: the Cubists *a priori* (or pure Cubists) and the Cubists *a posteriori* (or emotional Cubists).

⁷³ Paul Alfassa, 'Cent Ans de Peinture Française,' *La Revue de Paris* 21, March-April 1922, pp. 644-652. J.-E. Blanche, 'Cent Ans de Peinture Française,' *La revue hebdomadaire* 31, April 1922, pp. 63-72. Pierre du Colombier, 'Cent ans de peinture française,' *Revue Critique des Idées et des Livres* 34, May 1922, pp. 303-6. Maurice Brillant, 'Les œuvres et les hommes,' *Le Correspondant* 251, 1922, pp. 358-362. Vanderpyl, 'Nos Echos. Vernissages,' *Le Petit Parisien*, 22 March 1922, p. 2. Leon Plee, 'Cent Ans de Peinture Française. 1820-1920,' *Les Annales Politiques et Littéraires*, 26 March 1922, n.p.

⁷⁴ A. Lhote, Introduction to the catalogue of the exhibition *Cent Ans de Peinture Française*, Paris, 1922, n.p. 'Le cubisme reprit à son compte le désir de Cézanne : Faire de l'impressionnisme une chose durable comme l'art des musées.' Cf. Christopher Green, *Cubism and its Enemies, Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-1928*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁷⁵ Jane Lee, 'André Lhote, art critic for La Nouvelle Revue française,' in Malcolm Gee (ed.), *Art Criticism since 1900*, Manchester : Manchester University Press, 1993, p. 86.

⁷⁶ André Lhote, 'The Two Cubisms II.' *The Athenaeum*, 30 April 1920, p. 579.

The artist placed himself in the second group which he thought was closer to the French tradition. Pure Cubists (Braque, Gris, Blanchard, Metzinger, Marcoussis, Severini, Hayden, Lipchitz and Laurens), according to him, do not seek for their models on the earth. 'The universal is their familiar domain.' Pure cubists 'start from a concept, emotional cubists [...] start from a sensation.' The first group was the one that Zervos supported. He was nonetheless interested in the later work of Léger who belonged, according to Lhote, to the second group called the 'Cubist-impressionists.' Unlike the first that was idealist, Lhote thought that this group was realist 'in the manner of Cézanne' and included artists such as Delaunay, Fresnaye, Le Fauconnier, Léger, and Gleizes.⁷⁷ Lhote referred to Léger's early compositions. Zervos would assert in 1926 that after a short seduction by Impressionism – the most anti-architectonic movement that had ever existed in painting – Léger ended up constructing powerful architectural compositions, a position that he eventually revised.⁷⁸

Rosenberg also connected cubism to the French tradition, but in the foreign press his position was different. In June 1925, he declared in the American press that 'Cubism is not a school of art, for schools are always confined to one country. Cubism is a style. There is a vast difference between the two. For instance, there are several French schools of painting at the present time, but there is only one Cubism the world over, an international style, a religion.'⁷⁹ The focus of his *Bulletin*, he stated in his interview with Tériade, was to create a public for that religion and not a religion for the public.⁸⁰ Rosenberg was disappointed with the incident of the Léger and Delaunay panels as well as with the absence of cubism from the retrospective *Cinquante Ans de Peinture Française*⁸¹ at the Pavillon Marsan the same year. Unlike the 1922 exhibition *Cent Ans de Peinture Française*, the 1925 show had many living artists excluded. It presented works from the period 1875-1925 with a certain focus on pictures by Corot, Daumier, Courbet, Manet, Degas, Pissarro, Renoir, Sisley, Monet, Morisot, Gauguin, van Gogh and Cézanne. Contemporary art was represented by

⁷⁷ André Lhote, 'The Two Cubisms II.' *The Athenaeum*, 30 April 1920, p. 579. Cf. Christopher Green, *Cubism and its Enemies, Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-1928*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁷⁸ Christian Zervos, 'La Chronique des Expositions,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1926, p. 16.

⁷⁹ J. F. Hanscom, 'Cubism Howled from Paris Housetops: Advertisers demand that only Cubist Art be used on Billboards,' *New York Herald Tribune*, 14 June 1925, p. 3.

⁸⁰ Tériade, 'Nos Enquêtes : Entretiens avec Léonce Rosenberg,' *Feuilles Volantes* 6, 1927, pp.1-3.

⁸¹ *Cinquante Ans de Peinture Française, 1875-1925*, exhibition catalogue, 28 May-2 July 1925, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris : A. Levy, 1925.

single works by Bonnard, Puy, Laprade, Friesz, Guérin, Denis, Vuillard, Marquet, Picasso and Matisse. Rosenberg referred to the show as a Tower of Babel, a 'third class wagon' which had deliberately neglected the achievements of most cubist representatives, naming his protégés one after another. His brother's gallery featured in a full page advertisement on the back cover of the catalogue.

Echoing the 1924 debates among the Independents over the role of French art as source and origin for foreign artists, the commentator of *Le Temps* thought it was meaningless to include in an exhibition of French painting works by van Gogh and Jongkind, who contributed nothing to French art but were rather influenced by it.⁸² The show is important for it was held at a Museum, Gustave Kahn remarked, and could furnish a lesson to the young by displaying the evolution of the contemporary aesthetic. Any absence or misinterpretation risks giving the wrong picture, he argued.⁸³ The show was, by and large, criticised for its incomplete presentation despite the apologizing note published in the catalogue claiming that it was due to lack of space in the museum.⁸⁴ The exhibition marked the initiation of the debate over the creation of a museum of living art in Paris the same year, an issue of cardinal importance to the consecration of independent art.

The Museum of Living Art

We are reaching the end of an era in the evolution of painting, the moment when results and consequences begin to appear. We can even now inspect the effort of each painter and recognize those who will survive [...] since the succeeding young generation needs an order to be established, discrimination between the works of the past in order to [...] efficiently devote itself to the future.⁸⁵ Tériade, 1928

⁸² 'Autre question. Pourquoi des étrangers qui n'ont été que des suiveurs se mêlent-ils à la famille française ? Passe pour des créateurs comme Jonhkind et comme Vincent van Gogh. Ils ont participé à nos recherches au même titre que leurs camarades français. Ils ont réalisé comme eux de trouvailles ; mais les comparses, vraiment, ne s'imposaient pas.' T. S. 'Art et Curiosité,' *Le Temps*, 2 June 1925, p.3.

⁸³ 'Mail il faut songer que l'exposition a lieu dans un musée, qu'elle y est un enseignement pour beaucoup de jeunes gens qui y viennent prendre une leçon d'esthétique, et les oublis risquent de fausser l'excellent exposé d'esthétique contemporaine qu'ils viennent prendre la.' Gustave Kahn, 'Cinquante Ans de Peinture Française: Musée des Arts Décoratifs,' *Mercure de France*, 15 July 1925, p. 495.

⁸⁴ *Cinquante Ans de Peinture Française: 1875-1925*, exh. cat., Paris : Ed. Albert Levy, 1925, pp.3-4.

⁸⁵ Tériade, *Fernand Léger*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1928, p. ix. 'Nous touchons à la fin d'une époque dans l'évolution de la peinture, à l'heure où comme, cent à paraître les résultats et les conséquences. On peut dès maintenant contrôler l'effort de chaque peintre et reconnaître ceux qui vivront [...] car la jeunesse qui vient a besoin qu'un ordre soit établi, une discrimination faite parmi les œuvres du passé pour voir clair en elle-même et se consacrer efficacement à l'avenir.'

The idea of the creation of a museum for living art in Paris was born and bred by the conclusion that cubism and fauvism, despite their lively influence which was still ongoing, were complete in their development and had now to undertake the educational role that art history reserved for them in terms of succession of styles. The debate over the creation of a new museum was initiated in the pages of several Parisian journals since 1925 and lasted more than a decade. Its echoes were clearly audible in the lack of museum representation for modern art in Paris while other foreign capitals had greeted with generosity the idea of enriching their public collections with modern French masterpieces. The argument had a realist basis but was exaggerated through the example of Impressionism which became the opprobrious symbol of victimization notably in the name of the Caillebotte bequest which was presented as the epitome of the state's dispute against modern art. The lack of space in French museums and the limited state funding constituted the counter argument in this discussion. The history of the Museum of Modern Art in Paris needs to be examined through the wider prism of cultural politics in France which were in principle elitist and conservative seeking to give form to ideas of nation.⁸⁶ Independent art was established as a counterculture with its presentation being reduced to art dealers' storehouses and Salons. It nonetheless met significant proliferation through a plethora of art reproductions in illustrated albums, surveys, and magazines, published throughout the period in question.

The re-organisation of the public collections and the making of space for modern art to fit in the evolutionary narrative shaped for French art was commonplace in the discourse of the 1920s. This necessitated a change in museum policies for the benefit of modern art, but also a demonstration of the links it preserved with the art of the past. The debate started with the retrospective *Cinquante Ans de Peinture Française: 1875-1925*. Warnod underlined in *Comoedia* the need to project modern art to the international audience of the 1925 Fair, for the evolution of French art displayed in French museums appeared to have stopped in the 19th century. The Pavillon Marsan projection, he wrote, was ephemeral. The works would return to the private collections they belonged to after the end of the show.⁸⁷ Given the

⁸⁶ Christopher Green, *Art in France: 1900-1940*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001, p. 222.

⁸⁷ Commenting on the show at the Pavillon de Marsan, Salmon wrote in *L'Art Vivant*: 'Mais c'est pour combien de journées? Tout ici est prêt. Tout en échappe à l'Etat comme à la Ville dans le moment qu'une si admirable constitution marquée si clairement tout ce qui manqué au Louvre et tout ce qui

unwillingness of the State to proceed to acquisitions of modern art, Warnod addressed an open call to the newly founded *Société des Amateurs d'art et Collectionneurs* to uphold his idea for a new museum.⁸⁸ The response was immediate. The founder of the society, Daniel Tzanck, a dentist of Russian origin, collector and art patron, sent an open letter the following month announcing the creation of a museum of modern art with private funding but the project in fact never came to fruition.⁸⁹

The death of Léonce Bénédict the same year, chief curator of the Luxembourg museum with a service dating from 1892 to 1925, set up the issue of succession. The opening of this particular position was crucial for the future of the museum, which was literally the first museum of living art in Paris. The candidates were Charles Masson, assistant curator to Bénédict since 1901, the director of the museum of Compiègne, Edouard Sarradin, Andry-Farcy, and the art critics Salmon and Vauxcelles. The name of Louis Hautcoeur, curator at the Louvre, also figured in the list, but in fact he took the position a few years later becoming the last director of the Luxembourg. Despite his hostility to cubism, Vauxcelles was thought of as the most suitable candidate for the post. A group of French artists addressed an open letter to the *Ministre de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts* demanding his appointment as the new museum director.⁹⁰

Although Masson was eventually named director of the Luxembourg, a survey was launched earlier by *L'Art Vivant* addressed to sixty-three art professionals including the three candidates for the post, who preferred the reorganisation of the Luxembourg to the creation of a new museum.⁹¹ The survey was structured on two central questions concerning the idea of creating a new museum for contemporary art and the ten living artists that ought to enter the museum first. Most responses were favourably inclined to the creation of a new museum but this opinion would appear

devrait être le Luxembourg.' André Salmon, 'Cinquante Ans de Peinture Française : 1975-1925,' *L'Art Vivant*, 15 June 1925, p.1.

⁸⁸ André Warnod, 'Pour un Musée d'Art Moderne à Paris,' *Commedia*, 22 February 1925, p.4. See also Jean-Paul Morel, *Pour un Musée Français d'Art Moderne : Une Enquête de L'Art Vivant*, Paris, RMN, 1996, p. 23-5.

⁸⁹ Jesús Pedro Lorente, *The Museums of Contemporary Art: Notion and Development*, Ashgate, p. 127 and Jean-Paul Morel, *Pour un Musée Français d'Art Moderne : Une Enquête de L'Art Vivant*, Paris, RMN, 1996, p. 26-9.

⁹⁰ Monet, Bourdelle, Despiu, Valloton, Valadon, Lurçat, Marcoussis, Vlaminck, Maillol, Utrillo and others. See Marthe Maudier, 'Encore une succession: Qui veut réorganiser le Luxembourg?,' *La Lanterne*, 17 June 1925, p. 2. About Vauxcelles see also Christopher Green, *Cubism and its Enemies: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art: 1916-1928*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, pp. 131-132. Christopher Green, *Art in France, 1900-1940*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001, pp. 47-48.

⁹¹ Edouard Sarradin was not listed among those who took the survey.

stronger if the appointment of the elderly Masson had been made known earlier, Georges Charensol remarked in his conclusions to the survey.⁹² Tzanck's proposed project was the major alternative solution for those who thought that an effective reorganisation of the Luxembourg for the benefit of contemporary art was impossible. The sad history of the Luxembourg, wrote Dezarrois, 'is the most complete condemnation of the successive ministers and high-ranked officials of Fine Arts none of whom knew how to realize a National Museum of Modern Art that the country owes to its living artists and its capital,' while expressing his confidence in Masson.⁹³ The prospect of a non-state museum opened up discussions over the vital role of the art market in the development of art and the crucial issue of separating art from the state, both topics discussed publicly in a second survey of *L'Art Vivant* two years later.⁹⁴

The 1926 Salon des Indépendants opened with a retrospective show to celebrate the last thirty years of its activities. Pierre Courthion remarked in *Cahiers d'Art* that this was the first time that 'les Indépendants font Musée.' The influence of Cézanne was everywhere in the show, he observed. Impressionism entered a historical era being classified among the greatest movements. The influence of Picasso and Matisse remained prolific. Utrillo, Vlaminck and Segonzac continued the tradition of Chardin, Corot and Cézanne.⁹⁵ The show constituted a solemn effort to report on the developments in contemporary art in the past thirty years. It marked the end of an era in contemporary art production and the inauguration of a period of new researches. The period was transitional. A splendid era of modern painting had reached its end, a

⁹² Jean-Paul Morel, *Pour un Musée Français d'Art Moderne : Une Enquête de L'Art Vivant*, Paris, RMN, 1996, p.158.

⁹³ André Dezarrois, 'Au Jeu de Paume le Musée des Écoles Étrangères,' *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 49, January 1926, pp. 109-110. Waldemar George reported in 1927: 'The Luxemburg has been for so many years not only confined to the expression of academic taste, but also a weapon in the hands of the members of the Institute [...] Braving the official thunders, M. Charles Masson has begun his work by taking down the pictures of Corman, Rochegrassé, Bonnat, Détaillé, Friant de Lhermitte, Chabas, etc. He has eliminated Détaillé's *Rêve*, a military picture which was the shame of the Luxemburg [...] These masters, or rather their partisans, have protested in vain. M. Masson persists. He contents them by representing them by typical pictures of a smaller size [...] The second stage in the rejuvenation of our national museum of modern art was the setting out of the Caillebotte collection with works of the same aesthetic acquired by the museum of given by other collectors [...] In his method of arrangement, M. Charles Masson has tried to get rid of annoying confusions. He has grouped, or tried to group, the majority of artists according to affinities of artistic tendencies [...] The Orangery in the Jardin des Tuileries has been converted into an exhibition gallery, which might be described as a Claude Monet Museum.' Waldemar George, 'Art in France,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 51, 1927, pp. 49-50.

⁹⁴ 'Une Grande Enquête de L'Art Vivant,' *L'Art Vivant*, 1 August 1927.

⁹⁵ Pierre Courthion, 'Trente Ans d'Art Indépendant,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1926, p. 53-54.

period that deserved a place in the museum. Courthion published about a year earlier *L'Evolution de l'Art Moderne*, a small book which critically passed unnoticed. The text commented on the relation between art and the state, the absence and presence of a national style and finally the victory of the moderns and the anticipation of new styles – issues of cardinal importance in the debate for the creation of a new museum.⁹⁶ A second book that featured in an advertisement in *Cahiers d'Art* (4-5, 1927) a couple of years later focused on the forty years of independent art. It presented a panorama of contemporary French painting and sculpture from Cézanne to the Douanier Rousseau.⁹⁷ Although the presentation was incomplete, as Courthion admitted, the book is inscribed in the efforts that took place in the late 1920s to define the character of and the major tendencies in contemporary production which was about to enter a new phase.

A cubist champion, Raynal offered a more accurate periodisation in his *Anthologie de la Peinture en France de 1906 à nos jours*, published in 1927. The eclecticism in the presentation was deemed imperative. He maintained that ‘none of those I have wittingly overlooked has a right to expect the favour of posterity, even if he should one day hang beside Madame Vigée-Lebrun in the Louvre.’⁹⁸ Contemporary painting according to him had as a point of departure the first definite reaction against Impressionism. Raynal focused on perpetual tendencies and classified cubism in terms of idealism. In his opinion artists defined themselves in reference to Nature, identifying in French art an inherent inclination to naturalism. These publications need to be understood in terms of the imperative need for eclectic formulas that a creation of a new museum entailed. As his future collaborator Tériade admitted in his monograph on Léger published by *Cahiers d'Art* about a year later, this was the time for clarifications, for establishing an order that would allow the younger generation to continue undisturbed its stylistic inquiries. Unlike the mediterranean classicism of Picasso, Léger’s art was presented in terms of a synthesis of Latin classicism and the Nordic spirit.⁹⁹ The proposed schemes varied. In *Picasso*

⁹⁶ Pierre Courthion, *L'Evolution de l'Art Moderne*, Paris : Cahiers de la Quinzaine, 1925.

⁹⁷ Pierre Courthion, *Panorama de la Peinture Française Contemporaine*, Paris : Simon Kra, 1927.

⁹⁸ Maurice Raynal (1927), *Modern French Painters*, trans. Ralph Roeder, N.Y. : Brentanos, 1969, n.p.

⁹⁹ Tériade, *Fernand Léger*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1928, p. ix. Tériade, ‘Nord-Sud,’ *Sélection* 5, February 1929. See also Robert Lubar, ‘Cubism, Classicism and Ideology: The 1912 Exposició d’art cubista in Barcelona and French Cubist Criticism’ and Marilyn McCully, ‘Mediterranean Classicism and Sculpture in the Early Twentieth Century,’ in Elizabeth Cowling, Jennifer Mundy (eds), *On Classic Ground: Picasso, Leger, de Chirico and the New Classicism, 1910-1930*, London: Tate Gallery, 1990, pp. 309-324 and 324-332.

et la tradition Française, published in 1928, Wilhelm Uhde identified two major tendencies in Parisian art. The inherent to the French tradition analytic style was exemplified in the works of the Impressionists, Renoir, and subsequently Matisse. On the contrary, the synthetic style, which was introduced by Cézanne and Seurat and was epitomised in the works of Picasso, was viewed as a total break with the national tradition.¹⁰⁰

Cahiers d'Art commented on the book underlining that in the comparison between Picasso and Matisse the author was unfair to the latter ending up misinterpreting his work.¹⁰¹ The publication inaugurated a controversial debate that questioned the origins of modern French art through a discussion of the synthetic style of the gothic period, an issue that will be touched upon in a subsequent chapter. The analytic and synthetic styles became subject to various interpretations when it came to modern art. Rosenberg had maintained earlier in *Feuilles Volantes* that cubism is the style of the new era. 'The art of geometric discipline is a universal preoccupation.' The dealer thought that the period was marked by the transition of cubism from the analytical to the synthetic phase. The first wave in this transition was *passéiste*, he thought, since it is difficult for the same generation to remove the shirt of Nessus. Manufactories, machines and sports impose the new aesthetic that represents them. The Middle-Ages was a period of synthesis. The Renaissance imposed an analytical doctrine. The 20th century, he admitted, returned to the medieval aspect of synthesis. 'This is how humanity evolves,' he added; 'the Picassos, Légers, Valmiers, are the Cimabues of contemporary art.' Without cubism, the dealer declared, 'the passage from static to dynamic, instant to permanent, concrete to abstract, neutral to radiant, flat to volume, local to universal, was impossible.'¹⁰²

Zervos was content to present the way in which individual artists responded to the phenomena of their times avoiding group classifications. The publishing house started in 1926 its own series *Les Maitres de la Peinture Contemporaine* devoted to single artists. The same formula also applied to the content of the magazine which started presenting those artists that, in the opinion of Zervos, should enter the new museum first – an issue raised earlier in the survey of *L'Art Vivant*. The first of the series was dedicated to Picasso, following Paul Rosenberg's Parisian show *Oeuvres*

¹⁰⁰ Wilhelm Uhde, *Picasso et la tradition Française*, Paris: Les Quatre Chemins, 1928.

¹⁰¹ Anon. 'Les Livres,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8, 1930, p. 357.

¹⁰² Tériade, 'Nos Enquêtes : Entretiens avec Léonce Rosenberg,' *Feuilles Volantes* 6, 1927, p.2.

récentes de Picasso (15 June – 10 July 1926). The dealer had purchased earlier in the same year a considerable number of Picassos from the John Quinn estate.¹⁰³ The volumes on Léger, Rousseau, and Dufy¹⁰⁴ were followed by catalogues on Klee and Kandinsky published in collaboration with Flechtheim.¹⁰⁵ In 1928 the magazine publicly declared the end of cubism. By 1930, it started drawing conclusions and value judgments on the consequences of the movement – consequences that listed one after another the abstract styles that emerged internationally after cubism. Tériade published a series of articles under the general title ‘Documentaire sur la jeune peinture’ in *Cahiers d’Art* condemning those who wished to continue, develop, or replenish cubism. In art, he declared, nothing is to be continued.¹⁰⁶ Zervos was more sympathetic than his compatriot to abstract art, which was in keeping with his contemplation of the universal. The magazine proudly declared its dedication to the *nouvelle generation* which concerned a group of Paris-based artists supported systematically by Zervos and Tériade. In July 1928 he prepared an exhibition with works by the group to be held at the Maison Municipale in Prague, envisaging a second show at the Kronprinzenpalais in Berlin. In his letter to Ludwig Justi, director of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin, he asked for advice on the project which, he underlined, proposed to be an artistic manifestation and not a commercial affair. In return he expressed his intention to organise a show of German art in Paris, a project that he was – or at least he claimed to be – eager to accomplish earlier but was discouraged by his German colleagues who maintained that German artists ‘ne valaient pas la peine d’être montrés.’¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Elizabeth Cowling, Anne Baldassari et als, *Matisse Picasso*, London: Tate Publishing, 2002, pp. 372-373.

¹⁰⁴ For a review of the volumes on Dufy and Léger see Paul Fierens, ‘Sur L’Art Vivant,’ *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 18 June 1929, p. 3.

¹⁰⁵ The first volume, sold at 200 francs, included 40 heliotypes and 2 colour plates, printed in paper Japon (5 copies not available for sale) and Hollande (50 copies sold at 700 francs). Christian Zervos, *Picasso: Oeuvres 1920-1926*, Cahiers d’Art, 1926. The Henri Rousseau volume included 100 héliogravure plates, printed in 700 copies and sold at 150 francs (21 copies in japon paper at 650 francs, 50 copies in Holland paper at 500 francs). Christian Zervos, *Rousseau*, Cahiers d’Art, 1928. The Léger volume was printed in 750 copies (7 japon, gouache, eau-forte sold at 2.500 francs, 5 in japon and eau-forte at 1.500 francs, 40 in Hollande paper with engravings at 600 francs.) Tériade, *Fernand Léger*, Cahiers d’Art, 1928. The Dufy volume was printed in 700 copies including 96 héliogravure plates sold at 150 francs (8 copies on japon paper and engraving out of sale, 4 japon paper, designs and engravings at 1.500 francs, 40 copies on Hollande paper with engraving at 600 francs). Christian Zervos, *Raoul Dufy*, Cahiers d’Art, 1928.

¹⁰⁶ Tériade, ‘Documentaire sur la jeune peinture: III. Conséquences du cubisme,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 1, 1930, pp. 17-27.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Je prépare pour Octobre une Exposition à la Maison Municipale de Prague des jeunes peintres de Paris, dont voici les noms : Beaudin, Borès, Chirico, Cossio, Mac Ernst, Fautrier, Ghika, Jean Lurçat,

The Cahiers d'Art monograph series and the magazine's rich illustration offer an account of Zervos' interest in the shift from the private to the public which was thought of as being the only way towards the consecration of contemporary art. It was about a year earlier when the *Office International des Musées* emerged as part of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. As part of the section Artistic Relations, the Office was committed to become an instrument of intercommunication and record between museums nationally and internationally introducing a program which gave 'special importance to the constitution of a general inventory of photographs of pictures, sculptures, monuments, etc.'¹⁰⁸ The spirit of Zervos' publications was founded on the same concept with the Picasso catalogue being the culmination of this idea. Since the first years of *Cahiers d'Art*, Zervos approached artists, dealers, collectors and museum officials to assure their collaboration for the illustration of his publications. The works reproduced mainly belonged to private collections. He was moreover largely committed to propagating Parisian art abroad exchanging clichés for reproduction with other magazines, namely in Germany and Belgium. In fact this was the main topic of discussion in his correspondence with Ridder together with requests of articles for *Sélection*.¹⁰⁹ Zervos

Marcoussis, Masson, Miro, Olivares, Ozenfant, Tarsilla, Vines, Viollier, et les sculpteurs Henri Laurens, Jacques Lipchitz. Cela fait 18 artistes à trois œuvres chacun soit 54 œuvres. C'est l'ensemble de ce qu'il y a meilleur à Paris à l'heure actuelle. J'aimerais beaucoup faire cette exposition en Novembre à Berlin, mais je préférerais éviter les marchands de tableaux afin que cette exposition reste comme une manifestation d'art et non comme une affaire commerciale. Je pensais donc vous demander s'il serait possible de faire faire cette exposition en Kronprinzepalais vers le milieu Novembre. Seulement, il y a la question de frais. Comment pourrait-on s'arranger car la plupart des peintres en question sont pauvres. En retour nous pourrions organiser une exposition de peintres allemandes à Paris afin que nous fassions connaître vos artistes chez nous. J'ai déjà essayé de mettre en exécution ce projet l'année dernière mais la plupart des allemands que j'avais consultés m'avaient invariablement répondu que les artistes allemands ne valaient pas la peine d'être montrés, ce qui n'est pas du tout mon avis, considérant qu'en ce moment l'art n'existe qu'en France et en Allemagne.' Copy of a letter from C. Z. to Ludwig Justi, 18 July 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 1, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁰⁸ The Office had its own official organ the revue *Museion*. Focillon proposed the idea of the adoptive museum: 'A great museum or picture gallery adopts a museum or series of museums of secondary rank to share in its liberalities. It is to these museums that it send works for which it cannot itself find worthy places. It directs to them the gifts for which it has no room.' Waldemar George suggested the collaboration of the French state with art patrons: 'If the French state [...] accepts gifts from wealthy private persons (we know that the cathedrals of Reims and Versailles, those two French national sanctuaries, have been restored only thanks to the generosity of the American philanthropist Rockefeller), we cannot see why the museums should exhibit a pride, which a great country has set aside, when that pride militates against its artistic interests.' Waldemar George, 'Art in France: The League of Nations,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 51, November 1927, p. 245-246.

¹⁰⁹ Letters by A. de Ridder to Zervos dating 2 February 1928 (CAPROV 1), 10 February 1930 (CAPROV 2), 21 March 1930 (CAPROV 2). Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Similar correspondence was also found in Tériade's papers when he was still a *Cahiers d'Art*

maintained strong contacts with Belgium after his collaboration with Morancé. The latter's fascination with engraving turned his focus onto Flemish painters who had a long tradition in mastering the technique. Ridder played an active role in promoting contemporary Parisian art in Belgium, with an evident preference for artists exalting the *esthétique nordique*, namely Dufy, Zadkine, Gromaire and Rouault. In 1926, he published a survey questioning the influence and superiority of contemporary French art over foreign schools. The responses were reproduced in *Le Bulletin de la Vie Artistique* the same year. Tabarant concluded that the lesson of Paris finds no equivalent around the world, noting that the totality of the masters of contemporary painting, regardless of their nationality, draw influence from the École de Paris.¹¹⁰

Considering his interest in the international impact of Parisian art, Zervos was surprisingly unconcerned with the cubist/surrealist-expressionist preoccupations of Belgian artists who, despite Ridder's exhortation, literally passed unnoticed in *Cahiers d'Art*. In fact Zervos published an unfavourable critique of Carl Einstein's *Histoire de l'Art au XXe siècle* (Propyläen-Verlag) by the German art critic Albert Dreyfus in 1926. The book was criticised for its position-takings and the author's significant omissions. Dreyfus declared that the title did not correspond to the content of the book which, though it gave a prominent place to French modern art, was literally a history of expressionism.¹¹¹ The remark is telling of the poor understanding of modern German art. Given Belgian art was the middle-ground between French and German painting, Zervos' position is indicative of his disinterest in the northern style, despite his affirmation to Justi that 'en ce moment l'art n'existe qu'en France et en Allemagne.'¹¹² The problem with Belgian art was that its style was not autonomous, Tériade thought, recognising its potential for self-determination and international recognition¹¹³ – an autonomy that Ridder earlier denied in his *Génie du Nord*.

collaborator. André de Ridder, letter to Tériade, 4 May 1926. Tériade Papers, Musée Matisse. Le Cateau Cambrésis.

¹¹⁰ Tabarant, 'L'Enquête Belge sur la Jeune Peinture Française,' *Le Bulletin de la Vie Artistique* 13, 1926, pp. 197-203.

¹¹¹ Albert Dreyfus, 'Deux Etudes Allemands sur l'Art Contemporain,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8, 1926, p. 214.

¹¹² C. Z., copy of a letter to Ludwig Justi, 18 July 1928. op.cit. note 211.

¹¹³ Tériade, 'L'art Belge à Paris,' *l'Intransigeant*, 30 April 1928, p. 5. In collaboration with Roger van Gindertael, Tériade published a special number of the Belgian magazine *La Nervie* which included a survey on the actual status of Belgian art. With the exception of Ensor, Permeke and de Smet, Belgian art was little known abroad. The survey included answers by, among others, Tériade's circle of Greeks in Paris including Ghika, Tombros, Galanis, the collector Nikos Mazarakis. Zervos also responded to the survey. 'L'Etat Actuel de la Peinture Belge,' *La Nervie – Inventaire* 1, 1926, pp.26-40.

Zervos was sympathetic to the idea of a new museum for contemporary art with private funding with his magazine being highly receptive to collaborations with art dealers, initially those active in France and subsequently in Germany. *Feuilles Volantes*, a slender supplement of *Cahiers d'Art*, printed in 10.000 copies (38x28cm), which published only ten numbers between 1927 and 1928, is perhaps the most eloquent demonstration of Zervos' interest in reporting on the activity of art dealers, publishing interviews with Flechtheim, Paul and Léonce Rosenberg, Berthe Weill, Guillaume, Kahnweiler, Etienne Bignou and Joseph Hessel. Moreover, it reproduced works from their collections and reported systematically on gallery shows, art publications and the independent Salons. It is interesting that the commentaries concerning art exhibitions abroad were progressively reduced to shows that displayed modern Parisian painting. *Feuilles Volantes*, 'la revue de l'homme moderne,' sought to pinpoint the historical and cultural value attributed to modern art in the private domain. The supplement hosted the permanent 'actualité' column of *Cahiers d'Art* eventually marking Zervos' desire to turn the magazine into a publication dealing with fundamental questions of broad art historical interest, as he informed his readers in 1930.¹¹⁴

Diaspora of French Art

The future will remember that in 1929, the moment when Impressionism was entering the Louvre, cubism was unknown in that museum of Luxembourg which had furthermore done everything to throw out Impressionism.¹¹⁵ –Maurice Raynal, 1929

The inauguration of the New York Museum of Modern Art in 1929 revived the dispute against the French state's myopic attitude towards its domestic contemporary art production. The MoMA was not the first museum for contemporary art in the United States. Albert Gallatin's Gallery of Living Art had been installed since 1927 at the New York University, becoming the Museum of Living Art in 1936. The collection was reduced to works by living artists and was the first of its kind in Europe and the United States. Zervos' acquaintances seem to have been restricted to the European context, mainly Germany and Belgium. Arguably trapped in clichés

¹¹⁴ 'Aux Amis des Cahiers d'Art,' *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1930, n.p.

¹¹⁵ Maurice Raynal, 'Le remaniement du musée du Luxembourg,' *L'Intransigeant*, 25 February 1929, p. 5. 'L'avenir se souviendra qu'en 1929 au moment où l'Impressionnisme entrait au Louvre, le cubisme était inconnu en ce musée du Luxembourg qui avait d'ailleurs tout fait pour évincer l'Impressionnisme.'

concerning the Americans' lack of taste in art,¹¹⁶ he appears to ignore by 1928 the favourable reception that French art enjoyed in the United States. In a short note on the forthcoming Lurçat show at the gallery Valentine Dudensing in New York, he declared with satisfaction that finally North America starts to welcome the effort of the young Parisian painters.¹¹⁷ His claim was refuted by Walter Pach a few months later. In a long letter, the American art historian rehearsed several examples of the commercial success of modern French art in North America.

I hesitated to write you this letter thinking that it was susceptible of being interpreted as an expression of patriotism in art – which is obviously a most banal thing. But I take the risk because I also see the possibility of an injustice towards the artists that we both appreciate and you defend with great efficacy in your admirable review. This month, however, it contains the following phrase: We are very happy to state that North America has begun, finally, to welcome the effort of the young Parisian painters. This is a passing reference of course, but this is what discourages artists and dealers to send their works to America. The fact is that here exhibitions of Picasso and Matisse took place twenty years ago, in 1913 we had a modern exhibition of a kind rarely took place in Europe (entire rooms with Cezanne, Redon, cubists, fifteen or so works by Matisse, etc.) where more than 300 works were sold (by Villon – nine out of nine exhibits, by Duchamp – four out of four exhibits – one by Cezanne at the Museum of New York etc.) afterwards – and even during the war time period – an uninterrupted series of beautiful exhibitions where numerous works by Derain, Picasso, Braque, Brancusi, Gris, Metzinger, Gleizes, de la Fresnaye, and many others who still count among the young – or they certainly did ten years ago – were sold here. This season a Despiau exhibition achieved thirty or so sales of his bronzes, if I remember correctly, and I am sure about the number informing you that the Jacques Villon exhibition sold 25 out of 35 exhibited works in the month of April this year.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ On the occasion of an advertising contract for the Dudensing gallery, the American painter John Graham wrote to Zervos : 'Les critiques et les marchands américain [sic] n'ont pas du gout du tout et ils ne savent pas quoi choisir.' John Graham, letter to C. Z., n.d. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 19, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹¹⁷ Christian Zervos, 'New York,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6, 1928, p.264.

¹¹⁸ Walter Pach, letter to C. Z., 10 September 1928. 2ff. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 1, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'J'ai hésité à vous écrire cette lettre pensant qu'elle était susceptible d'être interprétée comme une expression de patriotisme en art – ce qui est évidemment une chose des plus banales. Mais je prends ce risque parce que je vois aussi la possibilité d'un tort à des artistes que nous estimons tous les deux et que vous défendez de la façon la plus efficace dans votre admirable revue. Ce mois pourtant, elle contient la phrase suivante : Nous sommes très heureux de constater que l'Amérique du Nord commence, enfin, à faire bon accueil à l'effort des jeunes peintres de Paris. C'est une observation passagère, bien sûr, mais il y a là pourtant de quoi décourager des artistes ou des marchands qui hésitaient sur une question d'envoyer des œuvres en Amérique. Or le fait est que le commencement ici des expositions de Matisse et de Picasso date d'il y a vingt ans déjà ; en 1913 nous avons eu une exposition moderne comme on a rarement eu en Europe (Salles entières de Cézanne, Redon, des Cubistes, une quinzaine de Matisse etc.) et où plus de 300 œuvres étaient vendues (de Villon – neuf sur neuf exposées, de Duchamp – quatre sur quatre exposées, un Cézanne dans le musée de New York etc) depuis – et même pendant toutes les années de la guerre – une série ininterrompue de belles expositions où de nombreux œuvres de Derain, Picasso, Braque, Brancusi, Gris, Metzinger, Gleizes, de la Fresnaye, et bien d'autres qui peuvent encore compter parmi les jeunes – ou qui l'étaient à coup sûr il y a dix ans – se sont vendues ici. Cette saison une exposition de Despiau a réalisé une trentaine de ventes de ses bronzes, si je me rappelle bien, et je suis sûr du chiffre en vous

Zervos was unpardonably misinformed about the significant collections of modern French art on the other side of the Atlantic. In fact, the Gallatin project must have been well known in Paris. The collector had served as vice-president of the Association des Amis des Artistes Vivants, which was founded in July 1928, and named Charles Pacquement (president de la Société des Amis du Luxembourg) president.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the John Quinn collection, auctioned between 1924 and 1927, was dispersed in several international private and public collections after the collector's death. In October 1926 a smaller auction of the Quinn estate was held in Paris. A significant number of Picassos were purchased by Paul Rosenberg. Moreover, the executor of the will Maurice Léon offered to the newly appointed French ambassador to the United States Henri Bérenger Seurat's last painted work *Le Cirque* which entered the Louvre in 1926.¹²⁰ Quinn was also commented on by *L'Art Vivant* the same year.¹²¹ Nonetheless, Kahnweiler maintained in his interview with Tériade in *Feuilles Volantes* about a year later that the opening of the American market to French painting was yet to be expected and Zervos sustained these views up to this time.¹²² Pach continued:

Not to cite the Barnes collection that you mention, I inform you that the four Picassos reproduced in this number of your magazine belonged to the Quinn collection in New York until the death of the collector who owned approximately 2200 modern artworks. There are, in Paris, copies of the catalogue of his collection (you should not consult the catalogue of the auction which took place only after the private sale of the greatest part of the works – and the best). A fifth example of Picasso in the magazine is found in the Lewisohn collection in New York, the catalogue of which has just been published. This collection is all the more interesting for its effect on public opinion because it associates with the modern movement one of the most important names in finance, and recognises today's men as the continuators of Delacroix, Daumier, Courbet etc. who form the chronological basis of his collection. I could cite more cases – as that of the Chicago Museum with its big Seurat, Cezannes, van Gogh,

informant que l'exposition de Jacques Villon a vendu 26 œuvres sur 35 exposées au mois d'avril de cette année.'

¹¹⁹ Anon., 'L' Association des amis des artistes vivants,' *Le Petit Parisien*, 13 November 1928, p. 2.

¹²⁰ Anon. 'Etats-Unis,' *La Renaissance de l'Art Français et des Industries de Luxe* 1, January 1926, p. 181. The work previously belonged to Signac. An early thesis on the development of taste in the United States submitted in 1938, acknowledged that the Quinn collection included works that certain critics identified with the origins of the art of Seurat and the cubists. These include Ingres' *La Fornarina*, Daumier's *Le Compartiment de troisième classe*, Puvis de Chavannes' *L'Été*, and Cézanne's *Mont-Victoire*, *The House on the Hill*, *White Tree Trunks*, portraits of *Madame Cézanne* and the artist's father. René Brimo, *L'Evolution du Gout aux Etats-Unis d'après l'Histoire des Collections*, Thesis, Faculty of Letters, University of Paris, 1938, p.164. See also, *John Quinn (1870-1925): Collections of Paintings, Water Colors, Drawings and Sculpture*, Huntington, N.Y.: Pidgeon Hill Press, 1926.

¹²¹ Anon. 'La Collection John Quinn,' *L'Art Vivant* 44, 15 October 1926, p. 799.

¹²² Tériade, 'Nos Enquêtes: Entretien avec Henry Kahnweiler,' *Feuilles Volantes* 2, 1927, pp. 1-2.

Matisse, Picasso, Derain etc., but the most important detail to consider comes from the number – ignored by me and all the others who are interested in small collectors who by their purchases of one or two works have been constantly supporting the growth of interest, in this country, in the serious art of our times. I insist that it is not out of desire to make a patriotic reclaim – and even less a commercial one – that I write these lines but because it is important not to discourage a continuation of the past that I am outlining to you.¹²³

The re-organisation of the collections and renovation of the Louvre and the Luxembourg started in 1929. The project was in issue since 1927, when works by Gauguin, Seurat and Rousseau entered the Louvre. The Impressionist collection of the Luxembourg was subsequently transferred to the Louvre reviving the debate over its replacement with works that would eventually sanction the former as a veritable Museum of Living Art. Private initiatives continued to offer significant alternatives. On the occasion of the Luxembourg's refurbishment, Paul Guillaume exhibited his private collection, consisting of works dating from 1860 to 1930 juxtaposed with primitive arts, at the gallery Bernheim Jeune for the benefit of the Société des Amis du Luxembourg.¹²⁴ A catalogue was published with texts by George, while the dealer commissioned Zervos¹²⁵ to write a short note on the show announcing the eventual

¹²³ Walter Pach, letter to C. Z., 10 September 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 1, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Pour ne pas vous parler de la collection Barnes que vous mentionnez, je vous expose le fait que quatre des Picasso reproduits dans ce numéro de votre revue étaient dans la collection Quinn de New York jusqu'à la mort de ce collectionneur qui possédait environ 2200 œuvres modernes. Il y a, à Paris, des exemplaires du catalogue de sa collection (il ne faut pas consulter le catalogue de la vente publique qui était faite seulement après la vente à l'amiable de la plus grande partie des œuvres – et des meilleures). Un cinquième exemplaire de Picasso dans la revue se trouve dans la collection Lewisohn de New York, dont le catalogue vient d'être publié. Cette collection est d'autant plus intéressante pour son effet sur l'opinion publique parce qu'elle associe au mouvement moderne un nom des plus importants dans la finance, et reconnaît les hommes d'aujourd'hui comme les continuateurs de Delacroix, Daumier, Courbet etc. qui font la base chronologique de sa collection. Je pourrais citer encore des cas – comme celui du musée de Chicago avec son grand Seurat, des Cézanne, van Gogh, Matisse, Picasso, Derain etc., mais le plus important détail à considérer est fourni par le nombre – ignoré par moi-même et tous les autres qui s'intéressent de petits collectionneurs qui par leur achats d'un ou deux œuvres ont soutenue constamment la poussé d'intérêt, dans ce pays, à l'art sérieux de notre temps. J'insiste que ce n'est pas dans un désir de faire une réclame patriotique – et encore moins commerciale – que j'écris ces lignes mais parce que il importe de ne pas décourager une suite du passée que je vous esquisse.'

¹²⁴ Waldemar George, *La Grande Peinture Contemporaine à la Collection Paul Guillaume*, Paris: Les Arts à Paris, 1929. A.H.G.D., 'Book Review,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 55, 1929, p. 153.

¹²⁵ 'J'ignorais que nous fussions en retard pour régler cette petite note de 1,000 francs pour laquelle vous voudrez bien trouver inclus un cheque avec mes excuses. Je suis bien heureux de profiter de cette occasion pour vous remercier chaleureusement des trente-cinq lignes que votre éminente Revue a daigné publier à propos de l'anodine exposition de ma collection particulière. J'en suis d'autant plus touché que je constate que des sujets infiniment plus importants vous sollicitent et que je me rends compte que vous avez voulu me marquer une attention toute spéciale et personnelle en donnant dans vos colonnes une place à ce minuscule événement saisonnier.' Paul Guillaume, letter to C. Z., Paris, 29 July 1929, 1f. CAPROV 1, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Zervos replied to Guillaume : 'Je suis très content que la petite note sur votre Exposition vous ait plu, car je craignais

installation of the collection in a *hôtel particulier*, which would become ‘le seul Musée d’Art Contemporain que nous ayons en France.’¹²⁶ *Cahiers d’Art* had previously reproduced a significant part of the Guillaume collection notably on the occasion of Tériade’s interview with the dealer in *Feuilles Volantes*.¹²⁷ Guillaume had repeatedly expressed his admiration for the Barnes Foundation in Philadelphia which became a central topic of discussion in his magazine *Les Arts à Paris*. The Barnes project, he thought, had put into practice the pragmatism of William James, George Santayana and John Dewey. In combination with ideas developed by Bergson, Guillaume thought that these doctrines carried the potential of giving birth to new moral ideals. Under the influence of Barnes, he maintained in his interview to Tériade, a research for an ideal pragmatism was made possible that would contribute to the development of humanity and to intellectual advancement.¹²⁸ The project of creating a museum with his private collection was interrupted by his death in 1934.¹²⁹ The Grenoble Museum, a potential recipient of the collection, paid homage to the collector in 1935, an initiative that was revealing of Andry-Farcy’s effective policies in enriching the museum collections.¹³⁰

Zervos developed a pronounced interest in primitive and archaic arts. *Cahiers d’Art* reported regularly on new acquisitions by the Louvre.¹³¹ In 1929, Zervos published an interview with Henry Verne, France’s director of National Museums, offering a thorough presentation of the plan for the ‘new Louvre.’ His critique was addressed to the limited funding for the project by the French state in reference to

qu’après la magistrale étude, d’après ce qu’on dit, que Monsieur Waldemar George a consacré sur vous et sur votre collection, vous ne trouviez ma notice par trop modeste. Mais je suis persuadé que cette modeste notice portera beaucoup plus que des volumineux dithyrambes.’ C. Z., letter to Paul Guillaume, Paris, 31 July 1929, 1f. CAPROV 1, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹²⁶ ‘Collection Paul Guillaume (Galerie Bernheim Jeune),’ *Cahiers d’Art* 4, 1929, p. xvii.

¹²⁷ E. Tériade, ‘Nos Enquêtes: Entretien avec Paul Guillaume,’ *Feuilles Volantes* 1, 1927, pp. 1-3.

¹²⁸ E. Tériade, ‘Nos Enquêtes: Entretien avec Paul Guillaume,’ *Feuilles Volantes* 1, 1927, pp. 1-3.

¹²⁹ For further discussion of Guillaume’s project and his connections with French officials see Pierre Georgel, *From Renoir to Picasso: Masterpieces from the Musée de l’Orangerie*, Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2000, p.60.

¹³⁰ The Guillaume collection became eventually part of the Orangerie Museum many decades later.

¹³¹ Georges-Henri Rivière, ‘Une sculpture chinoise entre au Louvre,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 10, 1926, p.268. Georges-Henri Rivière, ‘La céramique peinte susienne au musée du Louvre,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 2, 1927, p. 65. Jean Charbonneaux, ‘Terres cuites chypriotes et orientales de l’âge du cuivre à la fin de l’âge du bronze (Musée du Louvre),’ *Cahiers d’Art* 7, 1929, pp.299-302. Etienne Michon, ‘Idoles de Cyclades (Musée du Louvre),’ *Cahiers d’Art* 6, 1929, pp. 251-6. Georges-Henri Rivière, ‘Une sculpture chinoise entre au Louvre,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 10, 1926, p.268. Georges-Henri Rivière, ‘La céramique peinte susienne au musée du Louvre,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 2, 1927, p. 65.

relevant expenses covered by Germany, Belgium, Britain, and Spain.¹³² Zervos launched a survey the same year which commented on the prestige of modern French art in Germany. It included responses by the editor of *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* Alexander Koch, and the director of the Museum of Mannheim Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub. Both expressed their admiration for French living art reserving a prominent place for it in German museums.¹³³ A few months later, *Cahiers d'Art* presented the collection of 19th and 20th century French art of the Frankfurt museum praising the policies of its director Georg Swarzenki and his decision to juxtapose modern art with works of the past (Rembrandt, Holbein, Titien, Tintoretto etc.) Swarzenki confided to the magazine that modern French painters are as important as their ancestors with their works approaching the universal signification of art. The German director affirmed that the splendid French tradition was not dead but always advanced.¹³⁴

Similar eulogies for French art from the part of Germany continued to appear in the pages of *Cahiers d'Art* in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Zervos thought that the contribution of art dealers and private collectors to the enrichment of public collections was vital. Flechtheim had declared earlier in the survey of *L'Art Vivant* that contemporary art in France was to be found solely *chez les marchands*, while German museums had started acquiring contemporary art before the Great War.¹³⁵ Following the example of Guillaume, Flechtheim proposed the publication of a volume containing 100 reproductions of works belonging to his private collection with a German note by Walter Cohen, curator at the Museum of Dusseldorf, and a French introduction by Tériade.¹³⁶ Zervos responded that a volume titled *L'Art Français dans les Collections Allemandes* would be timelier, with Flechtheim

¹³² Christian Zervos, 'Un Vaste Project de Réorganisation du Musée du Louvre: Conversation avec M. Henri Verne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-9, 1929, pp. 402-7. Henri Verne, 'Projet de Réorganisation du Musée du Louvre,' *Museion : Revue Internationale de Muséographie* 10, 1930, pp. 5-13.

¹³³ 'Enquête sur la Peinture Française en Allemagne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1929, p. 51-2.

¹³⁴ P. Le Grand de Reuland, 'Collection d'Art Français en Allemagne. Œuvres des XIX^e et XX^e siècles : Le Musée de Francfort,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4, 1929, pp. 159-161.

¹³⁵ Alfred Flechtheim, response to the survey (1925) republished in Jean-Paul Morel, *Pour un Musée Français d'Art Moderne: Une Enquête de L'Art Vivant en 1925*, Paris : RMN, 1996, p. 68-69.

¹³⁶ 'J'ai un livre à vous proposer. Mr. Tériade a vu ma collection particulière et je voudrai publier un livre dans le genre de votre livre Leger sur ma collection, avec a peu près 100 reproductions. Je ne sais pas combien un livre pareil va couter, peut-être 30 000 Frs pour 1000 exemplaires. Si je prends 500 exemplaires prendriez-vous les autres 500 ? Comme préface une préface allemande par le Dr. Cohen du musée de Düsseldorf, une autre française par Tériade.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 6 April 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. See also Isgard Kracht, 'Un Livre [...] sur ma Collection – Alfred Flechtheims Etablierungsversuche auf dem franzoisischen Kunstmarkt,' Andrea Bambi et Axel Drecol (eds) *Alfred Flechtheim : Raubkunst und Restitution*, Berlin : de Gruyter, 2015, pp. 57-67.

suggesting that it should be enriched with the presentation of the collection of the eminent cubist patron Gottlieb Friedrich Reber and those of German museums.¹³⁷ The project never materialized due to its increased cost and the German amateurs' indifference to support it, Flechtheim reported.¹³⁸ A significant number of photographs from the collections of Reber and Flechtheim were kept in Zervos' archive.¹³⁹ Zervos was also interested in the Albert Figdor collection as a letter from the Austrian art historian Alma Stephanie Frischauer demonstrates, but he eventually revoked the project.¹⁴⁰ The Reber collection was of paramount interest to Zervos.¹⁴¹ Carl Einstein maintained in *l'Intransigeant* that the collection epitomised the most important historical styles moving beyond the classical tradition to prehistoric and archaic Greece while underlining its connections with the Orient. Reber's admiration for the Early Middle-Ages, for Merovingian and Carolingian art, enriched the collection with several examples of these styles that were circulated across Persia, Byzantium, the Balkans, the Danube and the Black Sea. Reber, Einstein argued, 'acknowledged that the commencement of every history of art is founded on the

¹³⁷ 'Vous avez raison. Je crois que 'l'Art Français dans les collections allemandes' intéressera d'avantage. On devrait y ajouter la collection Reber et les musées. Je crois que la plupart de tableaux sont photographiés par Druet et la Librairie de France excepté ceux du vingtième. On devrait mettre 15 Corot, 15 Daumier, 15 Courbet, 15 Manet, 5 Monet, 5 Sisley, 5 Pissarro, 15 Renoir, 15 Cézanne, 15 Van Gogh, 10 Gauguin, 5 Seurat, 10 Rousseau, 15 Matisse, 15 Picasso, 10 Braque, 10 Derain, 10 Leger, 10 Gris, 10 Laurencin, 5 Dufy, 5 Rouault, 5 Utrillo, 5 Vlaminck, 5 Vuillard, 3 Signac, 3 Chirico, 5 Chagal, 5 Pascin et des sculptures.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 15 April 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹³⁸ 'Je crains que les amateurs allemands ne contribuent guère au livre en question et il deviendrait trop cher. Hélas. Quand je viendrai à Paris nous pouvons parler sur l'affaire, les premiers jours de mai [...] Je vois dans Documents (Revue que serait jamais une concurrence pour la votre, étant beaucoup trop sérieuse et n'ayant aucunement d'aussi belles reproductions) un article de Limbour sur Klee.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 19 April 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹³⁹ 'Je vous envoie trois fotos de mon appartement particulier, un mûr avec des Picassos, l'intérieur de mon fumoir avec des tableaux de Picasso, Braque et Gris et ma bibliothèque avec des tableaux de Picasso, Braque et Léger et des sculptures polynésiennes et nègres. Ces fotos sont avec plaisir à votre disposition.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 8 January 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁴⁰ 'Vous m'avez confirmé il y a presque une année le reçu des fotos des œuvres du peintre allemand Karl Hofer et un peu plus tard d'un article descriptif désiré par vous. Je regrette de n'avoir pas reçu aucune nouvelle concernant la publication de cet article dans vos cahiers. De même je vous ai envoyé sous pli recommandé en novembre une quantité des fotos concernant la collection Figdor, sans avoir reçu aucune confirmation de votre part.' Dr. A. S. Frischauer, letter to C. Z., Vienna, 10 February 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Zervos sent back to Frischauer 8 photos of Hofer's work and 14 photos from the Figdor collection. Letter 27 February 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁴¹ Dorothy Kosinski, 'G. F. Reber: Collector of Cubism,' *The Burlington Magazine* 133, 1991, pp. 519-531.

present, and the historical emphases are defined by modern art.' That is why, he concluded, the work of Picasso constitutes the foundation of Reber's collection.¹⁴²

The focus on the history and organisation of private and public art collections was accentuated. With the encouragement of Flechtheim, *Cahiers d'Art* recounted in 1930 the history of the collections of the Museum of Cologne and the important role played by Alfred Hagelstange, who served as its director since 1910. His efforts, the anonymous note - probably written by Flechtheim's collaborator Ariel Tukar¹⁴³ - affirmed, coincided with the formation of the most important private collections of modern painting and sculpture in Germany, which subsequently donated works to state museums. Hagelstange's connections with these collectors proved vital. The article referred to Karl Ernst Osthaus and the Folkwang museum in Essen, Max Meirowski, and the dealers Flechtheim, Reber, and Hermann Tietz. The succession of Hagelstange after his death in 1915 was perilous for the museum. The late appointment in 1921 of Hans Secker and the inflation of the German market rendered impossible the task to bridge the gap opened by the previous director. Secker quit Cologne in 1927. The commentator expressed his confidence in his successor, Ernst Buchner, hoping that he would manage to continue the work initiated by Hagelstange. The role played by German dealers and collectors in the projection of modern French art to the public was pivotal to its consecration, Zervos thought. Their efforts date back to 1912 with the third *Sonderbund westdeutscher Kunstfreunde und Künstler* in Cologne being the first to display a large number of modern French artworks at the time. Even this praiseworthy effort, the author complained, was met with scepticism on the part of France as the opening speech of the French consul revealed.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Carl Einstein, 'La Collection Reber,' *l'Intransigeant*, 21 April 1930, p.5.

¹⁴³ Flechtheim provided the photographs that accompanied the article and in his letters refers to an article by Ariel Tukar, who was a contributor to *Der Querschnitt*. See Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 16 October 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. In a second letter he wrote : 'Je vous envoie sous-pli séparé recommandé 7 fotos des tableaux français du Musée de Cologne et j'ajoute la foto du Comité de l'exposition du Sonderbund a Cologne [...] Je crois que ces fotos donnent une fort bel ensemble de ce fort beau musée. Vous avez recu entretemps l'article de M. Ariel Tukar ?' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 19 October 1929. See also letter to C. Z., 23 October 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁴⁴ The article quotes the words of the French consul: 'La France est fort touchée de l'hommage que vous lui faites en exposant ses peintres. Mais pourquoi n'exposez-vous pas nos maitres, les Henner, les Bouguereau, les Maisonnier ? Pourquoi exposez-vous un peintre dont vous écrivez le nom, une fois Pissaro et une fois Picasso ?' Anon., 'La Peinture Française en Allemagne III – Le Musée de Cologne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1930, p. 156.

Zervos' presentation of the new plans for the Louvre in 1929 spawned international interest.¹⁴⁵ On the occasion of the reorganisation of its collections the Austrian art historian Frantz Ottmann contemplated in a letter the idea of creating a 'real' museum of national art, similar to the one that Wildenstein proposed a couple of years later.

The importance of the ideas exposed in the number 8/9 of your magazine (so vibrant of actuality) on 'A vast project of reorganisation of the Louvre Museum,' the universal love for Paris and its luminescent lantern, the Eiffel tower of the centuries, the passionate interest of an art lover will probably excuse if I dare to add a word to these propositions. My goal is not to degrade or decry them, but to submit a new idea to you, and to public discussion. And here it is: Remove from the Louvre the French artworks and put them together in a real National Museum. This is a monument of French genius in its most expressive manifestations; this is the final outcome of traditional centralism, this is the sanest remedy, the simplest, the most rationalist against all present and future difficulties. The competency of French contemporary architecture to resolve this problem seems to me incontestable given the great number of celebrated artists that are at the front of modern evolution. Well naturally it is about comparing the funds required from one and the other, to study the problem of place and a thousand more consequences, which arise from this proposition. I leave it to you to judge if the time is right for such a discussion.¹⁴⁶

Zervos response to the letter addressed the issue of state neglect of modern art, as a second letter reveals. Ottmann suggested in his turn that architects should undertake the initiative of creating the plans for a new museum in order to mobilise public interest into the project:

Allow me only one word of response. If the state does not want to consent at the moment, could not we start with the architects? If one or more wanted to design an

¹⁴⁵ A smaller version of the text re-appeared in *L'Intransigeant* about a year later. Christian Zervos, 'Conversation avec M. Verne. On réorganise le Louvre,' *L'Intransigeant*, 6 January 1930, p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ Frantz Ottmann (Vienna), letter to C. Z., 15 May 1930. 1f. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'L'importance des idées exposées dans le numéro 8/9 de votre magasin [sic] (si vibrant d'actualité) sur Un vaste projet de réorganisation du Musée du Louvre', l'amour universel pour Paris et son phare lumineux, la tour d'Eiffel des siècles ; l'intérêt passionné d'un amant d'art excusera peut-être si j'ose adjoindre un mot à celles propositions. Mon but n'est pas de les dégrader ou décrier, mais de soumettre une nouvelle idée à vous, à la discussion publique. Et la voici : Tirer du Louvre les œuvres françaises et les concentrer dans un vrai Musée National. Voilà un monument du génie français dans ses manifestations le plus expressives ; voilà le résultat final nécessaire du centralisme traditionnel, voilà le remède le plus simple [sic], le plus simple, le plus rationnel contre toutes les difficultés présentes et futures. La compétence de l'architecture française contemporaine à résoudre ce problème me semble indiscutable vu le grand nombre d'artistes célèbres qui marchent à la tête de l'évolution moderne. Alors naturellement il s'agit de comparer les sommes nécessaires de l'un côté et de l'autre, d'étudier la question de la place et mille autres conséquences, qui coulent de cette proposition. Je laisse à vous de juger si le temps est mur pour une telle discussion.'

ideal plan, either for a National Museum or for a Modern Museum, as a fantasy, a dream, would not that be a lever to mobilise public opinion? I have always noticed: when someone comes with a new idea, people generally lack imagination. One has to show an advanced project to provoke interest. In the following autumn, in Berlin, the Deutsche Museum will open. But, as in Germany the concentration of works is not the same as in France, a museum of this sort (like the Bayerische Nationalmuseum [...] and many others) will always be a particular, if not a particularist, affair.¹⁴⁷

Ottmann's letters obviously motivated Zervos to publish a short note the same year under the title 'Pour la Création à Paris d'un Musée des Artistes Vivants.' The note however contemplated the creation of a museum with no regards to tradition, ethnicity, or style. Zervos envisaged an institution presenting current artistic production in Paris with no links to other French museums and their contemplation of the past. Adopting pragmatist rhetoric he addressed a polemic to the French state, which was unwilling to buy works by contemporary artists when their prices were low, complaining later that they were expensive to buy. In the meantime foreign museums were enriching their public collections with French masterpieces purchased at low prices due to better timing.

Are we going to revive with contemporary art the error committed with Impressionist painting? When Impressionist painters went through mockeries and sarcasms by critics, officials and the mob, Hugo von Tschudi in Germany was gathering their most beautiful tables for the National Gallery of Berlin [...] It is not in Paris where one can study the work of Seurat [...] Corot, Courbet, the Impressionists, Cézanne, Renoir, Gauguin, Van Gogh, and the Douanier Rousseau [...] Their essential works, those that have exerted fecund influence and contributed to the development of modern painting, are to be seen in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Germany, Czechoslovakia, the United States; everywhere, except from France.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Frantz Ottmann (Vienna), letter to C. Z., 26 May 1930. 1f. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Permettez-moi un seul mot de réponse. Si l'état pour l'instant ne veut consentir, ne pouvait on pas commencer de la part des architectes ? Si un d'eux ou plusieurs voulaient esquisser un plan idéal, soit pour un Musée National soit pour un Musée Moderne, comme une fantaisie, un rêve, il y aurait un levier pour émouvoir l'opinion publique. J'ai toujours remarqué : quand on vient avec une idée nouvelle, les hommes généralement ne peuvent rien s'imaginer. Il faut bien montrer un projet bien avancé pour causer bien intérêt. A l'automne prochain à Berlin sera ouvert le nouveau Deutsche Museum. Mais comme en Allemagne la concentration des œuvres n'est pas telle qu'elle est en France, un tel musée (comme le Bayerische Nationalmuseum [...] et plusieurs autres) sera toujours plutôt une affaire particulière, si non particulariste.' Frantz Ottmann (Vienna), letter to C. Z., 26 May 1930. 1f. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁴⁸ Christian Zervos, 'Pour la création à Paris d'un Musée des Artistes Vivants,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7, vol. 6, 1930, p. 338. 'Va-t-on renouveler avec l'art contemporain l'erreur qu'on a commise avec la peinture impressionniste ? Pendant que les peintres impressionnistes subissaient les railleries et les sarcasmes des critiques, des officiels et de la foule, Hugo von Tschudi en Allemagne, réunissait leurs plus belles toiles pour la Galerie Nationale de Berlin [...] Ce n'est pas à Paris qu'on peut étudier l'œuvre de Seurat [...] de Corot, de Courbet, des Impressionnistes, de Cézanne, de Renoir, de Gauguin, de Van Gogh et du douanier Rousseau. [...] Leurs œuvres essentielles, celles qui ont exercé une influence féconde et

The dispute over the poor representation of modern art in French museums shifted from the Caillebotte affair to the widespread dissemination of modern French art abroad which raised issues of cultural decay. Following Ottmann's earlier proposition, Le Corbusier and Jeanneret willing to facilitate the project of an independent museum published the architectural plans for its construction in *Cahiers d'Art*. The project required the minimum possible funding from the 'patron' who would undertake its realisation, as mentioned in the editorial note.¹⁴⁹ Although the museum in question proposed to be a private institution functioning independently from the state, three years later and while the project was left unaccomplished, the two architects participated unsuccessfully in the state competition for the creation of the museum of modern art in Paris, which proposed to open on the occasion of the 1937 World's Fair.

contribué au développement de la peinture moderne, c'est à Londres, à Edinbourg, à Glasgow, en Allemagne, en Tchécoslovaquie, aux Etats-Unis qu'il faut aller pour les voir; partout, sauf en France.'

¹⁴⁹ Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, 'Pour la création à Paris d'un Musée des Artistes Vivants,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1931, pp. 5-9. 'Ce musée qui se proposerait de sauvegarder une part importante de la création artistique actuelle, réunirait les œuvres peintes et sculptées, des meilleurs parmi les artistes vivants et tous ceux dont l'œuvre commence à s'affirmer. On trouverait aussi dans ce musée les œuvres des artistes les mieux doués de la jeune génération, quelles que soient leurs tendances, pourvu seulement qu'elles témoignent d'un talent personnel et d'un effort vigoureux et de haute tenue. On y admettrait en outre les œuvres, de tous les artistes vivants à Paris et formés à Paris indépendamment de leur nationalité. Des salles seraient en plus réservées aux peintres et sculpteurs vivant à l'étranger et dont les recherches complètent celles des artistes qui travaillent chez nous.' N.D.L.R., 'Pour la Création à Paris d'un Musée des Artistes Vivants (II),' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1931, p. 5.

Chapter 3: La Nouvelle Génération

In what way precisely Maillol is classic. Not in that he turned to the ancients to make his departure. He always avoided the whim of other sculptors who make Greek what is not, Roman what appears to be Roman, gothic dismantled of the gothic spirit [...] Since, when humans liberate themselves from the ephemeral which is elevated from the particular to the universal [...] there is no longer for them either past or present [...] they no longer belong to an epoch or a determined place. Their intelligence lives in all countries and in time [...] That is how the sculptures of Maillol are at the same time ancient and contemporary.¹ – Christian Zervos, 1925

The necessity of periodical control through the natural return to classic stability, as if it concerned a return to earth, is a necessity that we find in Picasso and the greatest Spanish artists in general, who possess the racial strength to reinstate their romantic impulse to a formal and living order.² Tériade, 1926

In the debate over the creation of a new museum in Paris, Zervos' positioning clearly pointed to a solution for the benefit of contemporary art. His proposed project did not literally concern a museum in the traditional sense of the term. He rather preferred a centre for contemporary creation. Although these positions were transformed as we shall see after the official announcement, Zervos maintained an unvarying position in defence of contemporary art. As was previously the case with interior design in *Les Arts de la Maison*, *Cahiers d'Art* aimed at reporting on the latest developments in art and architecture. The magazine focused on the young generation of artists and architects maintaining its focus on archaeology. Zervos demonstrated an archaeological approach to contemporary art. He preferred works that circumscribed the principal characteristics of the times that produced them furnishing the occasion to future generations to evaluate their ancestral contribution to the evolution of humanity. This notably applied to his critical approach to sculpture. Zervos marked a noticeable activity as an independent editor and publisher in the late 1920s. He

¹ Christian Zervos, 'Aristide Maillol,' *L'Art d'Aujourd'Hui*, 1925, pp. 39-40. 'Par quoi précisément Maillol est classique. Non pas qu'il ait regardé les anciens pour s'en faire un départ. Il a toujours évité le travers d'autres sculpteurs qui font du grec qui n'en est pas, du roman qui n'a que l'apparence du roman, du gothique dépouillé d'esprit gothique [...] Car, sitôt que l'homme s'est affranchi de l'éphémère, qu'il s'est élevé du particulier à l'universel et que son esprit a su se porter de la cause actuelle aux effets lointains et immuables, il n'y a plus pour lui ni passé ni présent, non ancien ni moderne, mais un état supérieur d'actualité identique dans le passage des jours [...] il n'appartient plus à une époque ou à un lieu déterminé. Son intelligence vit en tous pays et dans le temps [...] C'est en quoi les sculptures de Maillol sont à la fois anciennes et d'aujourd'hui.'

² E. Tériade, 'Pablo Gargallo,' *L'Art d'Aujourd'Hui*, 1926, p. 46 'Ce besoin d'ailleurs de contrôle périodique par un retour naturel à la stabilité classique, comme s'il s'agissait d'un retour à la terre, est un besoin qu'on retrouve chez Picasso et en general chez les grands artistes espagnols qui possèdent la puissance racée de ramener toujours leurs élans romantiques à un ordre formel et vivant.'

published a French translation of the sonnets of Louis de Góngora - renowned poet of the Spanish *Siglo de Oro* - with illustrations by Serna, re-affirming his appreciation for the Spaniards.³ In 1930, a small volume on the Spanish composer Manuel de Falla was published.⁴ Adolfo Salazar explained a couple of years earlier the universal preoccupations of both Falla and Ernesto Halffter.⁵ Both Zervos and Tériade admitted the meridional origins of cubism, which encompassed in their eyes genuine classic qualities. In his book on Léger, Tériade argued that unlike the Mediterranean classicism of Braque, Gris and Picasso, the artist carried elements of folklore plasticity and septentrional expression representing a classical phase in the evolution of northern art.⁶ Tériade was fascinated with the observation of the creative synthesis of various ethnic features with the characteristics of the French school which had the diversity and originality of the exponents of the School of Paris as a result. Artists, he thought, cannot resist the influence of the environment they live in. Their racial features are spontaneously incorporated to the style adopted under the influence of Paris, so that their art constitutes an original manifestation of a synthetic process. These views evoke Zervos' earlier references to Lamarck.

Cahiers d'Art introduced a terminology that defined its orientation. The terms 'jeunesse,' 'jeune peinture,' 'nouvelle generation,' dominated the criticism of Tériade and Zervos. Youth was understood as the beginning, the first step towards creation and has to be compared to Picasso's oft-quoted statement to Tériade that what makes art interesting is the beginning, after the beginning there is always the end.⁷ The magazine's keen interest in Picasso resided in his constant 'youth,' his perpetual urge for renewal. Tériade argued that Picasso passed from cubism to realism and then to a revived classicism without carrying any baggage from one stop to another.⁸ Zervos would however insist on the omnipresence of the *manière cubiste* in every aspect of

³ *Sonnets de Gongora*, trans. Zdislas Milner, *Cahiers d'Art*, 1928.

⁴ The small volume included 64 pages of text and 6 plates and was printed in 1.000 copies sold at the price of 25 Frs. The special edition of only 10 copies on Japon Imperial including a page of autograph music was sold at the price of 300 Frs. Roland-Manuel, *Manuel de Falla*, Paris: *Cahiers d'Art*, 1930.

⁵ Adolfo Salazar, 'Le Concerto de Manuel de Falla. Langage et Style, Classicisme et Modernisme,' *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1927, pp. 352-354. Adolfo Salazar, 'Ernesto Halffter et la Jeune Génération Musicale en Espagne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1929, pp. 34-36.

⁶ Tériade, *Léger*, Paris: *Cahiers d'Art*, 1928, p. x.

⁷ Tériade, 'En causant avec Picasso,' *l'Intransigeant*, 15 June 1932, p. 1.

⁸ E. Ελευθεριάδης, 'Picasso A,' *Πρόοδος*, 1 August 1926. On the aspect of 'youth' in the critical writings of Tériade and Zervos see Chara Kolokytha, *La Critique d'Art dans l'entre-deux-guerres: Le cas de Tériade et Christian Zervos*, in F.-G. Theuriau (ed.), *L'Evolution de la Démarche Critique dans le Monde Culturel*, Actes du Colloque de CESL, Nice: Ed. Vaillant, 2015, pp. 81-90.

his work.⁹ In a series of articles titled 'Besoin d'un nouveau Fauvisme,' Tériade identified fauvism with 'youth,' the primary state of mind of young artists which was explorative, loose, audacious, and subjective. This state of mind remounted to the point zero of the metier, constituting a phase of inquiry that was pivotal to the shaping of a mature solid style. The young artists that the magazine supported (Borès, Beaudin, Serna, Ghika, Cossio etc), though they worked under the influence of cubism developing an abstract style, were described as fauves by Tériade due to their bold and impulsive approach to painting. The title and the content of these articles were unconcerned with age or fauvism. It is interesting how Zervos refrained from conforming to Rosenberg's line who had asked him to avoid references to fauvism and impressionism.¹⁰ Tériade would later adopt the position of Raynal that fauvism was a spontaneous return to the Middle-Ages, when artists started establishing contacts with the classic tradition.¹¹ Through the synthesis of these two states of mind a second renaissance was possible. 'The artist, he declared, starts with being fauve [...] the eternal fauvism of youth [...] finds here its eternal robust and sane moral.'¹² Veritable youth, he added, comes at the moment when artists conquer liberty. Following Zervos, Tériade acknowledged Picasso's classic state of mind. They both however asserted that it was the result of his profound study and understanding of classic works being in no way imitative or retrogressive. Picasso, declared Tériade, obeys the same profound needs and strives to find solutions to the problems that ancient artists attempted to solve. Continuous research was an indication of the artist's restlessness. *Cahiers d'Art* was unwilling to suspend disbelief in the *Call to Order*

⁹ 'C'est pourquoi l'œuvre de Picasso est toujours une et diverse. A chaque nouvelle exposition de son œuvre, on annonce son éloignement du cubisme. Erreur ! [...] car il y a une interprétation cubiste et un rapport de cette interprétation avec les choses, dont Picasso a toujours tenu compte.' Christian Zervos, 'Lendemain d'une Exposition,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6, 1926, p. 119.

¹⁰ With the exception, of course, of Matisse and Dufy, Zervos gave less space to fauvism and impressionism than he did to cubism. Rosenberg wrote to Léger 1926: 'Comme je passe la main à Zervos en ce qui concerne le bulletin à la condition bien entendu qu'il continue à ne faire aucune concessions ni à l'impressionnisme ou au fauvisme, je pourrai continuer la propagande et l'action moderne sous forme d'expositions.' Letter 336 (10 July 1926). Christian Derouet (ed.), *Fernand Léger. Une Correspondance Poste Restante*, Cahiers du MNAM, Hors-Série/ Archives, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 1997, p. 216. Between 1929 and 1931, after the discontinuation of the *Bulletin de l'Effort Moderne*, *Cahiers d'Art* started publishing a series of articles on Fauvism by Georges Duthuit. See G. Duthuit, 'Le Fauvisme,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5, 1929, pp. 177-186. 'Le Fauvisme II,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6, 1929, pp. 259-268. 'Le Fauvisme,' *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1929, pp. 429-434. 'Le Fauvisme IV,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1930, pp. 129-132. 'Le Fauvisme – fin,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1931, pp. 79-82.

¹¹ Maurice Raynal, 'Epitome of French Art from the Earliest Times to the Future,' *Verve* 1, 1937, p. 107-108.

¹² 'L'artiste commence par être fauve [...] l'éternel fauvisme de la jeunesse [...] trouve ici sa morale robuste et saine de toujours.' Tériade, 'Documentaire sur la jeune peinture I. Considérations Liminaires,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-9, 1929, p. 360.

concept but yet admitted the classic output of Picasso's explorations. Unlike Derain who, the same as Moréas, thought a *Retour à l'Ordre* was necessary, the magazine maintained that Picasso sought to establish a new order. At the time of the Parthenon the gothic cathedrals would appear unimaginable, Tériade wrote, connecting the ingenuity of the classic era with that of the French Middle-Ages.¹³ Zervos preferred the example of pre-historic art, as we shall see.

Tériade subscribed to the dream of a new museum in Paris being more eager than Zervos to connect contemporary art with French tradition. In collaboration with Raynal, he launched the survey '1830-1930' in *l'Intransigeant* questioning the *constance révolutionnaire* in the years between 1830 and 1930. The question was about whether the classicism of David and Ingres, the romantic reaction of Géricault, Delacroix and later Corot and the École 1830, found equivalences in the 20th century and the work of Cézanne, Seurat, Renoir, fauvism, cubism, the post war artists and the young generation. To those who could read between the lines the survey concerned the perpetual debate between the classic and the romantic and its expression in French art. The debate however looked back to the gothic period. Not all responders grasped that reference. Amongst those who did, Rosenberg responded that the contemporary heroic struggle between plastic order and sentimental/individualist anarchy was unprecedented. The only possible parallel that present times may draw from the past was to be traced, he thought, in the times of the cathedrals, when western art was liberated from Oriental decadence.¹⁴ A synthesis of the classic and the romantic was inherent to artistic creation, declared Ozenfant. Romanticism and classicism should not be conceived as contradictory cultures. The first suffers a perpetual misunderstanding. In keeping with Tériade's views, Ozenfant admitted that the primary state of mind is romantic. But this state is transitional. It becomes classic afterwards. 'What is classic is what became classic,' he argued, as was the case with Ingres, who became classic but was accused of being gothic, romantic. Becoming classic, the artist asserted, is being romantic in the expression of the collective and universal means of classicism.¹⁵ Despite his purist precedent, Ozenfant seems to

¹³ Tériade, 'Les Peintres Nouveaux I: De la Formation d'une Plastique Moderne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1927, pp. 3-31.

¹⁴ Léonce Rosenberg, 'Enquête : 1830-1930,' *l'Intransigeant*, 6 January 1930, p.6.

¹⁵ Ozenfant, 'Enquête : 1830-1930,' *l'Intransigeant*, 13 January 1930, p.6.

accept the aspect of expression in art which he identified with poetry. Commenting on Zervos' earlier article on Henri Rousseau¹⁶ Ozenfant wrote:

Those who have understood – they believe – the modern ended up with the codification of reason. More sentimental than everyone else, they dictate that sentiment is the error, the enemy: Romanticism. It really must be understood. Of me, they say: a frenzied lyric. With pleasure and thank you [...] Reason, reason. Sentiment overflows, sentiment provokes, sentiment creates. Reason comes afterwards, it coordinates. This is, it seems to me, the re-established order of things. And you have written it in beautiful terms.¹⁷

Tériade sustained his disbelief in the mechanist aesthetic and the geometrical adventure of cubism which in his opinion led to decorative and academic approaches to art. In the introduction to Rosenberg's interview, he identified the dealer's attachment to the new age aesthetic as an aspect of romanticism. This dehumanised tendency, he wrote, was a transient manifestation aspiring to synthesize, according to the dominant rhythms of its times, the style of its resemblance (cubism) with the one that succeeded it (abstraction).¹⁸ Kandinsky and Klee, the first being too scientific and the latter exalting poetic sentiment identified with pictorial surrealism, were presented as the most outstanding examples of the German spirit representing contrary qualities.¹⁹ It was through the art of Kandinsky, Klee and Masson that Tériade and Zervos gradually accepted the poetic contribution of surrealism to the rehabilitation of contemporary art. The movement was initially confronted with hostility by Zervos due to its rejection of the aspect of plasticity. However, he soon admitted its poetic contribution that had a rejuvenating effect on contemporary art. In his response to the '1830-1930' survey, Kandinsky saw in cubism and abstract painting 'the first experience of synthesizing in a unique content the classic and the romantic forms' testing the potentials for a new composition. Contrary to the convictions of Zervos

¹⁶ Christian Zervos, 'Henri Rousseau et le Sentiment Poétique,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9, 1926, pp. 227-229.

¹⁷ Amédée Ozenfant, letter to C. Z., 21 April 1927. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 24, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.. 'Ceux qui ont compris – croient-ils – le moderne sont arrivés à la codification de la raison. Plus sentimentaux que tous les autres, ils décrètent que le sentiment est l'erreur, l'ennemi : Romantisme. Il faudrait vraiment s'entendre. De moi, on dit : un lyrique déchainé ! Avec plaisir et merci [...] Raison, raison. Le sentiment déborde, le sentiment provoque, le sentiment crée. La raison vient après, elle ordonne. Voilà me semble-t-il l'ordre des choses rétabli. Et vous l'avez écrit en fort beaux termes.' I am thankful to Malcolm Gee for helping me with the transcription of the letter

¹⁸ Rosenberg maintained that the future of art is found in automates and mobile sculpto-paintings. The artists that he however distinguished among the younger generation were Lurçat, Beaudin, Rendon, Masson, Serna, and Borés, none of them preoccupied with mechanism. Tériade, 'Nos Enquêtes : Entretiens avec Léonce Rosenberg,' *Feuilles Volantes* 6, 1927, p. 2.

¹⁹ E. T., 'Les Expositions,' *l'Intransigeant*, 22 January 1929, p. 5. E. Tériade, 'A travers les Expositions,' *l'Intransigeant*, 4 February 1929, p. 5.

and Tériade, Kandinsky appears here to associate cubism with the romantic tradition. Impressionism, he thought, was classic in its conception producing consequently romantic reactions such as fauvism and expressionism. Surrealism and abstraction re-established the opposition between the romantic and the classic. The difference between the two resided in their approach to nature. The first remained attached to it in an unnatural-metaphysical way, while the second totally omitted it.²⁰ The aspect of synthesis found diverse interpretations in the formalist discourse of the period in question. To better illustrate Zervos' positions it is pertinent to consider his connections with Germany and his interest in primitive expression.

The Neue Kunsthefte Affair

I know a German art dealer who, some time ago and every time I see him in Paris, tells me: 'You will see, in three years from now, Berlin is going to be the world's market for painting.' He repeated to me his prognostic in Berlin. I am now far from believing it. But it has to be said that this situation could change from one year to another. Could not the young elements of Parisian painting ignite new enthusiasms in Germany?²¹ – Tériade, 1929.

Zervos and Tériade's regular visits to Germany in the late 1920s owed much to the former's interest in expanding his affairs abroad, though they confronted with scepticism the expressionist aspects that dominated German art. Zervos contributed articles on Dufy, Gargallo and Braque to Bruno Cassirer's *Kunst und Künstler*²² and commentaries on Picasso and Dufy to *Der Querschnitt*.²³ Tériade's French articles on

²⁰ Kandinsky, 'Enquête : 1830-1930,' *l'Intransigeant*, 2 December 1929, p. 5.

²¹ E. Tériade, 'Une Enquête en Allemagne. La Peinture à Berlin,' *l'Intransigeant*, 15 April 1929, p.4, 'Je connais un marchand de tableaux allemand qui, depuis longtemps et chaque fois que je le vois à Paris, me dit: Vous allez voir, dans trois ans, Berlin va devenir le marché mondial de la peinture. Il m'a renouvelé à Berlin son pronostic. Je suis maintenant loin de le croire. Mais il faut dire aussi que cette situation pourrait changer d'une année à l'autre. Les jeunes elements de la peinture de Paris ne pourraient-ils pas rallumer de nouveaux enthousiasmes en Allemagne ?'

²² Christian Zervos, 'Raoul Dufy,' *Kunst und Künstler* 28, 1930, pp. 30-35 also appeared in *N.R.F.* 186, March 1929. Christian Zervos, 'Georges Braque,' *Kunst und Künstler* 27, July 1929, pp. 386-389. Christian Zervos, 'Pablo Gargallo,' *Kunst und Künstler* 65, 1929/1930, pp. 104-108.

²³ Christian Zervos, 'Picassos Neue Werke,' *Der Querschnitt* 6, 1926. Christian Zervos, 'Die Zeichnungen Picassos,' *Der Querschnitt* 7, 1927. Christian Zervos, 'Raoul Dufy,' *Der Querschnitt* 7, 1927. Christian Zervos, 'Pablo Picasso, Sein Sohn im Harlekin-Kostüm,' *Der Querschnitt* 8, 1928. The magazine was published by Propyläen-Verlag (Berlin), a publishing house functioning under the direction of Julius Elias, which published between 1923 and 1929 the sixteen volume art history illustrated series *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* with Carl Einstein and Eckart von Sydow being listed among its contributors. A relative advertising note for the series appeared in *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1930. On 14 April 1930, the publishing house commissioned *Cahiers d'Art* to publish three additional advertising notes. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CA 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Cf. Malcolm Gee, 'The 'cultured city': the art press in Berlin and Paris in the early twentieth century,' Malcolm Gee and Tim Kirk (eds) *Printed Matters: Printing, Publishing and Urban Culture in*

Dufy and Levy appeared in translation in *Kunst und Künstler*, *Das Kunstblatt* and *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*.²⁴ Zervos' visit to Frankfurt in 1929 for the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) got him in touch with the Frobenius Institute and Hans Mühlestein. Tériade reported from Berlin in 1929 that contemporary Parisian art was ignored in Germany. Cubism, he wrote, plays a paltry role in that country, which is solely preoccupied with the fauvism of Matisse, the objectivity of Derain, the mechanism of Léger and the Greek spirit of Maillol. The 'fauves allemands' will remain 'fauves' for their whole lives, he declared. 'Fauvism in France has been primarily a moral movement. In Germany, it has been morale in itself.'²⁵ These views need to be understood with regards to the collaboration with Flechtheim and Zervos' effort to propagate the influence of Parisian art and expand his readership abroad.

The years 1927-1935 mark a period of severe financial crisis for Zervos which has to be combined with his remarkable interest in building strong editorial bonds with Germany. By 1927, Zervos' increasing deficit threatened the continuation of *Cahiers d'Art*. The first artist he asked for help from was Picasso.

For six days, the friends of the young bankers, who have pressurised me five months ago to increase the page number of the magazine and the quality of the reproductions [...] take advantage of my current poverty, which I would have avoided if I had been warned, to put a knife to my throat and oblige me to transfer more than a half of the magazine to them [...] I find myself in the situation to either degrade the magazine that I created with much pleasure and with a disinterested intention, or close it. As I absolutely refuse to make *Cahiers d'Art* a commercial organ, I would prefer the second solution, unless disinterested friends do their best to help me overcome the actual embarrassment, which can not last more than eight months. As I, personally, cannot spend more money [...] I have already spent more than 80.000 Frs, I thought about asking artists that do not depend on the magazine – others might misinterpret the proposal - to entrust me with the work of their choice, in order to constitute a guarantee for a loan [...] and to balance the budget of the magazine. Think about if the magazine has to be helped, that is to say whether it has a reason to exist, and give me your answer when you can.²⁶

Europe in the modern period, Ashgate, 2002, pp. 150-173. Erika Esau, 'The Magazine of Enduring Value: Der Querschnitt (1921-36) and the World of Illustrated Magazines,' in P. Brooker, S. Bru et als (eds), *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vol. III: Europe 1880-1940, part II, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 868-887.

²⁴ Tériade, 'Raoul Dufy,' *Kunst und Künstler* 64, April 1929, pp. 18-23. Tériade, 'Leopold Levy,' *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 60, 1927, pp. 288-294. Tériade, 'Raoul Dufy,' *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 64, 1929, pp. 18-23. Tériade, 'Vom Stilleben zur lebendigen Natur,' *Das Kunstblatt* 15, 1931.

²⁵ E. Tériade, 'Une Enquête en Allemagne. La Peinture à Berlin,' *l'Intransigeant*, 15 April 1929, p. 4,

²⁶ C. Z., letter to Picasso, 1 April 1927. Archives Picasso, Musée Picasso, Paris. 'Depuis six jours, les amis des jeunes banquiers, qui m'avaient poussé depuis cinq mois à augmenter le nombre de pages de la revue et la qualité des reproductions [...] profitent de ma gêne actuelle, que j'aurais évité si j'en étais

Zervos sought for disinterested contributions to the magazine. He explained on every occasion that he was running an independent non-profitable publication, created for the benefit of independent young artists, with its one and sole mission being to render service to artists and art amateurs. Yet the readership of the magazine was gallery focused with continuous subscriptions being reduced to official institutions and bookstores. Individual subscriptions mainly concerned particular numbers with varying constancy. Already since the second year of *Cahiers d'Art*, Zervos started publishing small albums with engravings by contemporary artists. The first included seven works by Matisse, Picasso, Dufy, Lurçat, Vlaminck, Laurens and Leopold-Levy presumably disinterestedly offered in support of the magazine. The price varied from 1.000 to 2.000 francs depending on material aspects. The album included works by 'the current stars' of the contemporary art market since the commercial success of Dufy, Matisse, Picasso and Vlaminck in the mid-1920s was remarkable as Malcolm Gee has demonstrated.²⁷ It was printed in just 50 copies and was available exclusively to subscribers. The project reflects Zervos' editorial practices with regards to expanding his readership but also the target-audience of the magazine. *Cahiers d'Art* was transformed from one year to another as was also the case with its price which increased progressively from the late 1920s to the mid-1930s.²⁸ Subscription rates varied accordingly. Early subscriptions mainly came from France and Germany, although the magazine was distributed to many countries since the second year of its publication, mainly in Europe and sparsely in the United States.

prévenu pour me mettre le couteau à la gorge et m'obligent de leur passer plus de la moitié de la revue [...] Je suis donc dans l'alternative ou de laisser déchoir la revue que j'ai faite avec beaucoup de plaisir et dans un but désintéressé ou de l'arrêter. Comme je tiens absolument que Cahiers d'Art ne devienne un organe commercial, je préférerai la seconde solution, à moins que des amis désintéressés font leur possible à me sortir de l'embarras actuel qui ne peut pas durer plus de huit mois. Comme, personnellement, je ne peux plus continuer à dépenser l'argent [...] j'en ai déjà dépensé plus de 80.000 Frs, j'ai pensé demander aux artistes qui n'ont pas besoin de la revue, les autres pouvant mal interpréter ma proposition, de me confier de leur œuvre ce qu'ils veulent, de sorte à constituer une garantie pour faire un emprunt [...] et équilibrer le budget de la revue. Réfléchissez si vraiment la revue doit être aidée, c'est-à-dire si elle a une raison d'être, et faites-moi savoir votre réponse dès que vous le prenez.'

²⁷ Malcolm Gee, *Dealers, Critics, Collectors of Modern Painting: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market between 1910-1930*, London: Garland, 1981, pp. 245-254, and vol.2, p. 227. See also Christopher Green, *Cubism and its Enemies: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art: 1916-1928*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, p. 136.

²⁸ Chara Kolokytha, 'The Art Press and Visual Culture in Paris during the Great Depression: Cahiers d'Art, Minotaure, and Verve,' *Visual Resources* 29, 2013, p. 187.

The effects of the recession were soon to strike *Cahiers d'Art*, the financial status of which had been oppressive since 1927. Zervos turned for help to the artists that the magazine supported and strived to rebound its readership abroad, namely in Germany and later the United States. The magazine marked significant success in Germany since the second year of its publication with Zervos envisaging a German edition of *Cahiers d'Art* in collaboration with Flechtheim and his assistant by that time Curt Valentin. The project was eventually interrupted, though an official announcement featured in the magazine in 1927. The foreign edition proposed to offer 'à l'élite du monde entier' the most interesting manifestations in the artistic domain on an international level. It aimed to reconcile artists from different countries that worked in the same direction by reviving their since the Great War interrupted contacts.²⁹ Flechtheim encouraged Zervos to open an office in Berlin. In 1928, Valentin rented an office on Zervos' behalf, employing Willi Pferdekamp as an assistant. The contract sent to Zervos in January 1928 named Valentin silent partner although he would be involved in the editorial work. The document referred to both books and periodicals. The trading company intended to re-publish in German translation works originally published in France by Zervos and to distribute them to the German speaking world. It would be registered with an initial capital of 2.000 Reichmarks, deposited by Zervos.³⁰

Valentin took drastic actions immediately upon an oral agreement with Zervos in Berlin a few months earlier.³¹ He arranged the administrative tasks according to the German commercial law register asking Zervos to take the relative actions to establish the company in the quickest possible time. Zervos appeared diffident, accusing Valentin of acting without his consent.³² Their long correspondence is revealing of

²⁹ *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1927, n.p.

³⁰ Contract sent to C. Z. by Curt Valentin, 15 January 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. For the whole text see APPENDIX 1C.

³¹ 'Vous m'avez prié à Berlin d'engager quelqu'un pour le bureau et j'ai engagé ce M. Pferdekamp pour 150M par mois. Grace à dieu j'ai dit toujours à M. Pferdekamp que ce n'est pas même définitif. Et l'acte officiel ? Vous savez que je ne fais pas un acte officiel sans vous demander et sans vous. Je ne veux pas faire un acte officiel sauf de l'acte qui est nécessaire pour faire le bureau ici et pour recevoir la permission de la préfecture notice et commerciale. Je vous ai écrit que l'acte officiel que je vous ai envoyé est seulement sur le papier. J'attends votre réponse par courrier de poste. Le bureau sera prêt cette semaine et j'ai demandé déjà le téléphone et cheque postale.' Curt Valentin, letter to C. Z., 11 January 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

³² 'Comme suite à mon télégramme et à ma lettre j'ajoute que je suis fort étonné que vous aviez engagé qui que ce soit avant mon retour à Berlin. Il était convenu que pour m'éviter tous frais vous entendriez la fin du mois de Janvier pour engager du personnel et pour installer le téléphone qui ne pourrait nous servir à rien avant mon retour à Berlin. L'histoire du contrat sur le sens duquel je ne me suis pas mépris

Zervos suspiciousness towards the intentions of his German partners, including Flechtheim. A closer look into the legal frame of the magazine could cast light into the failure of the affair. *Cahiers d'Art* was officially registered in 1935.³³ The magazine was probably published under the administrative auspices of Morancé throughout the period in question. In fact, Zervos unwillingness to advance the works for the German edition of *Cahiers d'Art* coincides with the fact that he was asked to provide an imprimatur of the commercial register of the magazine in France that he probably lacked at that time. A more concrete hypothesis would involve Zervos' financial difficulties and his reluctance to invest capital into a project that was supplementary to his primary activity.

Zervos was furthermore concerned with the third party involvement in the affair. Valentin insisted that the contract was just an official document and that he and Pferdekamp would have no rights over the publication.³⁴ Zervos' negotiations for the project lasted from January to March 1928. The magazine had to have a German title. The initial title *Deutsche Kunsthefte* was taken. Valentin suggested *Neue Kunsthefte* as an alternative title. A German edition of *Feuilles Volantes* was also part of the

du tout et tout le reste m'obligeant de remettre a plus tard la traduction de Cahiers d'Art en langue allemande. Je vous prie donc de considérer cette édition comme nulle et de bien vouloir remettre les clés à Madame Caspari, ou en cas d'empêchement de sa part à Mlle Camilla Birke qui sont prévenues. Le bureau restera fermi jusqu'à mon arrivée à Berlin et à ce moment je prendrai une décision. Mme Caspari est prévenue également de m'envoyer la note du tapissier que je lui réglerai par retour du courrier. Je regrette infiniment qu'il n'y ait pas eu de la netteté dans nos rapports sur ce sujet, mais c'est ainsi que l'on fait l'expérience de la vie.' C. Z., letter to Curt Valentin, 14 January 1927 (sent 19 Jan.). Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

Elen Caspari wrote to Zervos : 'Je regrette beaucoup que vous avez de tels ennuis à cause de la parution de l'édition allemande. M. Valentin vient de me voir. Il m'a téléphoné au moment où il a reçu votre lettre et m'a priée de lui donner rendez-vous afin qu'il puisse m'expliquer [...] Il est tout à fait étonné et ne peut pas comprendre [...] Je crains qu'il n'y ait quelque chose de malentendu. J'ai vu aussi le contrat [...] Mais je suis d'avis quand même que M. Valentin est sincère, qu'il a voulu faire le mieux [...] Pour être bien sur de ce qui soit nécessaire pour installer le bureau après les lois allemands, j'ai consulté mon cousin qui est libraire-éditeur et un homme digne d'une confiance absolue. J'espère que vous ne me tiendrez pas pour indiscret, mais il faut absolument s'informer à propos de l'inscription au registre du commerce comment on peut l'effectuer ou si l'on peut l'éviter aussi s'il faut avoir un rédacteur respectable envers l'Etat Allemand. [...] M. V. va mettre fin à ses travaux au bureau comme vous le demandez [...] Mais c'est très dommage de ne pas continuer ce qui a déjà commencé et pour lequel on a fait et on fera encore des frais. Je pense qu'il serait le mieux de vous venir à Berlin le plus tôt possible pour arranger tout [...] En ce qui concerne le téléphone on peut le déconnecter, mais c'est vous-même qui a dit à M. V. en ma présence de l'ordonner aussitôt.' Elen Caspari, letter to C. Z., 21 January 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

³³ The Society Cahiers d'Art was registered on April 8th 1935 with a social capital of 40.000 Frs, consisting of 400 parts equally shared between Christian Zervos and his wife's, Yvonne, brother Robert Marion. See 'Constitution de Société,' *Archives Commerciales de la France*, 15 April 1935, pp. 1639-1641.

³⁴ Curt Valentin, letter to C. Z., 22 January 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. For the whole text see APPENDIX 1D.

project. In fact, Zervos announced in 1928 that the supplement would be published independently from *Cahiers d'Art* at the price of 5 Frs. Its orientation proposed to be both artistic and literary as the contents summary of the first issue revealed.³⁵ The project however subsided. The first issue of the German edition of *Cahiers d'Art* would include a text on Renée Sintenis and reproductions of recent works by Mies van der Rohe, as another letter from Valentin reveals.³⁶ Zervos received a second letter from Elen Caspari who had promised to ask for advice on the legal framework for the Berlin office. The registration of the office was not compulsory provided that the house was registered in France.

1. It is probably not necessary to register the office, since it is only a branch of the Parisian office. But if you must nevertheless do it, it will be in your name. 2. You absolutely have to get an editor who is respectable to the German state. No need that this person be associated with the magazine, but only to be a German, some person who gives his name to be printed on the magazine. This does not give him any rights over the magazine [...] 3. It is thought to be inopportune to delay the German edition. In the summer everyone travels, it will not work. My cousin will further advise you voluntarily if you wish, but he thinks that this will be less difficult *viva voce*.³⁷

Pferdekamp previously represented *L'Esprit Nouveau* in Germany but had never met Zervos in person. Since the beginning of the affair, Zervos did not approve of his involvement in the German edition though he allowed him to stay in the office

³⁵ *Cahiers d'Art* 4, 1928, n.p.

³⁶ 'Je viens vous telegraphier : existe déjà Deutsche Kunsthefte – il faut dire Neue Kunsthefte. Le titre Neue Kunsthefte est bon et pas trop longue [sic]. J'espère que nous pourrions encore changer le titre. L'affranchissement pour un numéro (320gr) coûte 10,56 pfennige au lieu de 30,00 pfennige alors c'est la même chose comme en France. Les Couvertures : le papier pour les couvertures coûte beaucoup plus cher qu'en France. On m'a dit ça. Il faut chercher un fabriquant meilleur marché. Dans le numéro 1 envoyer s.v.p. vos couvertures à vélin ! Les Feuilles Volantes : avez-vous déjà fixé le titre allemand ? C'est à quel [sic] date qu'il faut envoyer à Paris les notes pour l'édition allemande. Dans les marchands il faut mentionner les expositions ; pour les maisons d'édition les livres récemment parus [...] Je traduis aussi un article [...] sur Renée Sintenis et son exposition chez Barbazanges. [...] Mies van der Rohe : Je recevrai encore des photos [...] Le bureau sera prêt cette semaine. Les abonnés nombreux. Vous avez envoyé une facture mais ce n'est pas la galerie Flechtheim qui fait ça. Il faut que vous envoyer in peu d'argent.' Curt Valentin, letter to C. Z., n.d. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

³⁷ Elen Caspari, letter to C. Z., 23 January 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. '1. Probablement ne sera-t-il nécessaire de faire enregistrer le bureau, comme il n'est qu'une succursale du bureau de Paris. Mais si toutefois il faudrait le faire, ce serait sous votre nom même. 2. il faut absolument avoir un rédacteur respectable envers l'Etat Allemand. Pas besoin que ce Monsieur soit lié avec la revue, faut seulement que ce soit un allemand, une personne quelconque qui donne son nom afin qu'il soit imprimer dans le cahier. Cela ne lui donne aucun droit envers la revue [...] 3. On croit inopportun de retarder la parution de l'Edition allemande. En été où tout le monde est en voyage, ça ne marchera pas. Mon cousin volontairement vous conseillera encore si vous voulez, mais il est d'avis que ce soit moins difficile oralement.'

until March when he expected to take a final decision about the Berlin office.³⁸ On every occasion Zervos expressed his distrust of his German partners. It is evident from the correspondence that the project involved the publication of a new magazine which would feature in its first number material not associated with *Cahiers d'Art*. A few days later Zervos received a letter from the German architect Hugo Haring informing him about the actions taken by Pferdekamp on his behalf.³⁹ Zervos warned Valentin a few days later:

Mrs Caspari [...] tells me that you have given 50 Marks to Mr. Pferdekamp. I think it is absolutely dishonest on your part to act this way towards me in the affair of the Berlin office and I am asking you to note that I will remember this on every occasion, since if I am very nice with my friends, I know how to get rid of all those who have acted dishonestly with me. Moreover, when Mr Flechtheim comes to Paris I will discuss this issue with him.

P.S. I have just received letters from Berlin architects in which they tell me that they have been inconvenienced by the visits of Mr. Pferdekamp and they warn me about this person. If something happens between me and my Berlin friends, I warn you that you will be responsible. Furthermore, I plan to publish a note on this issue in the next

³⁸ 'Je regrette de ne pas avoir fait votre connaissance lorsque vous êtes venu ici. Vous devez savoir que M. Valentin avait promis de m'engager pour votre bureau à Berlin. Je suis au courant de vos affaires avec M. Valentin et je connais aussi le contenu du malheureux acte officiel qu'il vous a envoyé. Quant à moi j'ai toujours compris que je devais être votre employé mais non un rédacteur, car il est naturel qu'il n'y a pas de tout besoin d'un rédacteur en ce cas. Comme employé j'ai déjà fait des travaux pour les Cahiers d'Art depuis quelques semaines. J'ai visité les galeries pour des annonces et aussi j'ai préparé la liste cartotécale [sic] des abonnés. Depuis quelques jours M. Valentin me raconte que vous voulez changer l'organisation de vos affaires ici. Selon le conseil de Madame Caspari je me permet [sic] de vous écrire cette lettre, car je voudrais savoir quelles sont vos intentions à mon sujet. Ayant été engagé par M. Valentin pour les cahiers d'art, j'ai refusé d'autres propositions d'affaires. Comme vous savez je suis écrivain et vous connaissez les difficultés d'un jeune homme qui débute [...] Ne pas encore ayant touché un salaire il me faut vous avouer que ce point me fait défaut. Je travaille d'ailleurs très volontiers pour votre revue à laquelle je me suis toujours intéressé. Je connais tous vos collaborateurs et tous vos abonnés, ayant été représentant de L'Esprit Nouveau ici à Berlin. Vous pouvez compter sur mon dévouement et vous vous rappeler sans doute que je vous ai été recommandé par Mlle Birke et M. Händel.' Willi Pferdekamp, letter to C. Z., 6 February 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

Zervos responded: 'En réponse à votre lettre du 6 février je m'empresse de vous faire savoir que je regrette de ne pouvoir tenir, du moins pour le moment les promesses qui vous ont été faites par M. Curt Valentin. Si par hasard je remontais mon découragement et je me décidais à faire quelque chose de mon bureau à Berlin, par grande amitié pour Mme Caspari je vous prendrai comme collaborateur. D'ailleurs je compte prendre une décision d'ici une semaine. Comme je ne veux contrarier en rien les désirs de Mme Caspari vous pouvez rester travailler pour vous au bureau, comme vous l'avez demandé à Mme Caspari, jusqu'à la fin Mars. Car, si la semaine prochaine je décidais à ne plus donner suite à mes projets d'expansion en Allemagne, ma location finirait en Mars. Je regrette que vous soyez la victime de ce qui s'est passé, mais je dois vous dire que pour ma part j'étais assez découragé. Heureusement que ma revue me donne de plus en plus de grandes satisfactions.' C. Z., letter to Willi Pferdekamp, 10 February 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

³⁹ 'Es wird mir bekannt, dass sich ein Herr Pferdekamp darum beworben hat, Ihre Vertretung in Berlin zu übernehmen. Da mir persönlich Herr Pferdekamp für diese Vertretung nicht ganz geeignet erscheint und ich auch von anderer Seite eine Bestätigung meiner Auffassung erfahre, möchte ich nicht versäumen, Sie diese Auffassung wissen zu lassen.' Hugo Haring, letter to C. Z., 23 February 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

number of Cahiers d'Art, in which I will say that neither you nor any other person represent the magazine in Berlin.⁴⁰

The project subsided, though Flechtheim continued exerting pressure over the continuation of the affair. Zervos became gradually dependent on the dealer's support. The latter had all of his protégés subscribed *ad interim* to the magazine, namely Willy Baumeister, Max Beckmann, Ernesto de Fiori, Georg Kolbe and others. He even paid occasional subscriptions on their behalf.⁴¹ Even the heavy-weight champion Max Schmeling who was profoundly admired by the German dealer subscribed in 1927.⁴² Other subscribers in Germany included Julius Meier-Graefe, Alexander Koch, Hans Hartung, Walter Friedlander, the Hamburg Kunsthalle and the Warburg library. Zervos position with regards to modern German art remained ambiguous. This was one of the reasons that brought his collaboration with Flechtheim to an end. In 1928, he expanded his affairs overseas in collaboration with Erhard Weyhe, who distributed

⁴⁰ C. Z., letter to Curt Valentin, 3 March 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Mme Caspari [...] me dit que vous avez donné 50 mark à M. Pferdekamp. Je trouve absolument malhonnête de votre part d'avoir agi de la sorte envers moi dans toute cette affaire du bureau de Berlin et je vous prie de bien noter que je m'en souviendrai dans toute circonstance, car si je suis très bon avec mes amis je sais faire disparaître tous ceux qui ont agi malhonnêtement envers moi. D'ailleurs lorsque M. Flechtheim viendra à Paris je m'entretiendrai avec lui à ce sujet.

P. S. Je viens de recevoir des architectes berlinois des lettres dans lesquelles ils me disent être importunés par des visites de M. Pferdekamp et m'attirent l'attention sur ce personnage. S'il arrive quelque chose entre lui et mes amis de Berlin, Je vous préviens que vous en serez responsable. D'ailleurs je compte passer une note à ce sujet dans le prochain numéro des Cahiers d'Art, dans laquelle je dirai que ni vous ni personne autre ne représentent la revue à Berlin.' Valentin replied: 'Je ne suis pas disposé de suivre le même ton que vous utilisez dans votre lettre du 3.cr. Je n'ai rien fait d'autre que de suivre vos instructions. En outre Madame Caspari est de même informée que c'était vous qui m'a prié d'engager Monsieur Pferdekamp pour Rmk. 150. – par mois. C'est moi-même qui vous ai économisé en lui donnant que Rmk.50. – de dédommagement. Vous savez que ma situation n'est pas une telle que je me pourrais me payer le luxe de dépenser de l'argent à d'autres chose que pour ma subsistance et c'est pour cela que je suis encore plus touché de la reproche que vous me faites d'avoir agi malhonnêtement envers vous. (D'ailleurs j'ai dépensé une somme plus grande que j'ai communiqué à Madame Caspari).

(Monsieur Pferdekamp a travaillé 3 semaines pour la revue, je ne sais rien de ses visites chez des architectes allemands ; mais je me renseignerai sur cette affaire le plus vite possible).' Curt Valentin, letter to C. Z., 7 March 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁴¹ Ernesto de Fiori wrote to Zervos: 'De retour d'un voyage, je trouve votre carte du 9 VI. Je croyais le compte réglé par la galerie Flechtheim. Puisque ce n'est pas fait, je le fais moi-même, car j'aimerais bien garder l'abonnement de votre intéressante revue. Je vous envoie en même temps les photos de [...] mes sculptures et d'un dessin. Peut-être cela vous intéresse de les publier ? Pour cela je pourrais facilement vous procurer un article d'un artiste allemand jeune et de valeur.' Berlin, 28 August 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 19, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁴² On the connections of the German boxer with the Berlin artistic circles and Flechtheim see David Bathrick, 'Max Schmeling on the Canvas: Boxing as an Icon of Weimar Culture,' *New German Critique* 51, 1990, pp. 113-136.

the magazine in New York.⁴³ Alfred Barr signed a subscription in 1930 on behalf of the MoMA. The Art Institute of Chicago was listed among the magazine's early subscribers. *Cahiers d'Art* was distributed in New York by Brentano's and in Britain by Zwemmer. The subscribers' number increased from 1927 onwards but dropped significantly throughout the 1930s with Zervos losing many of his erstwhile supporters in France and Germany. The *Cahiers d'Art* monograph series was relatively more successful in sales.⁴⁴ Registered subscriptions in France came – among others – from Rosenberg, Lipchitz, Levy, Guillaume, Jeanne Bucher, the Galerie de France, and Philippe de Rothschild.⁴⁵ In 1929, Zervos started posting privately reminders underlining the importance of subscriptions to the magazine's subsistence.⁴⁶ Relative notes also appeared in the pages of *Cahiers d'Art* throughout the period in question.

Zervos avoided paid advertisements for *Cahiers d'Art*. Due to his connections with Jacques Mauny, he arranged reciprocal advertising with the American magazine *The Arts*.⁴⁷ This was also the case with Koch's *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* and *Innen Dekoration*. Zervos promoted articles by his protégé Tériade to foreign

⁴³ Louis Lozowick wrote to Zervos : 'Après que j'ai reçu votre lettre dans laquelle vous dites que Mr Weyhe prendra la représentation de vos éditions en Amérique, il me semblait plus nécessaire de vous envoyer les adresses que je vous ai promis. Monsieur Weyhe sait mieux que personne ce qu'il faut faire pour le succès d'une revue en Amérique. Mais en tout cas je vous envoie quelques adresses (de New York seulement) des librairies, galeries et revues. J'attire votre attention sur les personnes privées. Si vous leur envoyer des exemplaires de *Cahiers d'Art* avec une feuille d'abonnement je suis presque certain que quelques uns d'entre eux s'abonneront. Si vous voulez, vous pouvez se servir de mon nom.' Louis Lozowick, letter to C. Z., 5 September 1928. Fonds *Cahiers d'Art* CAPROV 22, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁴⁴ 'I was pleased to receive your catalogue on the *Cahiers d'Art* however, at present, I am more interested in the individual monographs. Would it be possible for you to send me a list of monographs on those artists mentioned in my previous letter, giving the name of the author and the price as, for example: Paul Klee – par Will Grohmann (100 Frs) [...] I should like to enter my order for the series of volumes on the works of Picasso which is to be published in November and also, if possible, one complete set of the *Cahiers d'Art* for 1926, 27, 28, 29 and 1930.' Norman Perry, letter to C. Z. on behalf of Arthur W. Wood Company, Boston, c. 1931. Fonds *Cahiers d'Art*, CA 10, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁴⁵ Fonds *Cahiers d'Art* CA 6 – CA 15, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁴⁶ C. Z., letter to Jacques Lipchitz, n.d. (c.1929). MS/Fds Lipchitz A 132, MAHJ, Paris.

⁴⁷ The artist wrote : 'Comme suite à nos conventions la première annonce pour *Cahiers d'Art* est bien passée dans le no de Janvier de *The Arts* P 69 comme vous pourrez le constater chez Povolozky dans le cas où l'exemplaire justificatif ne vous serait pas parvenu. Nous ne pouvons nous expliquer pourquoi l'annonce de *The Arts* n'est pas parue dans votre dernier numéro. Je vous serais très obligé si vous pouviez me donner une réponse à ce sujet par retour afin que je la transmette immédiatement à New York.' Mauny, letter to C. Z., 13 February 1928. Fonds *Cahiers d'Art* CAPROV 23, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. About the activity of the artist and his connections with Gallatin see Vanessa Lecomte, 'Reciprocal Influences: Albert Eugene Gallatin and Jacques Mauny,' in Sophie Lévy (ed.) *A Transatlantic Avant-Garde: American Artists in Paris: 1918-1939*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, pp. 98-99. In fact the advertisement appeared in the first issue of *Cahiers d'Art* for the year 1928. Mauny apparently refers to the last issue of the year 1927.

journals, most of which had already been published in *Cahiers d'Art* but the magazine counted on disinterested contributions. In fact, Tériade's remuneration for his contributions to the magazine came from abroad, with most of his *Cahiers d'Art* texts reproduced in translation in foreign journals.⁴⁸ Publicity space was more profitable, though the rates were reduced in the midst of the recession. Zervos charged 7.000 francs for full-page advertisements annually and 4.000 francs for a six month period of half-page promotion. The annual rates varied with regards to the placement of advertising: 8.000 francs for the second page, 7.500 francs for the third and fourth, 8.000 francs for the page next to the first text. Between 1927 and 1930, the magazine reached its peak of advertising contracts. After 1931 Georges Petit, Guillaume, Bignou and the London-based Alex Reid & Lefevre withdrew their publicity space due to the difficult economic circumstances.⁴⁹ Similarly in 1933, Pierre Matisse replaced the full-page advertisement of his New York gallery with a half page notice.⁵⁰

The recession affected progressively the art market in both France and Germany. The lapse that *Cahiers d'Art* faced was made evident earlier. The magazine marked however significant editorial activities which continued throughout the 1930s.

⁴⁸ 'En Novembre et Décembre derniers j'ai fait encarter dans Cahiers d'Art les prospectus que vous m'avez envoyés concernant votre revue Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration. Dans le Numéro 2 de Cahiers d'Art 1928 nous avons inséré la publicité de votre revue Innen Dekoration [...] En retour de ces services nous vous demanderons de publier régulièrement la publicité de notre revue Cahiers d'Art [...] Je préférerais que cette publicité paraisse dans la Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration [...] Je profite de l'occasion pour vous dire que mon ami et collaborateur Tériade est très froissé du fait que les articles que vous lui aviez demandé sur Dufy et La Serna n'ont jamais paru et que l'article sur Léopold Levy ne lui a jamais été réglé.' C. Z., letter to Alexandre Koch, 30 March 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 18-19, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁴⁹ Correspondence with Petit (7 July 1931), Guillaume (15 July 1931) and Bignou (22 December 1931). The Editions Demotte interrupted the publicity about a year later sending a relevant note on August 4th 1932. Bignou wrote to Zervos: 'Les circonstances économiques actuelles m'obligent à vous informer que j'entends cesser toute publicité dans votre revue à dater du 31 courant. La Maison Alex Reid & Lefevre Ltd de Londres me charge également de vous faire savoir qu'elle ne renouvellera pas son contrat expirant fin décembre. Au moment où nous allons cesser dans votre revue une publicité interrompue pendant plusieurs années, je tiens à vous dire combien j'ai apprécié les efforts faits par Cahiers d'Art en faveur de l'art que nous aimons, et vous assurer que la mesure que nous sommes obligés de prendre nous est dictée par les circonstances et s'applique uniformément à toutes les revues ou journaux dans lesquels nous faisons précédemment de la publicité. Lorsque les circonstances le permettront, nous envisageons bien entendu la possibilité de refaire de nouveaux contrats. Vous voudrez bien en même temps ne me conserver qu'un seul abonnement à Cahiers d'Art et supprimer ceux de Madame Bignou (85, avenue de Wagram), Monsieur Gieure (159, avenue de Wagram).' Etienne Bignou, letter to Zervos, 22 December 1931. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 18, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁵⁰ 'Je vous prie de trouver ci-inclus un cheque de mille francs que vous voudrez porter à mon compte. Les affaires sont si mauvaises que je ne puis faire mieux pour le moment. Pour cette même raison je vous prie de réduire ma publicité dans votre revue à une ½ page dans l'esprit de ma dernière publicité.' Pierre Matisse, letter to C. Z., 27 February 1933. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 4, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

Zervos' early publications appear to be considerably dependent on Flechtheim's gallery activities and support. The 1928 *Cahiers d'Art* volume on Léger accompanied the artist's show in Berlin. Zervos connections with the German dealer date back to 1926, when the volume on Picasso appeared. Zervos attempted to establish connections with Germany based on the promotion of certain – in fact too restricted in number – German and French artists in both countries. Zervos arranged shows in Paris, Flechtheim in Berlin.

Paris-Berlin

It has been more than fifteen years that I have not exhibited in Paris and I am exclusively contented to be able to make a new start and you understand how important your preface is for me. More than twenty years ago I stayed almost for an entire year working at Sevres, paying frequent visits to Paris to study profoundly French painting. I also never missed the occasion to do that later, in Moscow (the collections Tchoukine and Morosoff) during the troubled time of the Russian revolution. And it is precisely the works by Cézanne (and Henri Rousseau) that gave me unforgettable painting lessons. Therefore I thank French painting also from an egoistical point of view.⁵¹ Kandinsky, 1929

Kandinsky's solo show in Paris at the Galerie Zak in 1929 owed much to the intervention of Zervos and Tériade, both of whom contributed texts to the catalogue. This was also the case with the second exhibition at the Galerie de France about a year later. Grohmann underlined in *Cahiers d'Art* that Kandinsky was little known in France since his first Parisian exhibition in 1913. His works however were part of several public and private collections in Germany, Russia, Britain, America and Japan.⁵² Zervos was more favourably-inclined to the artist's compositions than his colleague Tériade, who thought Kandinsky's art was too abstract for his taste. He was nonetheless willing to buy a gouache shown at the Galerie Zak which was offered to him as a gift by the artist.⁵³ Similarly, Kandinsky offered Tériade one of his works

⁵¹ Vassili Kandinsky, letter to Tériade, 19 January 1929. Archives Tériade, Musée Matisse, Le Cateau Cambrésis. 'Il y a plus de 15 ans que je n'ai plus exposé à Paris et je suis exclusivement content de pouvoir faire un début nouveau et vous comprendrez, comme votre préface est importante pour moi. Il y a plus de 20 ans que j'habitais presque une année entière à Sèvres en travaillant, en allant très souvent à Paris pour étudier profondément la peinture française. Je n'ai jamais manqué l'occasion de le faire aussi plus tard, même à Moscou (les collections de Tchoukine et Morosoff) pendant le temps très bouleversé de la révolution russe. Et ce sont justement les œuvres de Cézanne (et Henri Rousseau) qui m'ont données des leçons de peinture inoubliables. Ainsi je remercie la peinture française aussi de point de vue bien égoïste.'

⁵² Will Grohmann, 'Wassily Kandinsky,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7, 1929, p. 322. See also 'Kandinsky (Galerie de France),' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1930, p. 104.

⁵³ Vassili Kandinsky, letter to Tériade, 19 January 1929. Archives Tériade, Musée Matisse, Le Cateau Cambrésis.

shown at Zervos' office after the publication of the catalogue of the 1930 show.⁵⁴ Zervos was dependent on works offered by artists in return for his support. Klee also had a solo show in 1929 at Georges Bernheim in Paris, organised by Zervos and Jacques Darnetal.⁵⁵ The two critics had assumed by that time the role of advisors for the small gallery of Bernheim's son, who had changed his name to Darnetal. Between 1928 and 1931, Klee had five solo shows in Flechtheim's Berlin gallery. On the occasion of the artist's fiftieth birthday in October 1929, Flechtheim presented 150 works by Klee covering chronologically the entire spectrum of his career.

In keeping with Zervos' aesthetic, Grohmann observed in *Cahiers d'Art* that the artist's recent works 'constitute the link that connects the most ancient Oriental mural paintings with the art of the future. Klee's art is rid of the existing limits between the Orient and the Occident.'⁵⁶ The Berlin show opened in October and was accompanied by a small catalogue with a French introduction by René Crevel. A *Cahiers d'Art* monograph with texts by Grohmann was published shortly afterwards.⁵⁷ Zervos shared the expenses of the volume with Flechtheim with the latter asking the name of his gallery to feature on the edition.⁵⁸ The volume was printed in 900 numbered copies (the first 43 included an original etching) with its price starting from 100 Frs. and reaching 2000 Frs. Valentin pre-ordered the first numbered copy of the catalogue.⁵⁹ Flechtheim promoted the book in Germany and the United States asking

⁵⁴ 'En vous offrant une des deux toiles qui se trouvent chez M. Zervos dans son bureau des 'Cahiers d'Ar' j'ai oublié au moment, que le choix était déjà impossible, puisque j'ai prié M. Zervos de retenir une d'elles. Soyez donc si gentil de me dire tout franchement si cette autre toile 'Etages' vous plait ou si vous préféreriez une autre. Je vous prie bien de me le dire tout franchement ! Ce qu'a moi j'aime ces 'Etages,' mais m'est un cas un peu 'sombre,' peut être trop peu 'aimable.' Vassili Kandinsky, letter to Tériade, 5 May 1930. Archives Tériade, Musée Matisse, Le Cateau Cambrésis.

⁵⁵ Christian Zervos, 'Les Expositions à Paris et ailleurs,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1929, n.p.

⁵⁶ 'Son œuvre récente constitue l'anneau qui relie les peintures murales de l'Orient le plus ancien avec l'art de l'avenir. L'art de Klee se soustrait aux limites existantes entre l'Occident et l'Orient.' Will Grohmann, 'Exposition Paul Klee à la Galerie Flechtheim,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-9, 1929, p. 422.

⁵⁷ 'Quand est ce que vous croyez que le livre Paul Klee peut paraître? Nous irons faire une grande exposition des œuvres de Paul Klee au mois d'Octobre pour fêter le 50 anniversaire du peintre. On écrira beaucoup dans les journaux et les revues sur le peintre et votre livre aura un bon succès dans ce moment là.' Curt Valentin, letter to C. Z., 19 March 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁵⁸ 'Comme je participe au frais de ce volume je tiens à ce qu'on mette sur le livre a côté de Editions Cahiers d'Art etc. et de la Galerie Flechtheim Berlin et Düsseldorf. Fort probablement Klee quittera Dessau et se rendra à Düsseldorf où il sera professeur à l'Académie.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 18 April 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁵⁹ 'Je vous prie de me confirmer que vous m'avez réservé le numéro 1 du livre de Paul Klee et deux autres exemplaires de 2000.-Frs. Brut. Prière de m'envoyer une liste des livres dont vous pouvez encore vendre de numéro 1.' Curt Valentin, letter to C. Z., 3 October 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

Zervos to send 11 copies to the MoMA to distribute it to its visitors⁶⁰ on the occasion of the exhibition *Weber, Klee, Lehmbruck, Maillol* that opened in March 1930.⁶¹ Zervos maintained in his letters to his German partners that the conditions in Paris were not favourable asking Otto Ralfs to promote the Klee volume, although Flechtheim had earlier claimed the exclusivity of the sales in Germany buying 150 copies.⁶² Ralfs thought that Klee already had an audience in Paris, but was optimistic regarding sales in the United States where German art was starting to meet significant recognition after the shows held in New York and Detroit.⁶³

⁶⁰ Draft note indicating the post of 11 copies to Alfred Barr on February 3rd 1930. The Museum replied 'we do not make a practice of selling any books in our gallery except the catalogs which are published by us.' Response from the MoMA, New York, letter to C. Z., 12 February 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Zervos also recounted his financial conditions to the foreign representative of the Museum of Oakland asking her to find potential supporters for the magazine. Galka Scheyer replied: 'Je suis triste que votre magnifique Cahier d'Art sont en danger. Je dois vous expliquer ma position ici. Mon travail comme représentante d'un musée est culturel et je ne m'approche jamais quelqu'un avec une demande d'acheter quelque chose. Ça se fait chez moi qu'on aime des œuvres d'art d'une telle façon qu'on se rapproche de moi pour me demander de les acheter. Je ne peu [sic] pas changer cette politic [sic] pour demander des collecteurs pour supporter votre magazin [sic]. Je parle partout, de ce que vous et Mr Kandinsky m'ont écrit regardant votre plan. Et la proposition que je vous ai à faire est de m'envoyer un petit papier d'annonce [sic] comme celui du livre de Kandinsky. J'envoi ça avec une traduction en anglais à toutes mes connaissances avec un mot de recommandation de l'affaire [...] J'ai reçu, comme vous le dites 20 livres de Klee [...] j'ai vendu 5 ex., dont je vous enverrais [sic] l'argent.' Galka Scheyer, letter to C. Z., 8 September 1931. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 3, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁶¹ 'Le 1 Mars nous allons ouvrir au Muséum of Modern Art à New York l'exposition de Paul Klee. Je vous prie d'écrire à la réception de la présente à Monsieur le directeur Alfred H. Barr, Museum of Modern Art, Fifth Avenue 57th Street, Hecksher Building, New York que vous allez de lui envoyer une certaine du livre sur Klee en lui priant de bien vouloir les vendre pendant l'exposition. Ça sera une énorme réclame autant que pour vous et autant que pour Klee. Je lui écrirai également.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 31 January 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁶² 'Lettre que vous avez confirmé le 2 mars: 'Ouvrage Klee. J'ai reçu une lettre de Klee dans laquelle il me fait savoir qu'il accepte que je fasse le livre. Pour ménager toutes les susceptibilités on pourrait procéder de la sorte. Faire faire à Grohmann un petit article sur Klee et le faire accompagner de l'opinion des meilleurs critiques allemands sur Klee. Je ferais un petit article sur Klee que je ferais accompagner de l'opinion des artistes et critiques de Paris. Ainsi l'hommage sera complet et il porterait davantage. Je vous envoie aujourd'hui même 19 fotos de Klee que j'ai fait faire à la Galerie Bernheim, il y a quatre de ratées [...] Il est entendu que je m'engagerai de ne pas vendre cet ouvrage en Allemagne. En retour il est entendu que vous me prenez 150 exemplaires à Frs. 100 l'exemplaire.' Alfred Flechtheim quoting Zervos, letter to C. Z., 21 June 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁶³ 'Ich danke Ihnen recht herzlich für Ihre Zeilen vom 7.d.M. und kann Ihnen mitteilen, dass ich mich bereits an viele Stellen in den Vereinigten Staaten gewandt habe und hoffe, dort Erfolg zu haben, da gerade jetzt neuerdings durch die grossen Ausstellungen im Museum of Modern art in New York und auch in Detroit die deutsche Kunst dort viele namhafte Anhänger gefunden hat. Dass die Verhältnisse in Frankreich so schlecht liegen, hätte ich nicht gedacht, da Frankreich doch unseres Wissens heute noch zu den wenigen Ländern zählt, denen es noch verhältnismässig gut geht. Ich dachte auch, dass z. B. Klee schon in Paris einen gewissen Markt hat, und dass doch vielleicht das eine oder andere Bild in Paris unterzubringen sein müsste. Sollte sich späterhin hierzu noch eine Gelegenheit bieten, so wäre ich Ihnen dankbar, wenn Sie dieses im Auge behalten würden. Nun zu dem Picasso. Eine Abbildung dieses Bildes finden Sie in Ihrer Zeitschrift Nr.5 von 1930 Seite 232 links oben. Das Bild ist in einem warmen braunen Ton gehalten, der Wurfel links unten ist gelb, die Flasche grün, der Wurfel rechts oben rosa.

A significant retrospective organised by Flechtheim in Berlin followed Kandinsky's Parisian shows in 1931. The exhibition brought together seventy works by the artist most of which were recently produced but also including paintings from 1911 and the period between 1925 and 1926. The show was commented on by the German art historian Ludwig Grote in *Cahiers d'Art* who observed a transformation of the artist's work which could be the result, he argued, of the influence of the South – an influence that Zervos favoured.⁶⁴ A monograph with texts by Grohmann including short notes by art critics (Tériade, Raynal, F. Halle, Th. Daubler, K. S. Dreier, P. Flouquet) including Zervos, was published in 540 numbered copies by *Cahiers d'Art* before the inauguration of the Berlin show at the end of January.⁶⁵ The promotional leaflet issued by Flechtheim included an advertisement for *Documents* on its back cover. Grohmann suggested the inclusion of sixteen additional illustrations which would increase the cost by 6.000 Frs in addition to the standard printing cost of 27.000 Frs.⁶⁶ Ralfs pre-ordered 71 copies in 1930.⁶⁷ Valentin asked Zervos to arrange a similar show in Paris, as Tériade had promised earlier to Kandinsky.⁶⁸ Zervos increased the price to 150 Frs., though he previously announced the volume at 100

Der Preis für dieses Bild ist RM 15.000. - . Es ist eine selten schöne Komposition aus 1913 und heisst 'vue d'Avignon.' Es wäre schon, wenn es Ihnen gelänge, dieses Bild für mich zu verkaufen.' Otto Ralfs, letter to C. Z., 8 May 1931. Fonds *Cahiers d'Art*, CAPROV 28, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁶⁴ L. Grote, 'Exposition de W. Kandinsky à la Galerie Flechtheim,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1931, p. 112.

⁶⁵ The volume included 56 of text and drawing illustrations, 60 pages of heliotype plates and colour engravings. The numbered copies 1-8 printed in japon imperial including a gouache and an etching (2.000 Frs.). Numbers 9-16 printed in japon imperial including a drawing and an etching (1.200 Frs.). Numbers 17-40 printed in Arches paper including an original etching (400 Frs.). Number 41-540 printed in Velin de Torpes (100 Frs.).

⁶⁶ ⁶⁶ '1o. Texte: Il est très important que nous lui publions tel, parce que vous touchez juste et au vif de la question Kandinsky [...] Naturellement cela donnera encore 8 pages de plus que le livre Klee. 2o. Illustrations : Au début vous m'aviez écrit que cela ne faisait rien que le nombre d'illustrations soit un peu moindre que celui du livre Klee. En me basant donc sur votre lettre j'ai établi le prix de 27.000 Frs. Pour ajouter donc 8 pages de texte et 16 planches d'illustration il faudrait compter une somme supplémentaire d'au moins six mille francs, d'autant que nous venons de subir depuis la parution du livre Klee ses augmentations d'impression et de papier. Mais pour faire plaisir à Kandinsky dont j'aime en toute sincérité l'œuvre je ferai le sacrifice de cette somme persuadé que de votre côté vous ferez tout ce que vous pourrez pour me donner de nouvelles souscriptions.' C. Z., letter to W. Grohmann, 23 September 1930. Fonds *Cahiers d'Art*, CAPROV 27, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁶⁷ Factures June-September 1930. Fonds *Cahiers d'Art*, CAPROV 28, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁶⁸ 'L'exposition Kandinsky est ouverte le samedi dernier. Je regrette que vous ne pouvez pas la voir. Kandinsky désire d'exposer une telle collection de ses tableaux à Paris. Est-ce que vous croyez que ça sera possible bientôt dans une galerie remarquable, naturellement sans payer un prix de location pour la salle. La collection comme elle est exposé [sic] maintenant chez moi est très très belle et aurait – j'en suis sûr – un succès [sic] remarquable chez vous. M. Tériade a assuré à M. Kandinsky un jour à Paris, qu'une telle exposition serait possible.' Curt Valentin, letter to C. Z., 2 February 1931. Fonds *Cahiers d'Art*, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

Frs. Valentin thought the new price would affect sales.⁶⁹ The Flechtheim galleries eventually ordered a significant number of copies at the announced price.⁷⁰ A German translation was arranged by Ralfs in February 1931.⁷¹

In his comprehensive analysis of the work of Kandinsky, Grohmann declared the abstract preoccupations of his art. In the same book, Zervos pointed to a different direction casting doubt over the abstract character of his compositions. In an earlier text published in the catalogue of the Galerie de France show, Zervos maintained that though Kandinsky's art was generally considered as abstract, it carried two elements that rendered it essentially concrete. It was the omnipresence of his Russian origin in his work and the strong expression of his personality that contradicted the nation-less and anti-individualist preoccupations of abstract art.⁷² The combination of objectified abstract forms with subjectified expression became an aspect that Zervos progressively favoured, marking his shift in focus from the intellect to the instinct, from the geometric to the spontaneous. The preponderance of the self as epitomised in expressionist painting contradicted in reality the selfless and nation-less universe of primitive imagination. Zervos did not consider the return to instinct as an aspect of romanticism but as a necessary condition for artists in order to reconnect with the distant origins of artistic creation and comprehend art's universal dimension.

Zervos met Kandinsky and Klee in 1927, upon his visits to Germany for the German edition of his magazine. Both artists held teaching posts at the Bauhaus in Dessau. Kandinsky taught on abstraction and analytical drawing; Klee on design theory. The former paid close attention to the series of articles published by Tériade in *Cahiers d'Art* under the general title 'Documentaire sur la jeune peinture.' The articles aimed to present the styles that emerged after cubism assessing the success and failure of the movement's formal lesson. In a letter to Tériade, Kandinsky admitted that he presented the ideas and the illustrations of these texts to his Bauhaus

⁶⁹ 'J'espère que les livres arriveront jusqu'au vernissage demain, mais je ne comprends pas le prix que vous télégraphiez. Vous avez annoncé comme prix 100. – Frs comme je l'ai annoncé aussi ici. Un livre pour 150.-Frs est très très cher et difficile à vendre aujourd'hui.' Curt Valentin, letter to C. Z., 31 January 1931. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁷⁰ The Flechtheim galleries ordered 116 copies of the standard edition and a copy printed in Arches paper at the price of 400 Frs. Facture, Galerie Flechtheim, 10 April 1931. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁷¹ Otto Ralfs, letter to C. Z., 27 February 1931. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 28, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁷² Christian Zervos, 'Kandinsky et l'art abstrait,' *Exposition Kandinsky du 14 au 31 mars 1930*, Paris: Galerie de France, 1930, n. p.

students.⁷³ Despite his contacts with many Bauhaus exponents, Zervos preserved a limited interest in the overall programme of the school. *Cahiers d'Art* published all in all three notes on the Bauhaus,⁷⁴ in addition to a single article on Gropius after he quit the school and two more on Mies van der Rohe before his appointment as its director.⁷⁵

Until 1934, Giedion reported systematically in *Cahiers d'Art* the international developments in architecture. He in fact shared Zervos' position that architecture should express the spirit of the era that produced it. A Heinrich Wölfflin disciple, Giedion was interested in both cubism and the Bauhaus in his art historical analyses. The subsequent publication of *Time, Space, Architecture* is revealing of his positions on the role played by synthetic cubism in offering new perspectives on architectural space. The 1930 Werkbund exhibition in Paris epitomised the debate between Gropius, Breuer and other former Bauhaus members that departed from the Dessau school, and Hannes Meyer, who served as its director from 1928 to 1930. As Derouet has shown, Zervos refused to involve himself in the debate, refraining from publishing a report on the show and declaring in a letter to Grohmann his outright lack of interest in the decorative arts.⁷⁶

In his letters to Grohmann Zervos confirmed that his financial status was unfortunate. This was also the case with the rival publication *Documents* which, despite the financial support it enjoyed, interrupted its publication. In order to decrease the expenses of his office, Zervos reported to Grohmann that he was obliged

⁷³ 'Vous m'avez fait un très grand plaisir avec votre préface dans le catalogue de mon exposition [...] Je lis toujours avec un grand intérêt vos articles aux *Cahiers d'Art*, spécialement je me suis beaucoup intéressé pour la série de vos articles Documentaire sur la jeune peinture, de laquelle je raconte à mes élèves au Bauhaus, qui font de la peinture. J'avais ici toujours trop peu de reproduction pour leur montrer le développement de l'art français et maintenant je les montre en leur racontant de vos idées sur cette matière.' Vassili Kandinsky, letter to Tériade, 16 March 1930. Archives Tériade, Musée Matisse, Le Cateau Cambrésis.

⁷⁴ Christian Zervos, 'Le Bauhaus de Dessau,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9, 1926, p. 259. Will Grohmann, 'Une École d'Art Moderne. Le Bauhaus de Dessau Académie d'une Plastique Nouvelle,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5, 1930, pp. 273-274. Anon., 'Fermeture du Bauhaus par le Gouvernement National-socialiste d'Anhalt,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6-7, 1932, p. 308.

⁷⁵ Sigfried Giedion, 'Walter Gropius et l'Architecture en Allemagne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1930, pp. 95-103. Christian Zervos, 'Mies van der Rohe,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1928, p. 35. M. N. Rubio Tuduri, 'Le Pavillon de l'Allemagne à l'Exposition de Barcelone par Mies van der Rohe,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-9, 1929, pp. 409-410.

⁷⁶ A relevant commentary was published in *l'Intransigeant*. For a thorough discussion of the incident see Christian Derouet, 'Le Bauhaus des Peintres contre Walter Gropius ou le Silence des Cahiers d'Art sur le Werkbund au Salon des Artistes Décorateurs Français en 1930,' in I. Ewig, T.W. Gaethgens, M. Noell (eds), *Le Bauhaus et la France, 1919-1940*, vol.4, Akademie Verlag, 2002, pp. 297-312. See also Paul Overly, 'Visions of the Future and the Immediate Past: The Werkbund Exhibition, Paris 1930,' *Journal of Design History* 17, 2004, pp. 337-357.

to undertake by himself the work of five people.⁷⁷ Zervos turned his interest to the United States as his connections with Germany were becoming progressively stressful. Flechtheim began counting on the promotion of his new magazine *Omnibus* to the Parisian market by Zervos.⁷⁸ The international recession affected decisively his affairs. The Parisian art market was becoming increasingly inauspicious, and Zervos' colleagues in Germany faced similar difficulties.⁷⁹ Grohmann and Westheim started contributing articles to *l'Intransigeant*, the artistic column of which was signed by Tériade and Raynal since 1928. In 1931, Westheim described the situation to Tériade:

I include an article for *l'Intransigeant*. I believe that it will be interesting. You know that *Kunst und Künstler* does not appear anymore. Due to the crisis *Kunstblatt* is also in a difficult position. There is no longer any money in Germany. I have the intention to combine *Kunstblatt* with *Form* [...] But someday – I hope – we can separate and organise *Kunstblatt* anew.⁸⁰

Zervos returned to the idea of publishing small albums with etchings offered by artists.⁸¹ It is interesting to observe the willingness with which most artists responded to his call for support. His lengthy correspondence with Kandinsky offers valuable insights with regards to his financial status in the early 1930s. His predicted

⁷⁷ 'Je m'excuse de vous marchander à ce point mais la situation ici des revues est critique, une revue comme Documents se trouve déjà anéantie malgré les gros capitaux engagés et moi je suis obligé de faire le travail de cinq personnes pour réduire les frais généraux de mon bureau. C'est donc la peur de toucher au budget de la revue, bien maigre en réalité qui me fait réfléchir à la plus petite somme (ref. to the Kandinsky catalogue). Vous savez combien il est difficile de tenir une revue tout en lui conservant un caractère très sérieux pour m'excuser. Je vais de mon côté essayer de trouver en Amérique des 80 souscripteurs de luxe, ce qui permettrait sans gêne pour la revue de vous faire plaisir ainsi qu'à M. Kandinsky.' C. Z., letter to W. Grohmann, 23 September 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 27, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁷⁸ Flechtheim sent Zervos a number of copies and a list of recipients in Paris including the names – among others – of Gertrude Stein, Jean Lurçat, Léger, de Chirico, Picasso, Maillol, Jean Cocteau, Luis Bunuel, Pierre Renoir, Laurencin, Braque, Igor Strawinsky, Chagall, Ernst, Tzara, Bignou, Derain, Tériade, Laurens, André Malraux, Kahnweiler. Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 25 November 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁷⁹ Cf. Malcolm Gee, 'Defining the modern art collector in the Weimar years,' in U. Wolff-Thomsen, and S. Kuhrau, Kiel (eds) *Geschmacksgeschichte(n): öffentliches und privates Kunstsammeln in Deutschland, 1871- 1933*, Verlag Ludwig, 2011, 115-130

⁸⁰ Paul Westheim, letter to Tériade, 2 February 1931. Tériade Papers, Musée Matisse, Le Cateau Cambrésis. 'J'inclus un article pour *l'Intransigeant*. Je crois qu'il intéressera. Vous savez que *Kunst und Künstler* ne paraît plus. Par la crise il y a aussi de difficulté pour *Kunstblatt*. On n'a plus d'argent en Allemagne. J'ai l'intention de réunir *Kunstblatt* avec *Form* [...] Mais une fois -j'espère- on se peut séparer et organiser de nouveau le *Kunstblatt*.'

⁸¹ Commenting on the situation of the art market after the Great War, Malcom Gee has argued that the 'overall character of the market in France and Germany (and indeed elsewhere) reinforced the general trend to make moderate sized, portable artworks.' Malcolm Gee, 'Contemporary Art in Boom and Crisis: France and Germany, 1918-1933,' in *The Challenge of the Object/ Die Herausforderung des Objekts*, Proceedings of the 33rd Congress of the International Committee of the History of Art, vol. 2, Nuremberg: German National Museum, 2014, pp. 712-713.

deficit for 1931 reached 100.000 francs.⁸² The magazine counted on reciprocal collaborations with artists. Kandinsky was willing to offer his help. In a letter to Otto Ralfs, later the same year, Zervos announced the subsequent publication of a small volume printed in 100 copies (sold at 500 Frs) with original etchings by Kandinsky, Klee, Arp, Beaudin, Laurens and Léger.⁸³ In return, he published individual notes on these artists in *Cahiers d'Art* and/or organised small exhibitions of their works. He also asked Flechtheim to support this small edition for the benefit of the review.

Again very serious financial difficulties and again I address you a call to ask, if possible, to advance a payment against the value of the amount that you still owe me. I am absolutely in need of 5.000 Frs for December 12 for an instalment. If you can do the impossible to send me 2.000 Frs before the 12th, you will render me great service. It is very very urgent. I do my best to keep the magazine but nobody supports me. People do not understand that if each one made a small effort (as difficult as this effort is) that would allow me to hold on; on the contrary it is me who carries all the burden and I cannot anymore. I plan to publish an album in an edition of 100 copies made up of Klee and Kandinsky, from you; Léger, Laurens, Arp Beaudin, from us. This makes six etchings at 80 Frs. But I am obliged to sell it at this price to make some money. This album must appear in the middle of January. Could you promote it to people you know? Similarly, I will send you the prospectus and the subscription bulletins asking you to distribute them and make the most possible subscriptions. It is by using all means that I will be able to continue. Our clients will not be ruined by 130 Frs and it is good to read the magazine in order to maintain their interest in modern art, since if the magazine stops, our colleagues will not render service to the art that we love.⁸⁴

⁸² Christian Derouet (ed.), *Vassili Kandinsky, Correspondance avec Zervos et Kojève*, Paris: Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1992, pp. 78, 82.

⁸³ C. Z., letter to Otto Ralfs, 2 December 1931. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 28, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. The album was probably published at the end of 1932 as the correspondence with Paul Klee reveals. Paul Klee, letter to C. Z., 14 September 1932 and 16 November 1932. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 22, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁸⁴ C. Z., letter to Alfred Flechtheim, 2 December 1931. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'De nouveau de très grave embarras et de nouveau je fais appel à vous pour vous demander si possible, de nous avancer une somme à valoir sur la somme que vous me devez encore. J'ai absolument besoin pour le 12 Décembre de 5.000 Frs pour une traite. Si vous pouviez faire l'impossible de m'envoyer 2000 Frs avant le 12, vous me rendriez plus qu'un grand service. C'est très très urgent. Je fais tout mon possible pour tenir la revue mais je ne suis secondé par personne. On ne veut pas se rendre compte que si chacun faisait un petit effort (si difficile que soit cet effort) cela m'aurait permis de tenir ; au lieu que c'est moi qui supporte toute la charge et je n'en peux plus. Je compte publier un album tiré à 100 exemplaires et composé de KLEE, KANDINSKY, chez vous ; LÉGER, LAURENS, ARP, BEAUDIN, chez nous. Cela fait six gravures à 80 Frs. Mais je suis obligé de le vendre à ce prix pour faire entrer un peu d'argent. Cet album doit paraître vers le milieu janvier. Pourriez-vous l'imposer aux personnes que vous connaissez ? De même, je vous enverrai des prospectus et des bulletins de souscriptions avec la prière de les distribuer et de me faire le plus d'abonnement possible. C'est en utilisant tous les moyens que je pourrai continuer. Ce n'est pas 130 Frs qui ruineront vos clients et c'est bon qu'ils lisent la revue afin de maintenir leur intérêt pour l'art moderne, car la revue arrêtée, ce ne sont pas les confrères qui rendront service à l'art que nous aimons.'

Zervos also proposed a book to Grohmann the same year covering the period from the Brücke to the present times highlighting in his letters the stressful conditions under which he worked to maintain the independence of his magazine and the impartiality of his positions.⁸⁵ Flechtheim however was despondent due to his own unfortunate financial status.⁸⁶

You cannot understand what is the situation in Germany, neither work, nor money, nor hope that this will change. Impossible to renew my publicity. You cannot understand how much I regret it, but alas, what can I do? Perhaps a few months from now this will go better.⁸⁷

Flechtheim's uncovered debt to Zervos was rising. It concerned both publicity space and books published by Cahiers d'Art. The German dealer sent three drawings, two by Picasso and one by Matisse, to liquidate his debt.⁸⁸ Zervos preferred paintings from his collection instead.⁸⁹ It is however possible that both drawings were auctioned

⁸⁵ 'D'autres revues trouvent constamment de nouveaux commanditaires, parcequ'elles changent le programme de leur revue d'après les directives de la personne qui les finance. Quant à moi je soutiens toujours les mêmes idées. Il arrive donc ceci que les marchands qui s'occupent des peintres que je soutiens se disent à quoi bon soutenir Cahiers d'Art puisqu'il soutiendra toujours nos peintres par conviction. C'est vraiment malhonnête de penser ainsi mais je n'y puis rien [...] Il y a quelque jours le journal de Huit Heures de Berlin, m'avait demandé ce que je pensais sur le rapprochement artistique franco-allemand. J'avais répondu entre autres choses que l'art français était très connu en Allemagne mais que, par contre, l'art allemand était Presque inconnu chez nous. Pour y remédier il serait bon qu'un livre bien fait nous fasse connaître les tendances de vos artistes.' C. Z., letter to Will Grohmann, 14 October 1931. Archiv Grohmann, Stuttgart. I am indebted to Malcolm Gee for communicating the letter to me.

⁸⁶ 'Si vous connaissiez un peu la situation en Allemagne vous ne m'aviez pas écrit. Impossible de vous envoyer d'argent [...] impossible de trouver des amateurs pour vos éditions.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 4 December 1931. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁸⁷ Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 7 September 1931. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Vous ne pouvez pas comprendre dans quelle situation nous nous trouvons en Allemagne, ni affaires, ni argent, ni espoir que ça se changera. Impossible de renouveler ma publicité. Vous ne comprendrez pas combien je le regrette, mais hélas, que voulez-vous ? Peut-être d'ici quelques mois ça ira mieux.'

⁸⁸ Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 18 December 1931. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁸⁹ 'Je viens de recevoir vos trois dessins et suis absolument désillusionné. Je croyais de votre part une plus grande amitié et une plus grande correction dans nos rapports, qui ne vous auraient pas permis de m'envoyer des œuvres qu'il m'est impossible de donner et dont le Matisse n'est même pas un dessin. Vous m'aviez dit que vous n'aviez pas d'argent. Je vous ai cru. Je sais que vous avez des œuvres des artistes que j'aime ; Braque, Picasso, Matisse, Gris, Léger. Vous auriez pu m'envoyer quelque chose qui vaille vraiment le prix de FRS : 7856, 75 que vous me devez. Au lieu de montrer votre bonne volonté, vous avez l'air de vous moquer de moi. Comme il m'est impossible de donner ces trois choses en paiement à mon imprimeur, je les tiens à votre disposition et vous prie de m'envoyer le montant de la dette par mensualités de 150RM. Cela vous est possible et ça me rendra service. Je comprends que la situation soit difficile pour vous, mais elle l'est davantage pour moi. Cette somme que vous me devez provient non seulement de publicité mais aussi de livres que vous avez certes vendus. Je compte sur

in 1933 for the benefit of the magazine. Their relations became intense. Flechtheim did not conceal his disappointment accusing Zervos of neglecting German art, with the exception of Kandinsky and Klee. He claimed that the benefits from advertising in *Cahiers d'Art* were meagre due to the magazine's indifference towards the protégés of his gallery.⁹⁰ This accusation was in fact the result of a series of *partis-pris* and an evident discrimination on the part of Zervos that favoured Parisian artists, as we shall see. The latter's response was poignant.

You have the nerve to accuse me to never have done anything for your German artists. Now this is an accusation that is not valid or, as I want to believe, you wrote this letter under the influence of the political events there in order to please the nationalist spirit of certain people. You forget that you have been one of the first and the most fervent champions of the School of Paris, you have stated that the best exhibitions that you did were French and the paintings that you sold in times of prosperity were French. How can you say that I did nothing for your gallery, is it that I did not support the painters whose works you sell? Is it not me, who during my stay in Berlin, told you that we must support the same German art and you responded that it disgusted you? Is it not me who reproached you for not supporting Klee who was equivalent to many of our best painters. Is it not me the one who organised the exhibition of sculpture at Bernheim where we invited all your sculptors. Is it not me the one who published on two occasions the works of Belling. It is so absurd what you write to me, since I cannot believe that you no longer remember the publication of the works of Lehmbruck, Fiori, Sintenis, Haller etc. next to the best French sculptors, that I am convinced that you wrote your letter to exculpate you in the eyes of I know not who and I do not hold it against you. I have always been proud of being the first who, in a magazine that appears

vous pour s'envoyer les mensualités demandées. Vous avez la possibilité de le faire ces mensualités étant inférieures à 200RM et la somme due remontant à plus d'un an.' C. Z., letter to Alfred Flechtheim, 22 December 1931. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁹⁰ 'Entschuldigen Sie bitte, dass ich ihnen nicht französisch schreibe, aber meine französische Schreibmascinendame ist augenblicklich auf Urlaub. Die Zeichnungen, die ich Ihnen schickte, haben mich mehr gekostet, als was ich Ihnen schuldig bin. Was kann ich dafür, dass in Paris der Handel so jammervoll geworden ist, dass man sein Geld noch nicht einmal für seine Kunst wiederbekommt, trotz der ausserordentlichen Reklame, die Sie ununterbrochen in Ihrer wundervollen Zeitung, deren Eingehen ich ausserordentlich bedaure, gemacht haben. Wenn Sie sich ebenso für deutsche Kunst eingesetzt hatten wie die französische, hätte ich ja auch durch Sie mal Vorteile gehabt. Der einzige deutsche Künstler, für den Sie sich eingesetzt haben, war Klee und ich hoffe, dass Sie mit dem Klee-Buch sehr gut abgeschnitten haben. – Dann haben Sie sich für Kandinsky eingesetzt, welcher Künstler, wie Sie wissen und wie ich Ihnen wiederholt gesagt habe, mich absolut nicht interessiert. Ich verschulde Ihnen 6.000-Frs auf Anzeigen. Ich werde Ihnen diese nicht bar bezahlen, sondern stelle Ihnen anheim, sich für diese 6.000.-Frs die drei Zeichnungen zu nehmen. Die Anzeigen in Ihrem Blatte waren für mich nichts anderes als eine Unterstützung des Blattes; irgendwelche Vorteile habe ich durch dieselben nicht gehabt; während die französischen Händler wenigstens den Vorteil der Propaganda ihrer Künstler durch Ihre Zeitschrift gehabt haben. Den Restbetrag von ca. 1.800-Frs werde ich Ihnen demnächst in bar bezahlen. Ich wünsche Ihnen zum Jahreswechsel alles Gute. Ich hoffe, dass es Ihnen gelingen wird, Ihre Zeitschrift wieder ins Leben zurückzurufen. Wie es aber auch sei: sie war die beste Kunstzeitschrift, die es seit langem gegeben hat. Sie hätte auch für mich einen Vorteil gehabt, wenn die deutsche Kunst nicht so stiefmütterlich behandelt worden wäre. Ich erinnere Sie an Ihre Versprechen, die Sie mir, insbesondere bei den deutschen Bildhauern, gemacht haben.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 31 December 1931. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

in Paris and of the importance of Cahiers d'Art, had sought to bring the artists of the two countries closer, despite the recriminations of your friends such as Mr Reber and Einstein. Anyway I return to what interests me materially the most. As I wrote to you send me something else for the amount owed, what you have sent me I cannot use, nobody wants it, not because of the price, but because the pieces in question are pieces of paper. I know that if you want you can send me something better and more sellable even if it is ancient Leger and Gris. After a long collaboration I believe that it is impractical to separate over a bad gesture above all as it is not worth the pain for you. And more occasions will be presented for us to render mutual service. I therefore expect a reply on this topic and as far as it is possible in French since it costs me money to translate the letters. As for the magazine I hope that it will hold on. Grohmann prepared for me a long article that will appear in multiple numbers, in which he presents German art historically from the Brucke to the present. This article was asked for over a year ago, you can see from there that I am not concerned about German art and artists. I just found out that Georges Kolbe, by means of gratitude for what I did for him, unsubscribed. At last...⁹¹

⁹¹ C. Z., letter to Alfred Flechtheim, 5 January 1932. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Vous avez l'humour de me reprocher de n'avoir jamais rien fait pour vos artistes allemands. Or, c'est un reproche qui ne tient pas ou, comme je veux le croire, vous avez écrit cette lettre sous l'influence des événements politiques chez vous et pour faire plaisir à l'esprit nationaliste de certaines personnes. Vous oubliez que vous avez été un des premiers et des plus fervents défenseurs de l'École de Paris, vous avez oublié que les meilleures expositions que vous avez faites étaient françaises et que les tableaux que vous avez vendus au temps de la prospérité étaient français. Comment pouvez-vous dire que je n'ai rien fait pour votre Galerie, est-ce que je n'ai pas soutenu les peintres dont vous vendiez les œuvres ? Est-ce que ce n'est pas moi, qui lors de mon séjour à Berlin, je vous avais dit qu'il fallait tout de même soutenir l'art allemand et que vous m'aviez répondu qu'il vous dégoûtait ? Ce n'est pas moi qui vous avais reproché de ne pas soutenir Klee qui valait plusieurs de nos meilleurs peintres. N'est-ce pas moi qui ai organisé l'exposition de sculpture chez Bernheim où nous avons invité tous vos sculpteurs. N'est-ce pas moi qui à deux reprises ai publié des œuvres de Belling. C'est tellement flagrant de contresens ce que vous m'écrivez, car je ne peux pas croire que vous ne vous souvenez plus de la publication des œuvres de Lehmbruck, de Fiori, de Sintenis, de Haller etc. en face des meilleurs sculpteurs français, que je suis persuadé que vous avez écrit votre lettre pour vous disculper je ne sais auprès de qui et je vous en tiens pas rigueur. Toujours est-il que je suis fier d'avoir été le premier qui, dans une revue paraissant à Paris et de l'importance des Cahiers d'Art, ait cherché à rapprocher les artistes des deux pays, malgré les récriminations de vos amis comme MM. Reber et Einstein. En tout cas je reviens à ce qui m'intéresse matériellement. Comme je vous l'ai écrit envoyez-moi autre chose pour la somme due, ce que vous m'avez envoyé je ne peux pas l'utiliser, personne n'en veut, non pas pour le prix, mais parce que les pièces en question sont des bouts de papier. Je sais que si vous voulez vous pouvez m'envoyer autre chose de mieux et de plus vendable même si c'est Léger ou Gris anciens. Après une longue collaboration je crois qu'il est inutile de nous séparer sur un mauvais geste surtout que cela ne vaut pas la peine pour vous. Et que des occasions se présenteront encore pour nous rendre service mutuellement. Donc, j'attends une réponse à ce sujet et autant que possible en français car il me coûte de l'argent de faire traduire les lettres. Quant à la Revue j'espère qu'elle tiendra encore le coup. Grohmann m'a préparé un grand article à paraître sur plusieurs numéros, dans lequel il fait l'historique de l'art allemand de la Brucke à nos jours. Cet article lui a été demandé il y a plus d'un an, vous voyez donc par là que je ne m'occupe pas de l'art et des artistes allemands. Je viens de m'apercevoir que Georges Kolbe en remerciement de ce que j'ai fait pour lui, vient de se désabonner. Enfin...' Flechtheim replied : 'Pour mon avis un seul cahier une fois pour les allemands n'a jamais le résultat que si vous aviez reproduit à maintes reprises des œuvres de nos peintres et surtout de nos sculpteurs comme vous le faites pour vos peintres. Ça aurait été plus intéressant que vos éternelles répétitions de vos maîtres et la propagande pour des jeunes disparus un an après. Ça vous aurait fait des amis et des abonnés chez nous. – et vous me l'aviez toujours promis, mais jamais tenu.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 16 February 1932. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. In another letter Flechtheim wrote: 'Je n'ai jamais cru que votre revue est une revue purement française, autrement je n'aurais jamais donné une publicité. J'ai cru que votre revue est une revue internationale bien qu'elle n'ait fait qu'une réclame énorme pour les marchands de tableaux français, pour Bignou, Rosenberg, Pierre etc. J'ai toujours

The political climate in Germany was becoming increasingly hostile to Flechtheim who was forced to flee the country about a year later, seeking refuge in France and later Britain. Zervos' severe difficulties affected the periodicity of his magazine. In 1933, he disposed of 51 works disinterestedly offered by the 'Amis de la Revue' which were sold at an auction held at Hotel Drouot raising 80.000 francs for the benefit of the magazine which was presented as the *jeune revue-mère aidée par ses grands fils*.⁹² The generosity of the artists is telling, for Zervos declared his disinterested commitment to advancing their careers.⁹³ Nonetheless, Zervos was not

admiré votre travail, j'ai toujours admiré votre revue et j'ai toujours fait mon possible pour trouver des abonnés. Mais tout est changé et avec les grandes maîtres de mon âge l'art français a stoppé avec quelques exceptions qui du reste ne sont pas tellement intéressants qu'une revue de la qualité de la votre se donne tant de peine pour eux.' Letter to C. Z., 2 March 1932. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁹² See Chara Kolokytha, 'The Art Press and Visual Culture in Paris during the Great Depression: Cahiers d'Art, Minotaure, and Verve,' *Visual Resources* 29, 2013, p. 186. Zervos published reproductions and the titles of the paintings, sculptures and drawing that were auctioned. The list included Raul Dufy's drawings *La Coiffure* (1926) and *La Commode* (1926), Kandinsky's *Composition* (1913) and *Composition* (1916), Klee's *D. 4.* (1926) and *S. 9.* (1928), Matisse's *Nu Assis* (probably the Flechtheim's drawing as discussed above), Picasso's *Le Peintre* (1932) and *Femme Nue Allongée* (période nègre), Modigliani's *Figure*, Arp's *Le Vase* (1931) and *Composition* (1932), Bauchant's *Les Mesanges*, Beaudin's *La Fleur Rouge* (1931), *Le Lac* (1931) and *Le Sculpteur* (1932), Borès' *La Table* (1929), *Au Café* (1929) and *Paysage* (1929), Braque's *Figure* (1931) and *Nature Morte à la Pipe* (1912), Campigli's *Figures*, Cossio's *Nature Morte* (1927), *Nature Morte* (1927), *La Dolorosa* (1929), Dufy's *Saint-Jeanet* (aquarelle), Ernst's *Composition*, Ghika's *La Barque* and *La Fenêtre*, Giacometti's *Malgré les Mains*, Gonzalez's *Arlequin*, Kandinsky's *Composition* and *Aquarelle*, two sculptures by Laurens and Lipchitz, Léger's *Composition* (1930), Lurçat's *Marine* (1931) and *Le Bateau*, Marcoussis' *Composition*, *Le Christ* by Rouault, Masson's *Verres et Cartes Postales* and *Pastel*, Miro's *Les Deux Soeurs Jumelles* and *Aquarelle*, Seligmann's *Composition*, Torrès Garcia's *Composition* (1931) and *Rue No 1* (1932), Viñes' *Printemps* (1929), Xceron's *Nature Morte* and *Composition*. See *Cahiers d'Art* 1-2, 1933. Zervos asked Georges-Henri Rivière for help. In April 1933, he wrote: 'Je vous ai fait envoyer il y a quelques jours le catalogue de la vente de mes tableaux en vue de soutenir la revue pendant cette période de calamités. Je vous prie instamment d'user de toute votre influence pour pousser des gens à l'achat de tableaux. Avec le produit de la vente je pourrai tenir le coup sans diminution de la Revue. De plus je serais très content si vous pouviez aller à l'exposition qui aura lieu Mardi prochain. Je suis sûr que la bas vous trouverez des personnes qui vous convaincront de suite. Après la vente je viendrai vous voir au sujet de votre exposition de la mission Griaule. Vous a-t-on remis la nouvelle revue '14' que je viens d'éditer. Le 2^e numéro paraîtra dans 5 jours. Comme le prix d'abonnement est très modique je pense obtenir un assez grand nombre d'abonnements. A tout hasard je vous remets quelques bulletins de souscriptions et tachez d'en faire l'usage le plus avantageux pour la revue. Je crois qu'en nous soutenant mutuellement on pourra faire quelque chose de bien. Excusez ces multiples dérangements et croyez à mes sentiments cordiaux.' C. Z., letter to G.-H. Rivière, 11 April 1933, Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris. Zervos also wrote to the Galerie Pierre about the auction seeking for potential bidders. He recommended the purchase of a cubist tableau by Braque. C. Z., letter to the Galerie Pierre, 23 March 1933. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 4, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁹³ Some of the works were offered by Zervos' clients in order to cover part of their debt. This was the case with the Galerie Bucher that offered a work by Bauchant which was auctioned for the benefit of *Cahiers d'Art* at the price of 2.000 Frs. C. Z., letter to the Galerie Jeanne Bucher, 9 July 1935. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 5, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Furthermore

uncritically friendly to the new generation. The magazine and the exhibitions organised in the late 1920s, before the opening of his gallery, constitute a strong demonstration of his position-taking with particular regards to aspects of plasticity in the work of the ‘young.’ In fact, the conflict with Flechtheim was not merely an effect of the recession but needs to be understood in the context of Zervos’ firm support for the School of Paris as epitomised in an earlier show of Franco-German sculpture in Bernheim’s gallery.

Plastique Contemporaine

You tell me that you published articles on Belling twice. But how many times have you published articles on mediocrities such as Laurens, Lipchitz and Arp? You have enormously advertised the young Spaniards and how many times have you published Hofer and Grosz? [...] What have you reproduced from Lehmbruck and Kolbe, etc.? Our German sculpture is superior to the Parisian, which has nothing but Maillol; your Despiau is less interesting than our Kolbe. I will tell you something: I bought on your advice a lot of Serna and I will send it to you. I see with pleasure that you are going to continue but I want to tell you that our eternal articles on the Fauves, on Picasso, Braque, Léger etc. are no longer exciting [...] I see that you are now preparing the German Cahiers. I am waiting.⁹⁴ Alfred Flechtheim, 1932

Rouault’s *Le Christ* was kept by Zervos as guarantee for amount of 10.000 Frs from the part of Marceline Vauret and the Galerie de France. In 1930 Vauret asked Zervos to sell the work together with another one by Picasso (probably sold at the auction too). She wrote: ‘Je vous remercie de bien vouloir vous occuper de la vente des deux toiles que je vous ai confiées. Un Picasso cubiste – 85.000. un Rouault (Christ) – 65.000. Ces prix sont définitifs.’ Marceline Vauret, letter to C. Z., 29 August 1930. Fonds Cahiers d’Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Another letter found in Zervos’ papers was addressed to an unidentified American collaborator promoting the auctioned works by Kandinsky and Klee. Zervos wrote: ‘Je voudrais vous dire qu’il faudrait faire l’impossible pour soutenir les œuvres de Klee et de Kandinsky qui passeront à Paris dans ma vente. Voici les prix qu’il serait raisonnable de leur faire faire à Paris : No 3, Frs 500, Dol. 20 dessin Kandinsky. No 4 Frs 500, Dol. 20 dessin Kandinsky. No 5 Frs 500, Dol. 20 dessin Klee. No 6, Frs 500, Dol. 20, dessin Klee. No 32, Frs 2.000, Dol. 80 peinture Kandinsky. No 33, Frs 1.000, No 40 aquarelle Kandinsky. Hors catalogue. Une magnifique aquarelle de Klee que je viens de recevoir ‘Amitié des bêtes’ format 36x48, Frs: 2.000 Dol: 80. Je suis persuadé que vous ferez une bonne affaire, car ce sont des choses magnifiques pour rien. Pour les autres œuvres faites l’impossible auprès de vos parents et amis. Je sais que la situation est difficile, mais ce sera passager. D’ailleurs en Amérique on commence à se bien relever [...] Si vous vous décidez à acheter une ou plusieurs œuvres veuillez me le faire savoir de suite ou écrire à Mr. Bellier, Commissaire-Priseur, 30 Place de la Madeleine, Paris. Je compte beaucoup sur votre amitié pour faire une vente qui soit agréable à Klee et Kandinsky qui ont été on ne peut plus gentil avec moi.’ C. Z., letter to unidentified recipient, 23 March 1933. Fonds Cahiers d’Art, CAPROV 4, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁹⁴ Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 7 January 1932. Fonds Cahiers d’Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Published in Christian Derouet (ed), *Cahiers D’Art: Musée Zervos à Vézelay*, Paris: Hazan, 2006, p. 81. ‘Vous me dites que vous avez publié deux fois des articles sur Belling. Mais combien de fois est-ce que vous avez publié des articles sur des médiocrités comme Laurens, Lipchitz et Arp ? Vous avez fait énormément de réclame pour des jeunes Espagnols et combien de fois est-ce que vous avez publié Hofer et Grosz ? [...] Qu’est-ce que vous avez reproduit de Lehmbruck et Kolbe, etc. ? Notre sculpture allemande est supérieure à celle de Paris qui ne possède que Maillol ; votre Despiau est moins intéressant que notre Kolbe. Je vais vous dire quelque chose: j’ai acheté sur votre conseil beaucoup de Serna et je vous en enverrai. Je note avec plaisir que vous allez

Zervos underlined on any occasion the important lesson of Paris to foreign artists. Given the lack of a museum for contemporary art, his interest shifted to gallery shows that were supportive of the young generation. As a matter of fact the galleries with which *Cahiers d'Art* collaborated opened at about the same period as the magazine, in the mid-1920s, establishing an increasingly influential network that sought to support the new generation. *Cahiers d'Art* attempted nonetheless to gradually become a publication of art history and archaeology temporarily excluding reports on artistic actuality from its content. *Feuilles Volantes* was about to assume this role but its publication was abruptly interrupted before the end of 1928. The magazine furthermore expanded its horizons to conservation techniques and studies on identification of works of art the same year.⁹⁵ Despite the procrastination of the German edition, Zervos continued his affairs with Flechtheim consolidating his links with Germany. *Cahiers d'Art* was perhaps the only magazine to appropriate and use with noticeable frequency the terms plasticity and lyricism in its formalist discourse. To better illustrate Zervos' formalist interpretation of the concept of plasticity in the context of both modern and primitive art it is pertinent to consider his understanding of sculpture.

A first exhibition of contemporary sculpture was organised in 1927 by Tériade at the gallery of Jacques Darnetal. It was a small show that displayed what was thought of by Tériade – and Zervos – as being the major tendencies in contemporary sculpture. The presentation, Raynal thought, was unbiased, but was reduced in reality to only thirteen works.⁹⁶ *Cahiers d'Art* claimed that all tendencies in Parisian contemporary sculpture were present.⁹⁷ The exhibition included works by Maillol, Despiau, Tombros and Brancusi which demonstrated the epitome of plasticity through

continuer mais je veux vous dire que nos éternels articles sur les fauves, sur Picasso, sur Braque, sur Léger etc. commencent à ne plus étonner [...] Je note que vous allez préparer maintenant des Cahiers allemands. J'attends.'

⁹⁵ Zervos published the study of the conservator of the gallery Tretiakoff in Moscow A. Ribnikoff who commented on the writings of Berenson and offered a demonstration of the distinctions in the study of the technique and the composition of works of art produced prior to the 19th century. Zervos proposed the organisation of a travelling show around Europe which would present the techniques applied by Igor Grabar to the restoration and study of artworks. He was fascinated by the new Institute that was founded in Moscow which was devoted to studies of restoration and identification of paintings for most of which the identity of the painter was erroneous or unknown. Christian Zervos and Le Corbusier, 'Les Peintures Révélées par Igor Grabar,' *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1928, pp. 427-428. A. A. Ribnikoff, 'La Factice du Tableau Classique,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1929, pp. 24-27.

⁹⁶ Maurice Raynal, 'Les Arts,' *l'Intransigeant*, 8 December 1927, p. 2.

⁹⁷ 'Journaux et Périodiques,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9, 1927, p. 4. See also 'Les Expositions à Paris et ailleurs,' *Feuilles Volantes* 10, 1927, p. 4.

the exclusion of details, while the poetic imagination of Zadkine and the works by Gimond represented the romantic and naturalist reaction against the classicizing pursuit of the former group. The constructions of Gargallo and the cubist figures of Laurens completed the presentation – both artists exalted in *Cahiers d'Art*.⁹⁸ Despite Zervos' universal and internationalist aspirations, the show constitutes a strong demonstration of the restricted horizons of the magazine's universe with its interest being reduced to artists associated with its activities. The circle of Zervos expanded rapidly in the following years.

A second commentary on the show was apparently the one to attract Flechtheim's attention. It was published together with the dealer's interview with Zervos in *Feuilles Volantes*.⁹⁹ Flechtheim started promoting the reproduction of works by his protégés in *Cahiers d'Art*. However the magazine's references to German art were reduced to Kandinsky and Klee. In fact a significant number of unpublished photographs that were found in his archive concerned works by German artists that Zervos received but never published.¹⁰⁰ The interactions with Germany encase a debate involving Flechtheim's support for German artists and Zervos' interest in a group of Paris-based artists. In 1929, the dealer attempted to persuade Zervos about the work of Beckmann, although the artist, he declared, was much different from Klee who could compete with Picasso, Braque and Léger.¹⁰¹ Zervos professed a small interest in the gouaches of George Grosz, which has to be understood in terms of the artist's influence by Jules Pascin, both being more literary than plastic, more graphic than pictorial.¹⁰²

In 1930, Flechtheim sent him the autobiography of Ernst Barlach maintaining that the artist's work surpassed its German nationality reaching a universal

⁹⁸ Paul Fierens, 'Henri Laurens,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1926, pp. 41-45. Tériade, 'Henri Laurens,' *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1927, pp. 347-349. Tériade, 'Pablo Gargallo,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1927, pp. 283-286.

⁹⁹ The interview was accompanied by reproductions of artworks belonging to the dealer's collection, including paintings by Picasso (*La femme au violon*), Derain (*L'Italienne*), and Léger; sculpture by Degas and a bronze by Ernesto de Fiori representing the heavy-weight champion Max Schmeling. Christian Zervos, 'Nos Enquêtes: Entretien avec Alfred Flechtheim,' *Feuilles Volantes* 10, 1927, pp. 1-3.

¹⁰⁰ Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 87-90, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁰¹ 'Beckmann : C'est avec beaucoup de regret que je note ce que vous dites. Je suis sûr que quand vous aurez été chez lui dans son atelier vous changerez votre opinion. Klee naturellement est quelque chose tout à fait différente. Il est le plus grand artiste à côté de Picasso, Braque et Léger. Il me fait plaisir que vous commencerez à intéresser pour George Grosz. Je veux faire une exposition à Paris. Quand pensez-vous surtout des dessins et quelques gouaches. Odilon Redon ne m'intéresse pas du tout. C'est fini et il faut laisser les morts dans la terre.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 31 December 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁰² 'Les Expositions à Paris et ailleurs,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1931, p.111.

dimension.¹⁰³ Zervos maintained his skepticism. He published a pointed critique the same year on the publication *La Peinture Allemande Contemporaine* by Emile Waldmann, curator at the Museum of Bremen. The book was part of the series *Collection Peintres et Sculpteurs* launched by Georges Besson and the Editions Crès covering in about a hundred pages the evolution of German art from 1870 to 1930, from Liebermann's realism to the mysticism of Kandinsky and Klee.¹⁰⁴ Zervos thought that the book was a disappointment with the choice of the artists presented constituting an objective demonstration of the author's personal taste.¹⁰⁵ A second exhibition of contemporary sculpture was held in 1929 including works by German and Parisian artists. The show was arguably the result of a series of discussions with Flechtheim concerning the plastic qualities of modern art in both countries. It appears that Zervos was more sympathetic to German architecture than art, despite Flechtheim's perpetual effort to impose his protégés in the magazine's content. In 1928, Zervos published a short commentary on the fountains by Rudolf Belling at the Düsseldorf exhibition and the Maison du Livre in Berlin, which underlined the artist's architectural preoccupations.¹⁰⁶ He was however more interested in presenting the work of Parisian artists in Germany, commenting systematically on manifestations of this sort.

In 1927, *Cahiers d'Art* paid close attention to two shows organised by Flechtheim. The first was dedicated to the late works of Renoir which, Zervos argued, redeem the artist's reputation through a demonstration of his uninterrupted research that led to a significant transformation of his style in the last years of his life. Zervos thought that the misunderstanding over Renoir was generated by exhibitions such as the *Cinquante Renoir choisis parmi les nus, les fleurs, les enfants* at the Bernheim-Jeune gallery (28 February - 25 March 1927) which uncritically brought together fifty works by the artist classified in terms of the subject-matter of his compositions.¹⁰⁷ The

¹⁰³ 'Vous en voyez qu'il s'agit d'un artiste pas seulement allemand mais universel.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 13 November 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁰⁴ François Fosca, 'Les Livres,' *La Quinzaine Critique des Livres et des Revues*, 25 July 1930, p. 444.

¹⁰⁵ C. Z., 'Livres d'Art Ancien et Moderne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1930, p. 166.

¹⁰⁶ E.C.P., 'Les Fontaines de Rudolf Belling,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1928, pp. 132-134.

¹⁰⁷ On the occasion of the acquisition of Monet's self-portrait by the Louvre in 1927, Waldemar George inquired that artists of the order of Degas and Renoir were subject to unfavourable treatment by the state. He argued: 'Why favour an artist who, though a genius, is not superior to Degas or Renoir? But Degas' Portrait de Famille and Renoir's Baigneuses are still on probation at the Luxemburg. We have not forgotten that Renoir's sons offered one of the most important of their father's works to the State, on the same conditions, and that, in view of the brusque refusal they received, they almost withdrew

Flechtheim show, he maintained, freed Renoir's work from such misinterpretations, a fact that arguably owed much to Zervos' earlier texts.¹⁰⁸ In a second commentary on Flechtheim's exhibition of Picasso's drawings, *Cahiers d'Art* underlined that 'after long researches, painting today managed to liberate itself from the tyranny of the subject-matter' and the literary approach to the object.¹⁰⁹ It appears that both Berlin shows complemented each other in the presentation of the plastic aspects of the contemporary aesthetic, which were repeatedly underlined in both the content of *Cahiers d'Art* and the series of small exhibitions organised by Zervos and Tériade. In 1928, the latter organised a small show at the Galerie Zak under the theme *La Figure*. It included works by the magazine's protégés and its purpose was to underline that together with landscapes and still-lives, the human figure also furnished the occasion for a purely plastic synthesis exempt from subject-matter narratives. Zervos' appreciations exerted considerable influence over Flechtheim for quite some time. The former employed every possible means to demonstrate that his position in favour of Parisian art was commonplace in discussions among artists and art professionals in both countries.

Cahiers d'Art published in 1928 a survey on modern sculpture in Germany and France. The problem with contemporary sculpture, Zervos acknowledged, was that it became increasingly neglected due to the public's preference for painting and the architects' economy of means. France and Germany he argued played a leading role in contemporary sculpture. The survey sought to identify the intrinsic qualities of sculptors working in the two countries, their differences, and their similarities. It published answers by Westheim, Grohmann, and the editor of *Der Cicerone* Georg Biermann. This was the first time that a significant number of German works were reproduced in *Cahiers d'Art* although the overall presentation aimed at comparing them with French statuary. Biermann touched upon the issue of tradition in both countries since the gothic period, comparing the French classical inclinations, as epitomised in the work of Maillol, with the German expressionist style exemplified in

their gift. Nor have we forgotten that though Cézanne died in 1906, no canvas by this painter decorates the walls of the Salle des Etats.' Waldemar George, 'Art in France: Acquisitions by the Louvre,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 50, 1927, p. 111.

¹⁰⁸ 'Les Expositions à Paris et Ailleurs,' *Feuilles Volantes* 9, 1927, p.3. Zervos had published earlier an extensive discussion of Renoir's works. Christian Zervos, 'Réflexions sur l'œuvre de Renoir,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1927, pp. 45.

¹⁰⁹ 'Les Expositions à Paris et ailleurs,' *Feuilles Volantes* 9, 1927, p.3. The text was published in Flechtheim's bulletin.

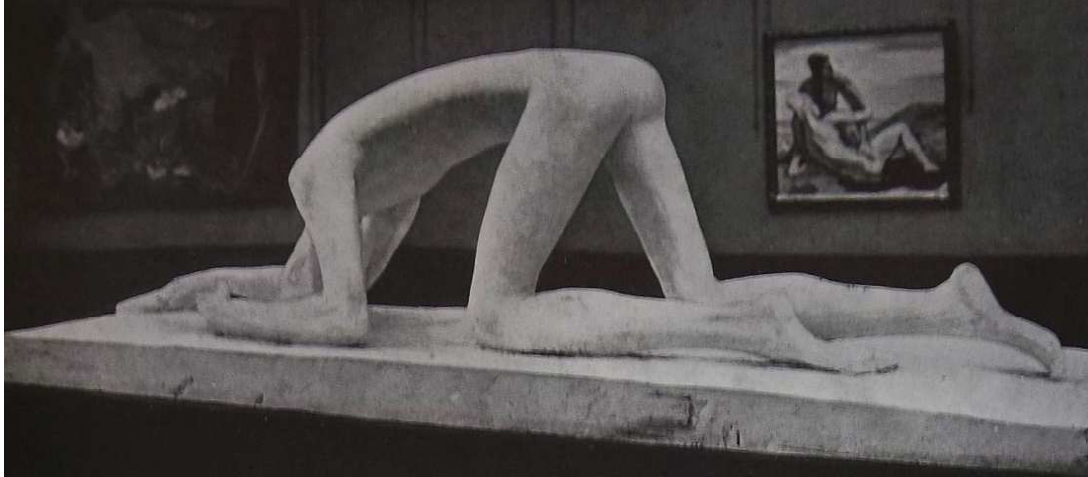
Bernhard Hoetger. Unlike most German sculptors, Hoetger introduced an international style of the order of Matthias Grünewald; a style, he remarked, that had the potential to abolish national borders for the benefit of European spirit. The difference between the two sculptors, Biermann thought, lies in their temperament. The superiority of French contemporary sculpture is the result of the French artists' attachment to the national tradition. Biermann anticipated a return to tradition in German art which had lost contact with its gothic past.¹¹⁰ The illustration of the survey was discriminatory. Maillol's elegant figures and bas-reliefs were placed next to Lehmbruck's gloomy and anguished *Der Gerstürzte* (1915/1916). Barlach's eerie and somber *Die gefesselte Hexe* (1926) was reproduced next to Laurens' voluptuous *Figure couchée* (1928-9). The elegant and subtle compared to the absurd and expressionist.

Grohmann thought that there was no sculptor in Germany comparable to Maillol and Brancusi, but named a significant number of artists that 'kept alive' the gothic tradition, namely Lehmbruck, Barlach and Marcks. He confirmed that sculpture played a less significant role in Germany than architecture and painting. Fiori, Sintenis and Haller adopted however a technique that rendered them intermediaries between painting and sculpture - a technique that evoked the influence of Rodin. Grohmann was highly critical of the new generation. Kolbe, he thought, despite his inspiration by Maillol – a Maillol allemand-Ersatz - was neither original, nor a *grand créateur*. The dominant tendencies in German sculpture marked three distinct directions: impressionism, abstraction deriving from French cubism and works by Archipenko, and neo-naturalism. The most interesting point in Grohmann's response is his assertion that the German public was totally unfamiliar with French contemporary sculpture. With the exception of Maillol, Degas, and Picasso, who were well-known to the younger generation, Lipchitz, Laurens, Despiau and Bourdelle, he asserted, were completely unknown.¹¹¹ Flechtheim had presented Degas' bronzes in May 1927 and organised a Maillol solo exhibition in March 1928 in Dusseldorf. Two shows on Renoir took place in Berlin between 1927 and 1928. However he remained indifferent to younger French sculptors. Concluding the survey, Westheim identified sculpture with monumental art and architecture citing more or less the same artists as

¹¹⁰ Georg Biermann, 'Enquête sur la sculpture en Allemagne et en France,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9, 1928, pp. 382-387.

¹¹¹ Will Grohmann, 'Enquête sur la sculpture en Allemagne et en France,' *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1928, pp. 370-376.

his colleagues.¹¹² His views were in keeping with Zervos' approach to statuary and Tériade's earlier apothegm that sculpture is the art of primitive humans and the symbol of the most stable civilisations.¹¹³



11. Wilhem Lehmbruck, *Der Gerstürzte*, 1915/1916, *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1928, p. 371.



12. Aristide Maillol, *Figure*, *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1928. p. 370.

¹¹² Paul Westheim, 'Enquête sur la sculpture en Allemagne et en France,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9, 1929, pp. 142-146.

¹¹³ Tériade, 'Pablo Gargallo,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1927, pp. 283-6.



13. Ernst Barlach, *Die gefesselte Hexe*, 1926, *Cahiers d'Art* 4, 1929, p. 142.
 14. Henri Laurens, *Figure Couchée*, 1929, *Cahiers d'Art* 4, 1929, p. 143.

An exhibition of Franco-German sculpture in the Georges Bernheim gallery in December 1929 arguably served as conclusion to the survey. Zervos had promised to subsequently publish responses by his French colleagues but these never appeared in *Cahiers d'Art*. The show was organised at about the same time as the spectacular retrospective *Seit Cézanne in Paris* in Flechtheim's Berlin gallery, which was literally a presentation of cubist influenced painting and sculpture. The Parisian show was organised by Tériade in collaboration with Flechtheim, but is nonetheless telling of Zervos' position-taking that defined the future of his collaboration with the German dealer. Most of the artists mentioned in the survey were present in the show. Flechtheim sent the German sculptures to the Bernheim gallery in early November and a detailed list to Tériade at about the same time.¹¹⁴ A bronze by Ewald Mataré was sent by the Berlin gallery of Ferdinand Möller later the same month.¹¹⁵ The show

¹¹⁴ Alfred Flechtheim, letter to Tériade, 4 November 1929. Tériade Papers, Musée Matisse. Le Cateau Cambrésis.

¹¹⁵ Ferdinand Möller, letter to Georges Bernheim, 29 November 1929. Tériade Papers, Musée Matisse. Le Cateau Cambrésis.

however opened before the arrival of the German works and to Flechtheim's surprise it lasted less than twenty days.¹¹⁶

Zervos published later a comprehensive survey in *Cahiers d'Art* including two photographs showing the gallery before and after the installation of the German sculptures. This may be arguably inscribed in his effort to demonstrate the contribution of the German artists to the show, which in his opinion was small. The exhibition received critical attention.¹¹⁷ Fierens compared it with the renovated halls of the Louvre. Renoir, he thought, stood out in the show the same way as Carpeaux did amongst 19th century sculptors.¹¹⁸ Fritz Vanderpyl referred to the same example.¹¹⁹ Contrary perhaps to Zervos' expectations, Flechtheim chose to send works deprived of expressionist features but with strong realist references that could possibly compete with the French inclination to rationalism. Renoir was also exalted by Waldemar George who nonetheless addressed his critique to the German sculptors and their realistic tendencies, so distant from their national medieval tradition. Belling, he thought, with his vigorous and muscular bronze figure of the boxer Max Schmeling, betrayed the hopes placed on him earlier in his career.¹²⁰ The disposition of works bears witness of the organisers' apparent preference for French plasticity.

Two generations of French sculptors were placed along the central space of the Bernheim gallery giving the impression of two parallel lines. The first was represented by Despiau (*Figure*), Renoir (*Eve*), Maillol (*Femme au collier*), Brancusi (*L'Oiselet*) and Bourdelle (*Bacchante*). The second generation included works by Giacometti (*Trois figures*), Lipchitz (*Le Couple*), Gargallo (*Danseuse*) and Laurens (*Figure avec Fontaine*). The German works by Belling (*Der Boxer Max Schmeling*), Kolbe (*Tête*), Dietz Edzard, de Fiori, and Haller were subsequently placed perimetrically. Small figurines by Sintenis were interspersed around the hall. Only Lehmbruck's *Hagen Torso* (1911) managed to find a place next to Maillol's splendid *Venus* from the Vollard collection. The choice and presentation of works ended up

¹¹⁶ 'A mon plus grand étonnement Je n'ai appris que l'exposition est déjà finie. Je n'ai jamais reçu ni une critique ni d'autre chose, un catalogue, relatif a cette exposition que m'a coûté une considérable somme pour le transport et l'assurance. J'aurai au moins cru de lire des articles dans les journaux et des revues, et je tiens à vous dire que je suis très déçu.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to Tériade, 21 December 1929. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹¹⁷ Maurice, Raynal, 'Une exposition de sculpture internationale,' *l'Intransigeant*, 2 December 1929, p. 5.

¹¹⁸ Paul Fierens, 'Remarques dur l'art d'aujourd'hui. Trois classiques : Renoir, Maillol, Marcel Gimond,' *La Revue Hebdomadaire*, 1929, pp. 241-244.

¹¹⁹ Vanderpyl, 'Salons et Expositions,' *Le Petit Parisien*, 7 December 1929, p. A.

¹²⁰ Waldemar George, 'Chroniques : L'Art à Paris,' *Formes*, 1929, p. 13.

being strongly focused on classicizing aspects of modern statuary. The same aspect was enhanced by the syntheses of Gimond, Tombros and Manolo. Carl Einstein addressed a trenchant critique to the solemn and vulgar ideals and the 'obstructive dreams' of the show which reduced modern sculpture to 'bibelots and monuments for the dead,' to pseudo-cubism and late-Roman elegant proportions. Einstein thought that the Venuses and torsos presented constituted an example of misinterpreted classicism reserved for teaching classes attended 'by young provincial girls.'¹²¹ The critic was nevertheless sympathetic to Lipchitz, Laurens, Brancusi and Giacometti. The illustration of his text published in *Documents* included a Chinese bronze of the Pre-Han period,¹²² a pebble (*Caillou ramassé sur la plage*) from the author's collection and reproductions of Brancusi's *Le Premier Homme* and Lipchitz's *Le Couple* on display in the show.

That Einstein, a close collaborator on *Documents*, published this hostile critique of an exhibition organised by the personnel of *Cahiers d'Art* is telling, for the relation between the two magazines remained stressful. However a subscription on behalf of *Documents* was signed in 1929.¹²³ Einstein ironically remarked that the presentation was based on trivial standards imposed by collectors and the art market.¹²⁴ His observation was arguably well-aimed. The show was in fact a personal affair between Flechtheim and Zervos. The latter was content to give dominant place to French artists with established reputation in Germany. He focused on the much admired classic persuasion of the French in order to oppose the romantic-expressionist output of German art, thusly perpetuating the traditional debate between the two cultures. He accepted however both states of mind but in terms of the impulsive and spontaneous urge for creation that was traced in primitive art. In his own comprehensive critique of the show Zervos followed Einstein's line demonstrating a keen interest in the equivalences between modern and primitive statuary. His text did not include a single reference to the German works on display, which, he apparently thought, added nothing to the researches of modern plasticity (**Plates 15-16**).

One of his first comprehensive surveys on the lesson on primitive art for contemporary sculpture, Zervos' lengthy commentary on the exhibition at the

¹²¹ Carl Einstein, 'Exposition de Sculpture Moderne,' *Documents* 7, 1929, p. 391.

¹²² Zervos published shortly afterwards Alfred Salmony's 'Tuiles à Figures de l'Epoque des Han,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5, 1930, pp. 241-246.

¹²³ Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 6 – CA 15, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹²⁴ Carl Einstein, 'Exposition de Sculpture Moderne,' *Documents* 7, 1929, p. 391.

Bernheim gallery was highly apologetic about the omnipresence of classical ideals in the western world, thinking that this was the result of an 'excess of civilisation.' The aftermath of the classic period, he maintained, resulted in a civilisation of grammarians. Its major consequence was a constant preoccupation to modify and remedy passion. Zervos identified Picasso with the spontaneity of the primitive artist. What renders significant the work of Picasso, he wrote, is that whereas the whole world strives to rationalise passion, he elevates it at the extreme levels of emotion. The problem of modern sculptors was their profound knowledge of the technique which went hand in hand with a transparent lack of the creative mystery of the hands exploring the material. The main reason why sculpture lost the significant role it preserved when it was part of the architectonic synthesis, he affirmed, is the sculptors' excess of culture. The preponderance of the material aspects in art derived from the abatement of instincts that characterised civilised societies. Of course Zervos addressed higher instincts of life with his approach to passion being less mundane than metaphysical.

The unfair perhaps criticism addressed to Lipchitz's cubist-influenced *Le Couple* (Plate 17) is telling of Zervos' general understanding of sculpture's monumental role and the restrictions that the medium imposed. Zervos misnamed the work *L'Amour*, provoking Lipchitz's exasperation,¹²⁵ adding that it violated the inherent principles of statuary with its central theme being reduced to a moment of passion, representing a couple involved in sexual intercourse. The artist later renamed the work *Le Cri*. Zervos perceived sculpture, due to its medium, as being akin to architecture. It represented stability and duration with its nature being *a priori* monumental. Sculpture had consequently to address ideas representing solid and sober

¹²⁵ 'Mon cher Zervos, Je profite de l'occasion pour vous dire quelques mots de vos notes sur la sculpture contemporaine parues dans le dernier numéro des *Cahiers d'art*, notes que j'ai lu avec le plus grand intérêt. Cela ne veut pas dire que je suis en tout point d'accord avec vous. A commencer par ce que vous dites du rapport des sculpteurs et de l'esprit de la Renaissance. Il m'a toujours semblé que le sculpteur Donatello était un des premiers sculpteurs de cet esprit. Et si d'autres sculpteurs continuaient en plein renaissance de s'inspirer de l'esprit gothique il y avait aussi des peintres qui étaient à cette époque rebelles à leur temps. De même à notre époque le sculpteur Rodin en dehors de toute école et plus que n'importe quel peintre de son temps nous a donné l'esprit de la liberté envers le spectacle de la nature [...] C'est par ce côté qu'il a contribué plus que tout autre à la formation de l'esprit de notre temps. «Entre temps était venu le cubisme. Tous les peintres en furent plus ou moins touchés» dites-vous. Je disais moi, quelques des peintres ambitieux en furent touchés. Vous continuez «seuls les sculpteurs restèrent en dehors de ce mouvement», je disais - quelques sculpteurs en furent touchés par ce mouvement. Archipenko, Brankusi notamment et moi même à partir de 1913. Mais enfin je ne suis pas un correcteur des torts. Je ne me sens pas cette vocation. C'est plutôt à propos de votre appréciation de *Couple* que je voudrais parler. Pourquoi l'avez appelé *L'Amour*?' Jacques Lipchitz, draft letters to C. Z., 9 February 1930. MDFs Lipchitz, A 150.081 and A 150.082, MAHJ, Paris.

values rather than instant and fleeting states of mind. Zervos condemned Lipchitz's decision to carve a scene of bodily passion in marble. The subject-matter, he remarked, was incompatible with the medium. Picasso's mystical eroticism, he maintained, was reduced by Lipchitz to a contemptible sexual act offering nothing really passionate to the soul.¹²⁶

Zervos preserved an archaeological approach to sculpture. Due to the relative imperishableness of its medium, it represented for him a retainable trace of its times for future generations. This approach owed much to his interest in and close study of archaeological findings tracing an inherent logic in their construction, an architectonic structure that indicated the orderly mentality of the primitive human. Given most archaeological objects are found shattered in pieces, it is the inner logic of their construction that permits the restoration of their original shape. This is what Zervos called plasticity, maintaining that there was nothing accidental in primitive expression. The plastic parts are inseparable from the whole. Plasticity, as understood by Zervos, represented synthetic values. He in fact evaluated and interpreted modern sculpture under this perspective. Zervos thought Giacometti's work could serve as an example of the sculptor who undermined the poetic intentions and reduced art to manual execution. The fact that Giacometti excavated his forms instead of shaping them in relief could never change, he asserted, the principles of sculpture. He cited with irony the paradox of a young musician who, in order to play the notes that he wrote, had to create a new instrument. Zervos condemned artists seeking for *l'originalité à tout prix*, as he earlier did with decorators. Commenting on Giacometti's *Trois Figures* (**Plate 18**), which was on display at the exhibition of the Bernheim gallery, he remarked:

A Cycladic plaque seems to rely on simple indications. In reality, it fulfils all the conditions of plasticity. In case that a single indication disappeared, the work would lose nothing of its grandeur, since every fragment is full of plasticity. On the contrary, if we erased no matter which part of the exposed work of Giacometti, we would understand that it would appear disorganised, because its unity reposes *a priori* in the appearance and not in the intrinsic qualities of plasticity. The Aegean sculptor was

¹²⁶ Christian Zervos, 'Notes sur la sculpture contemporaine. A propos de la récente Exposition Internationale de Sculpture. Galerie Georges Bernheim, Paris,' *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1929, pp. 465-472. See also Christopher Green, *Picasso: Architecture and Vertigo*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, p. 186.

affirmative and not dialectical. Instead of being dispersed in his work, he recalled his powerful abstractions to unity.¹²⁷

Greek archaeology remained in principle at the centre of Zervos' attention, though he was eager to explore a wide range of primitive cultures throughout his career as an editor and publisher. The re-organisation of the Trocadéro in 1929, which became about a year earlier under the direction of Paul Rivet part of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, was pivotal to his turn to ethnography and anthropology. This was largely motivated by the increasing rivalry with *Documents* and Zervos' concern to attract potential sponsors of the order of David David-Weill, a banker and significant art collector. The publication of *Documents* was in fact supported by Georges Wildenstein, a collector, gallerist, surrealist patron and director of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* since 1928. From 1929, Zervos established strong contacts with the newly appointed curator of the Trocadéro Georges-Henri Rivière who fervently promoted the *Cahiers d'Art* publications to David-Weill.¹²⁸ Rivière started contributing to *Cahiers d'Art* in 1926.¹²⁹ In collaboration with Frobenius Zervos envisaged the volume *Afrique*, while a special number of *Cahiers d'Art* devoted to Oceanic art was published in 1929.¹³⁰ The latter reproduced namely

¹²⁷ Christian Zervos, 'Notes sur la sculpture contemporaine. A propos de la récente Exposition Internationale de Sculpture. Galerie Georges Bernheim, Paris,' *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1929, p. 472. 'Une plaque cycladique semble se suffire de simples indications. Au vrai, elle réalise toutes les conditions de la plastique. Aussi une indication viendrait-elle à disparaître, cette œuvre ne perdrait rien de sa grandeur, car chaque fragment est plein à craquer de plastique. Au lieu que si l'on supprimait une quelconque partie de l'œuvre exposée de Giacommetti, on s'apercevrait que celle-ci se trouverait désorganisée, du fait que son unité repose davantage sur l'apparence que sur des qualités intrinsèques de plastique. Le sculpteur égéen était affirmative et non dialectique. Loin de se disperser dans son œuvre il ramenait ses puissantes abstractions à l'unité.'

¹²⁸ 'Je viens de lire le dernier numéro de Cahiers d' Art. Je me réjouis que cette revue progresse désormais d'un numéro à l'autre. J'ai été sensible à l'hommage rendu à Masson etc. Un petit reproche: dans la liste des Musées, vous omettez le Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro. Heures d'ouverture: de 13 à 17 heures; Ferme le lundi. Entrée: 2 Frs. Le dimanche: gratuit. Nous ne serons pas présentables avant longtemps, il est vrai mais il faut désormais qu'on nous aide à nous faire connaître. Je serais heureux que vous ne téléphoniez ici. Je voudrais vous parler du Trocadéro. Veuillez bien: 10./ Abonner Monsieur David Weill pour 1929, 20/ Faire parvenir à Monsieur David Weill un Dufy Hollande à 600 Frs., un Lurçat Hollande à 200 Frs, un Picasso Hollande à 500 Frs et un Rousseau Hollande à 500 Frs. Facture à son nom, 14 rue de Chezy, Neuilly-sur-Seine. Note: Veuillez bien faire prendre note, que votre fichier, que je ne suis pas s/Directeur du musée, ce poste n'existant pas, pas plus que celui du Directeur. Je suis détaché ici sous le titre de S/Directeur au Muséum.' G.-H. Rivière, letter to C. Z., 12 March 1929. Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.

¹²⁹ G.-H. Rivière, 'Archéologismes,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7, 1926, p. 177.

¹³⁰ 'Je viens de recevoir votre lettre et suis heureux de savoir que le dernier numéro de Cahiers d'Art vous ait plu. Je n'ai pas mentionné le Musée d'Ethnographie parce que je pensais qu'il était fermé pour des transformations. Je serai très heureux de l'indiquer tout de suite après le Louvre et le Luxembourg. D'ailleurs je suis entièrement disposé de faire tout ce que vous me demanderez pour votre Musée. Au cas où vous voudriez vous adresser au public je mets ma revue à votre disposition. Indiquez-moi n'importe quel jour de la semaine prochaine et je viendrai vous voir au Musée. Vendredi prochain

sculptures from public (Trocadéro,¹³¹ British Museum, the Museums of Leipzig, Cologne, Frankfurt, Leiden, Rotterdam, Bremen, Bale etc) and private collections (Tzara, Breton, Flechtheim, Fénéon, Salles etc). The same year the publisher Georges Crès released two books on sculpture. The first was *La Sculpture Moderne en France* by Adolphe Basler which commented on modern sculpture after Rodin. The second was the French edition of *La Sculpture Nègre Primitive* by Guillaume and Thomas Munro, originally published in English in 1926. In 1927, *Cahiers d'Art* published several studies on African art reproducing works from the Guillaume collection and the Trocadéro. Of these, Zervos' text was unconcerned with aesthetics but underlined the important lesson of primitive instinct to the emancipation of contemporary art from the burden of materialism, a position that epitomised his mature aesthetics.¹³²



15. The exhibition at the gallery Bernheim before the arrival of the German works, *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1929.

viendra au Trocadéro de ma part Mme Dr Oberlin pour ajouter au dos des photos toutes les indications nécessaires. Je vous serais très oblige si vous voudriez lui permettre de le faire car mon numéro océanien est presque prêt, il me manque ces indications pour en finir. Mille merci pour la commande de Mr David Weill.' C. Z., letter to G.-H. Rivière, 13 March 1929. Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.

¹³¹ Copies of the photographs taken from the Trocadéro were sent to the museum. 'Messieurs, Nous vous remettons ci-inclus les épreuves de toutes les photographies que nous avons fait exécuter dans le Musée d'Ethnographie. Nous vous prions de bien vouloir les conserver pour les archives du Musée.' C. Z., letter to G.-H. Rivière, 18 December 1929. Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.

¹³² Christian Zervos, 'L'Art Nègre,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1927, pp. 229-245.



16. The exhibition at the gallery Bernheim after the arrival of the German works, *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1929.



17. Jacques Lipchitz, *The Couple*, 1929, *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1929.



18. Alberto Giacometti, *Three figures outdoors*, 1929, *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1929.

Retour à l'instinct

A teleological mechanistic perception of evolution based on a scientific understanding of the past was evident in Zervos' early writings. This perception was founded on the concrete belief in human intellect but implied a deterministic circular approach to evolution, which in fact remained latent in his later texts. Zervos was convinced that a profound understanding of the universe and its function would have a salvaging effect on art. Presumably under the influence of Bergson's *Evolution Créatrice* Zervos later ascribed to instinct a vital role in the creative process. The return to instinct necessitated an acute rejection of the sphere of knowledge. Spontaneous action was henceforth conceived as the only vital force capable of directing and producing life. The synthesis of art and life governed by the intellect that Zervos advocated in his earlier texts now turned into a creative becoming driven by preliminary states of mind, the *vital impetus* in Bergson's terms. Instinct was perceived as a prolongation of life and the only original creative means. The shift was gradual and owed much to Zervos' perpetual struggle to understand and explain the work of Picasso through the obscure and instinctive mentality of the primitive creator. His book on Rousseau epitomised his appreciation of art as expression of poetic sentiment freed from the burden of civilisation and intellect.¹³³ Rousseau, whose work consciously rejected any influence by the Academy or the Renaissance, introduced concrete and orderly pictorial systems that defined what was called the 'science of ignorance,' inherent to the lessons of the *barbarian image-makers*. Throughout the period in question, Zervos accepted however both the intellectual and the instinctive schemes anticipating a synthesis of the two evident in the work of Picasso.

The contact with the primitives in combination with the rivalry with *Documents*, and later *Minotaure*, eventually brought Zervos closer to surrealism. Primitive – particularly Polynesian - art was a source of inspiration for the surrealists attracting, in Brassai's words, the same 'milieu of titled and monied arbiters of taste, the first patrons and collectors of surrealist works.'¹³⁴ African art was principally connected to cubism. In 1931, Breton and Paul Eluard held an auction at the Hotel Drouot presenting 312 lots of primitive sculptures from Africa, America and Oceania.

¹³³ Christian Zervos, 'Henri Rousseau et le Sentiment Poétique,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9, 1926, pp. 227-229.

¹³⁴ Brassai, *Conversations with Picasso*, University of Chicago Press, 1999, pp. 10-11.

The collection included 150 Oceanic and 132 American statuettes with African sculpture being reduced to 30 pieces. Zervos' interest in these objects grouped under the portmanteau label 'primitivism'¹³⁵ was in fact telling of the opening of his horizons beyond cubism. Following his interview with Verne, Zervos started reporting systematically on museums. He also asked Rivière to present the reorganised Trocadéro collections in *Cahiers d'Art*. A relevant report was eventually published in the inaugural issue of the antagonistic *Documents*. In fact the latter attracted most of *Cahiers d'Art* sponsors through advertising (Flechtheim, Bucher, Bernheim, Galerie de France etc), giving a bitter taste to Zervos' commercial affairs. Rivière was sympathetic to the new publication but preferred to keep a neutral position.

1/ I thank you for having the Trocadero featured in the Museums list. 2/ *Documents* asked me to publish in its first number a study on the reorganisation of the museum; it will appear soon. But, I am telling you this with sincere pleasure, I will be very happy, on a different occasion, to use for the benefit of my Museum your generous offer. We will speak about that. I would like to mark this nuance: I do not want to put myself above but outside a certain dispute between *Documents* and *Cahiers d'Art*. In other words I regret this dispute, and I will do my best for this to be just rivalry, which will be earned time for everyone. In any case I have neither the obligation nor the right to involve myself in this and I am convinced that you will approve me.¹³⁶

Zervos maintained his distance to mechanist interpretations of life, underlining on every occasion the timely character and poetic force of primitive imagery. The mechanist approach was now identified with mimetic, uninspired modes of expression. His introduction to the special *Cahiers d'Art* number dedicated to Oceanic art was titled 'Oeuvres d'Art Océaniques et Inquiétudes d'Aujourd'hui.' Oceanic art furnished the occasion, he thought, to place the reader in front of problems that the epoch deliberately set aside. Contemporary spirit suffers a

¹³⁵ On primitivism and modern art see William Rubin (ed.) *Primitivism in the 20th century Art. Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, N.Y.: MoMA, 1984. Robert Goldwater, *Primitivism and Modern Art*, N.Y.: Random House, 1967.

¹³⁶ G.-H. Rivière, letter to C. Z., 14 March 1929. Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris. '1/-Je vous remercie de bien vouloir faire figurer le Trocadéro dans la liste des Musées. 2/- *Documents* m'a demandé de publier dans son premier numéro une étude sur la réorganisation du Musée ; elle paraîtra prochainement. Mais, je vous le dis avec un sincère plaisir, Je serai très heureux, à une autre occasion, de mettre à profit au bénéfice de mon Musée votre offre généreuse. Nous en parlerons. Je voudrais bien marquer cette nuance : Je ne prétends pas me mettre au-dessus, mais en dehors d'une certaine dispute qui met aux prises *Documents* et *Cahiers d'Art*. D'ailleurs je la regrette, cette dispute, et je ferai tout possible pour qu'elle ne soit qu'émulation, ce qui serait du temps gagné pour tout le monde. En tout cas je n'ai ni le devoir ni le droit de m'y mêler et je suis convaincu que vous m'approuverez.'

mechanisation, he wrote, which progressively turned humans away from interior life. Zervos praised the dedication to spiritual life and the metaphysical but rationalised inventions of primitive imagination.¹³⁷ His approach was aesthetic but timidly psychological. The number on Oceanic art was indeed a first indication of Zervos' subsequent involvement with the surrealists. Despite Rivière's connections with surrealism the mission of the Trocadéro was scientific, aiming to discover through the objects and inform the public about the history of humanity. Almost all the phenomena of collective life managed to be explained through the observation of primitive objects, the museum maintained in 1931.

In the *Instructions* to the collectors of ethnographical objects published on the occasion of the Mission Dakar-Djibouti, the Trocadéro underlined that 'a collection of ethnographic objects is neither a collection of curiosities, nor an art collection. The object is nothing more than a *témoin*, which has to be envisaged according to the information it provides for a particular civilisation and not in terms of its aesthetic value.'¹³⁸ Franz Boas' *Primitive art* published in 1927 was commented on by Leonhard Adam in *Cahiers d'Art* underlining the aesthetic value of primitive art and the professor's assertion that the difference between the creations of the primitive and the civilised human did not rely on their quality but on their approach to the objects. Whereas the primitive creator represented formal beauty in an instinctive manner confounding it with practical ends, the civilised artist undermined beauty for the benefit of utility.¹³⁹ In fact, ethnographical objects were annexed to the domain of artistic curiosity under the impulsion of the École de Paris artists, Rivière admitted in Flechtheim's *Omnibus*.¹⁴⁰

With the exception of the 1923 exhibition *Art Indigène des Colonies Françaises d'Afrique et d'Océanie et du Congo Belge* at the Pavillon Marsan, whose focus was colonial/political and economic, the private shows of primitive art that took

¹³⁷ Christian Zervos, 'Œuvres d'Art océaniques et inquiétudes d'aujourd'hui,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2-3, 1929, pp. 57-58.

¹³⁸ *Instructions Sommaires pour les Collecteurs d'Objets Ethnographiques*, Musée d'Ethnographie et Mission Scientifique Dakar-Djibouti, Paris : Palais du Trocadéro, 1931, pp. 6-8.

¹³⁹ Adam, 'Livres d'Art Ancien et Moderne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1930, p. 108.

¹⁴⁰ Rivière presented in the same article the unfavourable conditions of conservation of ethnographical objects in the museum proposing the construction of a new Louvre for primitive arts. Georges Henri Rivière, 'De l'objet d'un Musée d'Ethnographie comparé à celui d'un Musée des Beaux-arts,' *Omnibus*, 1932, pp. 113-117. Similar suggestions have been made about a decade earlier when the *Bulletin de la Vie Artistique* launched a survey that questioned the importance of primitive arts and their potential incorporation to the collections of the Louvre. 'Enquête sur les arts lointains,' *Le Bulletin de la Vie Artistique*, 15 November 1920, pp. 662-9.

place in Paris after the Great War focused primarily on the plastic qualities and the aesthetic output of primitive objects and it was out of these aspects that modern artists drew inspiration. This was notably the case with the earliest manifestation that dated back to 1919, the *Première Exposition d'Art Nègre et Océanien* organised by Guillaume (Galerie Devambez). An earlier text by Apollinaire appeared in the catalogue which refused, as Peltier observed, to classify the objects in terms of their origins and function. He focused instead entirely on their plastic aspects.¹⁴¹ Guillaume maintained later that any focus on the historic or cultural context of these objects would add prejudice to their appreciation as sculptures, which was exactly the way he perceived them.¹⁴² African and Oceanic primitive art, from which cubism and surrealism drew respectively influence, appeared as ingenious inventions disembarrassed from any given past culture – an empiricist *tabula rasa*. The primitive human was exalted by reason of a freedom of expression that occidental art was lacking due to the abundant cultural materialism of its classic past. Any scientific approach to primitive objects was viewed – among others by Adolphe Basler – as an absurd attribution of academic connotations to a spontaneous form of expression which *a priori* contradicted them.

The first exhibition that Rivière co-organised after his appointment at the Trocadéro was the splendid *Les Arts Anciens de l'Amérique* held at the Pavillon Marsan in 1928. It displayed for the first time in France more than two hundred objects of pre-Colombian art demonstrating now a keen focus on their aesthetic value as veritable *objets d'art*.¹⁴³ Rivière was more eager than his peers to accentuate the aesthetic value of these objects. In fact, the newly appointed assistant director of the Trocadéro was originally a jazz musician and art amateur with no specialist training in ethnology. His effort however to give a modern character to the museum was supported by Rivet.¹⁴⁴ Basler and Ernest Brummer published the same year *L'Art Précolombien* which commented on its magic supernatural character and the exotic mythic rituals associated with its creation. Basler asserted that these teratological objects with their horrific expressions and overflow of decoration gave pre-

¹⁴¹ Philippe Peltier, 'L'art Océanien entre les deux guerres : Expositions et Vision Occidentale,' *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 65, 1979, p. 272 (271-282).

¹⁴² Paul Guillaume and Thomas Munro, *La Sculpture Nègre Primitive*, Paris: G. Crès, 1929, p.18.

¹⁴³ Nina Gorgus, *Le Magicien des Vitrines : Le Muséologue Georges Henri Rivière*, Paris : Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2003, pp. 31-34.

¹⁴⁴ Georges-Henri Rivière, 'My Experience at the Musée d'Ethnographie,' *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1968, pp. 17-21.

Colombian art baroque qualities.¹⁴⁵ He was however unconcerned with their aesthetic value. In fact he criticised the appropriation of primitive motives by modern artists as an aspect of academicism.¹⁴⁶ Basler isolated the mystic and universal visions of the primitive creator from the functional role that most of these objects in reality served, reducing his study to psychoanalysis which was combined with unproven and ill-informed contentions that advocated the magical origin of art, as Sava Popovitch argued in his pointed critique of the book.¹⁴⁷

It was in fact the Abbé Henri Breuil (Collège de France) who first attributed to Paleolithic parietal art a magical character. Zervos followed the same recipe in his introduction to the special number on Oceanic art, but attempted to address the psychology of the primitive human through the morphology and fantastic conception of the objects. Contrary to his formalist interest in African art, Zervos now stressed the inner reality of the primitive creator. Tristan Tzara's text exalted poetry as the greatest force of humanity arguing that it is only under its light that the creative mystery of oceanic art can be perceived.¹⁴⁸ The number also included specialist ethnological and anthropological analyses of Oceanic art but maintained its focus on the psychological aspects of aboriginal myths and cult rituals. Eckart von Sydow's study was fundamental in highlighting these aspects.¹⁴⁹ The antithetical pairing of the mythic with the epistemic was pivotal to the introduction of primitive cultures to unspecialized audiences.¹⁵⁰ Nonetheless, this *Cahiers d'Art* number on Oceanic art stands out as Zervos' surrealist *épreuve du feu*.

The special number on Africa was published in collaboration with Frobenius by *Cahiers d'Art* in 1931. The focus was both ethnological and archaeological. Zervos became acquainted with the work of the German anthropologist-ethnologist in 1928 upon his visit to Frankfurt.¹⁵¹ The Institute of Cultural Morphology

¹⁴⁵ Adolphe Basler, 'L'Art Précolombien,' *La Revue des Arts*, 1 September 1928, pp. 225-226.

¹⁴⁶ Adolphe Basler, 'Conventions,' *l'Intransigeant*, 3 June 1929, p. 5.

¹⁴⁷ Sava Popovitch, 'Primitive Art,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 308, November 1928, pp. 259-260.

¹⁴⁸ Tristan Tzara, 'L'Art et l'Océanie,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2-3, 1929, p. 60.

¹⁴⁹ Eckart von Sydow, 'Polynésie et Mélanésie. L'Art Régional des Mers du Sud,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2-3, 1926, pp. 61-64. Dr. O., 'Art Primitif et Psychanalyse d'après Eckart von Sydow,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2-3, 1926, pp. 65-72.

¹⁵⁰ On the transformation of non-Western objects into art through photography see Wendy A. Grossman, 'From Ethnographic Object to Modernist Icon: Photographs of African and Oceanic Sculpture and the Rhetoric of the Image,' *Visual Resources* 23, 2007, pp. 291-336.

¹⁵¹ On the connection between Zervos and Frobenius see Valérie Dupont, *Le Discours Anthropologique dans l'Art des années 1920-1930 en France, à travers l'exemple des Cahiers d'Art*, PhD thesis,

(*Forschungsinstitut für Kulturmorphologie*), which brought together Frobenius' *Afrika-Archiv*, was a private institution established in 1925, becoming the oldest anthropological institute in Germany. Between 1904 and 1935, Frobenius participated in twelve expeditions in Africa gathering contextual material on its art, oral poetry/literature, religion and popular traditions.¹⁵² What is interesting about Frobenius' expeditions is that he committed to paper a significant number of African oral legends and poems while the painters that collaborated with the Institute – namely Wols, Maria Weyersberg, Elisabeth Mannsfeld and others – produced a series of copies of rock paintings.¹⁵³ Zervos shared the same vision with Frobenius which was the return to spirituality and instinct as opposed to the materialist and scientific mechanisation of contemporary spirit.

The special number was published on the occasion of the exhibition *Les Peintures Rupestres de l'Expédition Frobenius en Afrique du Sud* at the new Salle Pleyel. The show was supported by the Société des Amis du Trocadéro and was inaugurated by the state secretary of Fine Arts Eugène Lautier in November 1930. It presented the watercolours produced during Frobenius' most recent expedition in Africa between 1928 and 1930 (Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia). There is little doubt that Zervos traced in these copies genuine formalist qualities, but it was in fact Frobenius' approach to ethnology that he appreciated the most. The focus on the archaeological findings of the expedition was equally dominant. Breuil's suggestion of the mediterranean influences of these findings enhanced Zervos' fascination with his studies. Walter F. Otto, a specialist in Hellenic studies, contributed a short text which presented the work and methods of Frobenius, the head of the expedition, which offered alternative perspectives to the previously strictly scientific approach to ethnology and 'the mechanist spirit that reigned in natural sciences.'¹⁵⁴ Frobenius applied to ethnological research a phenomenological approach that opposed the rational analysis of the parts for the benefit of a synthetic approach to the whole. The method sought to draw conclusions from the *ensemble*,

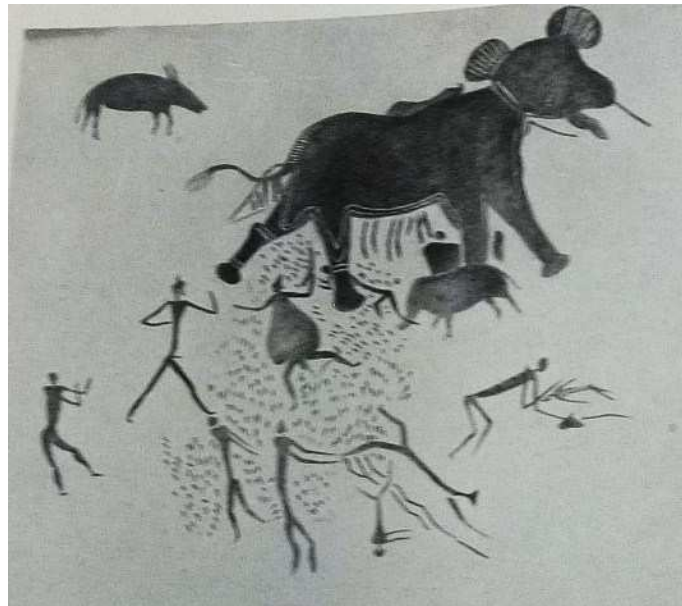
University of Dijon, 1999. See also Remi Labrusse, 'Dieux Cachés, Mirages des Origines,' in Chirtsian Derouet (ed.), *Cahiers d'Art: Musée Zervos à Vézelay*, Paris : Hazan, 2006, pp. 39-59.

¹⁵² Hans-Jürgen Heinrichs, *Léo Frobenius : Anthropologue, explorateur, aventurier*, Paris : L'Harmattan, 1999.

¹⁵³ See Hélène Ivanoff, 'Exposition Sur les Chemins de l'Atlantide : Léo Frobenius (1873-1938) et l'Art Rupestre Africain,' *Revue de l'IFHA* 6, 31 December 2014 (on-line : <http://ifha.revues.org/7994>)

¹⁵⁴ Prof. Otto, 'Leo Frobenius,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-9, 1930, pp. 393-394. See also Rémi Labrusse, 'Dieux Cachés, Mirages des Origines,' in Christian Derouet (ed.), *Cahiers d'Art. Musée Zervos à Vézelay*, Paris : Hazan, 2006, pp. 39-59.

the living intuition of the *totalité*, the organic wholeness, and Zervos was *a priori* favourably inclined to the aspect of synthesis even in its epistemological output.¹⁵⁵



19. Abri de Mrewa, South Rhodesia, Scene with an elephant, *Cahiers d'Art* 8-9, 1930, p. 396.

The *Exposition d'Art Africain et Océanien* at the gallery of the Pigalle Theatre in 1930 provoked controversy. Its aesthetic output was deemed scandalous by the unspecialised audience. *Cahiers d'Art* addressed a critique to the Trocadéro for the poor representation of Oceanic art in reference to the rich material of African art coming from private collectors.¹⁵⁶ Seven sculptures were removed from the exposition by the gallery owner Henri de Rothschild due to public reproach, a fact that was strongly criticised in Zervos' magazine.¹⁵⁷ Commenting on the exhibition, Einstein proposed a methodology pertinent to the study of African arts maintaining that it

¹⁵⁵ For the same concept in Einstein's discourse see Carl Einstein and Charles W. Haxthausen, 'Totality,' *October* 107, 2004, pp. 115-121. The article was originally published in 1914 in *Die Aktion*.

¹⁵⁶ Anon., 'Les Expositions à Paris et ailleurs,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1930, p. 52.

¹⁵⁷ 'L'exposition [...] a irrité la pudeur de tous les gardiens de la morale. Nos lecteurs savent [...] que les artistes africains et océaniens ne s'arrêtent pas aux distinctions de bienséance européenne et ne ridiculisent jamais leurs sculptures en en couvrant le sexe de la fameuse feuille de vigne, invention d'une société décadente et éloignée de la grande et véritable santé morale. [...] Mais notre ami Tzara qui s'était donné avec MM. Ratton, Bela Hein et d'autres un mal inouï pour mettre sur pied la plus belle exposition d'art africain que nous ayons jamais vue à Paris, a protesté énergiquement contre ces expulsions et par l'organe de M. Raymond Hubert, il a demandé au président du Tribunal de la Seine, siégeant en audience de réfère, de commettre un expert à l'effet de donner son avis sur le caractère purement artistique des objets exposés et, éventuellement, d'ordonner leur réintégration solennelle à l'exposition.' Anon., 'Art et Pudeur,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1930, p. 112. See also Maureen Murphy, 'Du Champ de Bataille au Musée: Les Tribulations d'une Sculpture Fon,' *Histoire de l'Art et Anthropologie*, Paris: INHA/Musée Quai Branly, 2009 (On-line publication).

should not be interpreted from the perspective of aesthetics and taste, but rather historically.¹⁵⁸ He advocated the comparative approach to African myths and religions underlining the difficulties in furnishing accurate dating of the findings. What rendered African art a source of inspiration for modern artists was its inventive character bereaved of naturalism. Picasso was cited as a typical example of this influence.¹⁵⁹

In his review of the Frobenius exhibition, Georges Bataille similarly identified in African rock paintings the earliest manifestations of the inherent urge of primitive humans to distinguish themselves from nature. In their representations, he observed, they paid close attention to the depiction of animals, while human figures were drawn with simplistic combinations of lines. The vision of self in primitive mentality appeared dilute and fragile in front of the omnipotent creatures of nature. The relation was nonetheless antithetic and controversial. Humans eventually dominated nature, killing these animals for their flesh in order to survive, a controversial relationship corresponding to what Bataille preferred to call *bas matérialisme*.¹⁶⁰ Unlike Zervos, who presented primitive art in its idealist dimension, Einstein maintained an ethnological interest in his approach to both modern and primitive art.¹⁶¹ The latter disposed of a profound knowledge of African art but was less concerned about Oceanic primitivism, though he signed the introductory text to the catalogue of the exhibition of Flechtheim's collection of Oceanic art in 1926.¹⁶²

Zervos was inevitably influenced by diverse approaches to primitive art since he could not claim expertise in the field. The content of *Cahiers d'Art* was transformed after the publication of *Documents* giving generous space to poetry, ethnology and gradually surrealism which penetrated its content in the 1930s. However Zervos' approach was synthetic before his acquaintance with Frobenius and the rivalry with *Documents*. In 1927, he brought together several studies on African

¹⁵⁸ Carl Einstein, 'A propos de l'Exposition de la Galerie Pigalle,' *Documents* 2, 1930, p. 104.

¹⁵⁹ C. Einstein, 'Art Exotique, 1930,' *Gradhiva* 14, 2011, pp. 194-197 (originally published in German in *Die Kunstauktion*).

¹⁶⁰ Georges Bataille, 'Les bas matérialisme et la gnose,' *Documents* 1, 1930, pp. 1-8. Olivier Dard and Etienne Deschamps, *Les Relèves en Europe d'un après-guerre à l'autre : Racines, Réseaux, Projets et Postérités*, Frankfurt am Main : P. Lang, 2008, p. 299.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Carl Einstein, 'André Masson, Etude Ethnologique,' *Documents* 2, 1929, pp. 95-102.

¹⁶² Liliane Meffre, *Carl Einstein, 1885-1940 : Itinéraires d'une Pensée Moderne*, Paris : Presses de la Sorbonne, 2002, p.116. On Einstein see also Neil Donahue, 'Analysis and Construction: The Aesthetics of Carl Einstein,' *The German Quarterly* 61, 1988, pp. 419-436. On the art historical discourse on prehistoric art see Maria Stavrinaki, 'Enfant né sans mère, mère morte sans enfant : Les Historiens de l'Art face à la Préhistoire,' *Cahiers du MNAM* 116, 2013/2014, pp. 18-27.

art dealing with music, popular songs, architecture and aesthetics in order to give a full impression of the mentality of its creators.¹⁶³ The contact with the German specialists was certainly decisive. Frobenius' presentation of his work in *Documents* before the publication of the special number of *Cahiers d'Art* arguably added vexation to their collaboration on the eve of the opening of the 1930 show.¹⁶⁴

The use of the Salle Pleyel for the Frobenius exhibition was a last option. The inauguration of this art deco venue in 1927 furnished the occasion for Le Corbusier to publish about a year later in *Cahiers d'Art* a poignant denunciation of the outdated policies of the Institute and the Academy that confronted with scepticism the renovation of architectural models giving predominance to academic styles. The Salle Pleyel was revolutionary in its construction being designed by experts in acoustics and not architects. It was a praiseworthy example of applied functionalism.¹⁶⁵ The preferred venue for the Frobenius exhibition was however the Trocadéro, as letters from Maria Weyersberg reveal.¹⁶⁶ The latter contacted Verne on behalf of the German Institute asking his intervention for the exhibition to be held either at the Trocadéro or the Orangerie. Verne however asserted that both venues were unavailable.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Georges Salles, 'Réflexions sur l'art Nègre,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1927, pp. 247-249. Henri Monnet, 'Le Nègre et la Musique Américaine,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1927, pp. 259-260. Patricia Nelson, 'Notes sur les Chansons Nègres,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1927, p. 261. André Gide, 'Architectures Nègres,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1927, pp. 263-265.

¹⁶⁴ Léo Frobenius, 'Dessins Rupestres du Sud de la Rhodésie,' *Documents* 4, 1930, pp. 185-190.

¹⁶⁵ Le Corbusier's exasperation clearly mirrored the recent rejection of his project for the Palais de Nations in Geneva which he did not hesitate to mention in the article. [Le Corbusier, 'La Salle Pleyel. Une Preuve de l'Evolution Architecturale,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1928, pp. 89-90.] *Cahiers d'Art* reported with devotion on the procedure of the architectural competition for its construction. In fact, Le Corbusier's presentation of the Salle Pleyel was published next to the last of the series of articles under the title 'Qui bâtera le Palais des Nations?' signed by Zervos, who also commented trenchantly on the final decision of the jury. See Christian Zervos, 'Qui bâtera le Palais des Nations ?' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1927, pp. II-VIII. 'Qui bâtera le Palais des Nations ? II. La Situation Actuelle,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9, 1927, pp. IX-X. 'Qui bâtera le Palais des Nations ? III. La Décision du Jury,' *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1927, p. 361. Christian Zervos, 'Qui bâtera le Palais des Nations ? IV. Le Conseil des Nations va Statuer,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1928, pp. 84-88.

¹⁶⁶ 'Aujourd'hui nous avons reçu vos nouvelles de 28. Avril. C'est un plaisir d'entendre vous parler de la possibilité de trouver au musée de l'Ethnographie une grande salle pour notre exposition, et nous attendons avec joie une réponse définitive. Au point de vue du Cahier d'Art vous recevez dans ces jours les terra cottes d'Ife [i.e. Ifé], desquelles vous avez l'aimabilité [sic] de faire les photographies [sic]. Monsieur Frobenius vous prie cordialement, de lui envoyer les photos de ces terracottes, pour savoir lesquelles vous avez choisi pour votre cahier. Dans la semaine prochaine vous recevez de notre part les photos des peintures [sic] rupestres, afin que vous avez assez de temps, pour laisser faire les reproductions. J'espère que les trois dessins originaux arrivent à bon temps à Berlin. Avez-vous eu déjà l'occasion de parler Monsieur Abbé Breuil au point de vue pour un article dans votre numéro ?' Maria Weyersberg, letter to C. Z., 30 April 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁶⁷ 'Je n'ai pas manqué de soumettre au Comité des Musées Nationaux l'aimable proposition, dont vous aviez bien voulu me saisir, d'organiser dans un local dépendant des Musées Nationaux une exposition des relevés de peintures rupestres exécutés en Afrique du Sud par M. le Docteur Frobenius.

Frobenius explained to Zervos the importance of connecting his work with the activities of the French Museum of Ethnography and the name of Rivet, mentioning that it was imperative that this connection be underlined despite the eventual installation of the show at the Salle Pleyel.¹⁶⁸

Weyersberg exchanged a significant number of letters with Zervos concerning the exhibition and the publication of the special *Cahiers d'Art* number. The presentation of the findings from the Frobenius expedition in Paris was pivotal to the consecration of the Institute, since in Germany the interest in it was neutral. Frobenius was seeking for potential sponsors to his expeditions hoping that the collaboration with Rivet and Abbé Breuil would assist his future projects in the Institute. He also presented his work at the show *L'Art Nègre: Les Arts Anciens de l'Afrique Noire* held the same year at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Bruxelles displaying material not shown in Paris.¹⁶⁹ The Parisian exhibition coincided in reality with the formation of the

Malheureusement, ainsi que je vous l'avais laissé prévoir, le Comité a pris des engagements en ce qui concerne l'organisation des expositions dont il a la charge et la salle du Musée de l'Orangerie est promise pour au-delà d'un an. Dans ces conditions, ainsi qu'on vous l'a indiqué, je crois, au Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, je vous conseille d'organiser cette exposition à la Salle Pleyel. Désolé de ne pouvoir donner satisfaction au désir que vous m'avez exprimé, je ne puis que vous dire mon regret très vif et très sincère de ne pouvoir donner l'hospitalité à une exposition aussi importante à tant d'égards, que celle de M. le docteur Frobenius et je vous prie d'agréer, Mademoiselle l'assurance de mes plus respectueux hommages.' Henri Verne, copy of a letter to Maria Weyersberg, 24 May 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁶⁸ 'Ich empfang Ihren Brief 10. Juni. Haben Sie herzlichen Dank für all ihre Bemühungen. Ich sehe, dass Sie alles getan haben, was nur möglich war, um unser Bild in einen würdigen Rahmen zu bringen. Fräulein Weyersberg hat sich dort alle Mühe gegeben und sich dabei auch Ihrer grossen Hilfe erfreut. Wie schwierig die Sache war, ersehe ich aus einem Brief von Herrn Verne vom 24 Mai betr. Die Orangerie. Die an uns herantretenden Aufforderungen des Inn- und Auslandes, unsere Ausstellung zur Verfügung zu halten, mehren sich von Tag zu Tag. Wir sind also gezwungen, die Termine festzulegen. Als Achse liegt jetzt die Ausstellungszeit von Paris fest. Wenn wir uns für den Salle Pleyel entschlossen haben, so bitte ich zu vermerken, dass der Aussteller nicht der Salle Pleyel ist, sondern der Trocadero. Ich wiederhole, dass der Rahmen, in dem unser Bild vor die Welt tritt, nicht der Salle Pleyel, sondern eben der Trocadero ist, und zwar unter Leitung von dessen Direktor Professor Dr. Rivet. Nun bitte ich Sie freundlichst, sich diesen Gedanken auch zu eigen zu machen. Es hat ja bis jetzt ein so schönes Zusammenarbeiten zwischen meinem Institut und Ihrer grosszügige Schöpfung stattgefunden, dass wir doch diese Harmonie nicht durch irgend eine Frage äusserlicher Natur beeinträchtigen lassen sollen. Meinen Sie dies nicht auch? Professor Otto ist an der Arbeit. Ich selbst bin schon sehr weit fortgeschritten, aber immer noch nicht ganz zufrieden mit dem, was ich geschrieben habe (es wird mir immer sehr schwer, mit mir zufrieden zu sein). Haben Sie nochmals Dank für Ihre Berrührungen. Ich freue mich auf den Abschluss solange gemeinsamer Vorarbeit und auf ein fröhliches Wiedersehen in meinem innigst/geliebten Paris. Mit den alleschonsten Grüssen, Empfehlung an Ihre Gattin und im übrigen.' Léo Frobenius, letter to C. Z., 12 June 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁶⁹ 'A chaque cas, il faut que le cahier paraîtra quelques temps avant le vernissage. J'ai encore une question. Nous avons en même temps une petite exposition à Bruxelles, Palais des Beaux-arts, avec nos doublets, et ce qui est trop pour Paris. Qu'est ce que vous pensez de donner pour vente une partie de vos cahiers dans cette exposition (vernissage 15. novembre). Je suis sûre, que vous avez un bon succès la aussi, au point de vue du matériel intéressant combiné avec le catalogue.' Maria Weyersberg, letter to C.Z., 1 October 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

French Société des Africanistes and the preparations for the first significant French expedition in Africa, the Dakar-Djibouti Mission.¹⁷⁰ However the help that Zervos could offer at this given moment was limited.

I hasten to let you know that I do not see the possibility to be materially useful to you for the Frobenius exhibition at the salle Pleyel. All that I can do is to dedicate to him a number of my magazine. Since I think that his effort absolutely deserves to be helped by all of us and I am very happy that this effort will be consecrated in France and by people such as Dr Rivet and Professor Breuil, when the Germans do not dare to opine either for or against. I was in Frankfurt, before the Berlin exhibition, to see the copies of the paintings from Rhodesia. I am persuaded that the ensemble will be very interesting. Sincerely I regret not being able to do more but for a long time I have neither made a lot of money nor found wealthy collaborators.¹⁷¹

Zervos envisaged a supplementary volume reproducing African plastic art which fully addressed his dedication to aesthetics¹⁷² but the financial conditions of his magazine restrained him. He eventually published the volume *Afrique* with texts by Frobenius and Breuil in 1931. Zervos suffered the loss of his mother the same year, while *Cahiers d'Art* faced an important decrease in subscriptions.¹⁷³ Even Rivière suspended the subscription on behalf of the Trocadéro informing Zervos that all the expenses for the year 1930 concerned the reorganisation of the library. The museum

¹⁷⁰ 'Dans une précédente lettre, je vous avais parlé de la constitution de la Société des Africanistes. Ci-joint une note vous donnant des détails, ainsi qu'un rapport – programme de la Mission Dakar-Djibouti, qui prend de jour en jour plus grande importance ainsi que vous pourrez vous en rendre compte par le nombre et la qualité des patronages et subventions obtenues. Pour la première fois en France est organisée une mission de grande importance exclusivement consacrée à l'ethnographie et à la linguistique et dont l'un des buts est l'enrichissement méthodique et en grand de notre fonds africain qui en a besoin. Je vous serais très reconnaissant de bien vouloir en donner la nouvelle à vos lecteurs et de publier si possible une photo de l'itinéraire encarte dans le rapport. La mission sera heureuse, le cas échéant, de vous adresser quelques belles photos inédites.' G.-H. Rivière, letter to C. Z., 7 October 1930. Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.

¹⁷¹ C. Z., letter to G.-H. Rivière, 24 July 1930. Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris. 'Je m'empresse de vous faire savoir que je ne vois pas la possibilité de vous être matériellement utile pour l'exposition Frobenius à la salle Pleyel. Tout ce que je peux faire c'est de lui consacrer un numéro de ma Revue. Car je trouve que son effort mérite absolument d'être secondé par nous tous et je suis très heureux que son effort soit consacré en France et par des hommes comme le Dr Rivet et le Professeur Breuil, pendant que les Allemands n'osent pas se prononcer ni pour ni contre. J'étais à Francfort, avant l'exposition de Berlin, pour voir les copies des peintures rapportées de la Rhodésie. Je suis persuadé que l'ensemble sera de tout intérêt. Sincèrement je regrette de ne pouvoir faire davantage mais depuis le temps je ne me suis ni enrichi ni trouvé des collaborateurs fortunés.'

¹⁷² 'Maintenant encore une question. Vous l'avez parlé l'autre jour à Francfort d'une collection de l'art plastique africain dont vous avez proposé de publier quelques reproductions dans votre cahier. Ce ne sont pas les terracottes d'Ife, lesquelles vous recevrez avec un texte, j'ai rappelé Monsieur Frobenius.' Maria Weyersberg, letter to C.Z., 19 September 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁷³ 'Aujourd'hui on m'a envoyé de notre Institut la copie de votre lettre. D'abord je voudrais vous dire de tout mon cœur merci. Je regrette tant la lourde et triste perte de madame votre mère. Je sais bien comprendre que ça veut dire perdre la mère.' Maria Weyersberg, letter to C.Z., 4 August 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

nonetheless launched its own *Bulletin du Musée d'Ethnographie de Trocadéro*, which Rivière offered in exchange for *Cahiers d'Art*.¹⁷⁴ Zervos expected a more enthusiastic acknowledgement for his contribution to the Frobenius show. Both Rivière and Weyersberg insisted in their letters that the support of Rivet and the Trocadéro should be mentioned.¹⁷⁵ Zervos was open about his disappointment over his unacknowledged contribution to the organisation of the exhibition. Both Frobenius and Rivière tried to deter his negativity.¹⁷⁶ His letter to Weyersberg reveals his expectations:

I am not surprised by your attitude. I was, on many occasions, warned in Germany that I should not have given you (I mean the Institute) entirely my confidence and my friendship. Nonetheless, I have not yet recovered from your volte-face. You forget that we went, Mühlesten and I, to propose to Mr Frobenius the exhibition and the special

¹⁷⁴ 'Votre lettre du 24 juillet 1930, Je note que vous ne pouvez trouver ce concours autour de vous. Je vais voir de mon côté, mais je suis moi-même à la limite de mes possibilités, m'étant enrichi de beaucoup de dettes par suite de la prospérité de mes affaires. J'espère que vous en avez moins [...] Pour en revenir à des propos plus sérieux, je suis heureux que vous fassiez un numéro Frobenius. Je vous offre de le mettre en vente ici même pendant la période d'expositions. Mais répondez-moi plus fidèlement qu'à ma demande d'échange, cela m'avait attristé. Au lieu d'ignorer tout le travail que nous faisons ici et dont vous n'avez aucune idée, venez un peu nous en rendre compte. Je vais à Londres 3 jours et je reviens Vendredi pour ne plus quitter Paris de tout l'été. Je vous expliquerai nos plans, qu'il est de votre devoir de connaître et de faire connaître, et je vous montrerai les nouveautés qui affluent de plus en plus. Ce geste sera plus digne de vous qu'une abstention boudeuse. Dans quelques années, vous serez heureux d'avoir été des nôtres, lors de la grande et inéluctable réussite.' G.-H. Rivière, letter to C. Z., 26 July 1930. Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.

¹⁷⁵ 'Exposition Frobenius. Je vous prie de bien vouloir mentionner en bonne place dans le no spécial que vous consacrerez à l'exposition Frobenius que cette manifestation a été organisée avec le concours de la Sté de Amis du Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro, qui a procuré sans frais une galerie à Mr Frobenius. Je vous demanderai également pour la Bibliothèque un exemplaire de ce no.' G.-H. Rivière, letter to C.Z., 2 August 1930. Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris. 'Le dernier désir est de mentionner dans votre dans votre cahier (peut-être dans le catalogue) que l'exposition a lieu avec le concours de la Ste des amis du Musée d'Ethnographie. Je crois, c'est un geste reconnaissant vers Monsieur le professeur Rivet, qui a mis à notre disposition la salle Pleyel – la salle Chopin sans aucun frais.' Maria Weyersberg, letter to C.Z., 19 September 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Exposition Frobenius. A propos de cette manifestation à la Salle Expositions Pleyel j'indiquerai que cette exposition suggérée par moi à M. Frobenius a été organisée avec le concours de la Sté des Amis du Trocadéro qui en a assumé les frais. Je vous ferai parvenir trois exemplaires de ma Revue Frobenius et du numéro ou paraîtra l'article von Sydow.' C. Z., letter to G.-H. Rivière, 22 September 1930. Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.

¹⁷⁶ 'J'ai lu votre lettre d'hier à Mlle Weyersberg. Moi en voyant les différentes dates, il faut dire que la querelle se montre pour moi déraisonnable [...] je conclus de ne voir pas clair dans cette chose moi-même. Quand on a créé ensemble une œuvre comme nous l'avons fait avec le cahier d'art, on ne se départ pas à cause d'un malentendu si évident. Je voudrais bien converser avec vous, pour trouver la clarté.' Léo Frobenius, letter to C. Z. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. '1/- Frobenius. Je vous prie très sincèrement de m'excuser de n'avoir pu accéder à votre requête en ce qui concerne la signalisation de l'exposition Frobenius, Mr Frobenius lui-même s'y étant opposé. Etant donné que Mr Frobenius est notre hôte chez Pleyel, vous comprendrez aisément que je ne puis aller contre son désir. D'autre part, je puis vous affirmer qu'il vous a rendu un très bel hommage en tête de sa conférence. Ci-joint le compte rendu qui a été distribué à la presse et qui vous mentionne également. 2./ Griaule. Je vous serais reconnaissant de bien vouloir m'accorder un rendez-vous.' G.-H. Rivière, letter to C. Z., 2 December 1930. Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.

number. You equally forget that in order to obtain the most beautiful exhibition space in Paris I dedicated eight days to take the Salle Georges Petit which is incomparably superior in terms of lighting and proportion to the Salle Pleyel. You forget that I secured this space, which is being rented for 50.000 Frs per month, for nothing. All this belongs to the past and you can no longer remember. But this will teach me to make better use of my time next time, as well as the time of Mühlestein who fought in Paris to make publicity for Mr. Frobenius. So that you do not think that I wish to profit from your exhibition I gave instructions to no longer sell the magazine in the Pleyel galleries.¹⁷⁷

The connection with Frobenius weakened. Nonetheless Zervos maintained solid contacts with Rivière and the Trocadéro. In 1932, he published a special number dedicated to Picasso and the *Exposition de Bronzes et Ivoires du Royaume de Bénin* organised by the Trocadéro (15 June-15 July 1932).¹⁷⁸ Zervos agreed with Rivière to issue a special edition of 20 pages without the material on Picasso which was destined to be disposed for exclusive sale at the museum during the exhibition.¹⁷⁹ The edition included specialist studies by Hermann Baumann, Henri Labouret and Charles Ratton that also appeared in *Cahiers d'Art* (3-5, 1932). In November 1933 the Musée d'Ethnographie opened the *Salle de Préhistoire Exotique* which was organised by

¹⁷⁷ C. Z., copy of a letter to Maria Weyersberg, 25 November 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Je ne suis pas étonné de votre attitude. On m'avait, à maintes reprises, prévenu en Allemagne qu'il ne fallait pas vous donner (J'entends l'Institut) aussi entièrement ma confiance et mon amitié. N'empêche que je ne suis pas encore revenu de votre volte face. Vous oubliez que nous sommes allés, Mühlestein et moi, proposer à M. Frobenius l'exposition et le numéro spécial. Vous oubliez également que pour obtenir la plus belle salle de Paris je me suis donné pendant huit jours pour obtenir la Salle Georges Petit qui est incomparablement supérieure comme éclairage et comme proportion à la Salle Pleyel. Vous oubliez que j'avais obtenu cette Salle qui se loue 50.000 Fr par mois pour rien. Tout cela c'est du passé et vous n'en avez plus souvenir. Mais cela m'apprendra une autre fois de faire meilleur un usage de mon temps, ainsi que de celui de Mühlestein qui s'est tué à Paris pour faire la propagande pour Mr. Frobenius. Afin que vous ne croyiez pas que je veux profiter de votre exposition j'ai donné des instructions de ne plus mettre en vente la Revue dans les galeries Pleyel.'

¹⁷⁸ G.- H. Rivière, 'Bronzes et Ivoires du Bénin,' *l'Intransigeant*, 13 June 1932, p. 5.

¹⁷⁹ 'Mademoiselle, Ainsi que M. Zervos vous l'a dit par téléphone hier, il a été convenu avec M. Rivière de faire à 12 pages l'exemplaire. Or, comme nous avons décidé de donner un plus grand éclat à la présentation de ce numéro nous avons assumé les frais de 20 pages. C'est pourquoi nous avons légèrement diminué le nombre d'exemplaires de 300 à 250. Après notre communication téléphonique d'hier nous avons demandé quelques exemplaires. D'ici deux jours nous pourrions peut-être vous livrer une vingtaine d'exemplaires, peut-être même un peu plus. Nous sommes en train de trier tous les mauvais numéros Picasso et détacher les feuilles concernant l'exposition Benin. Mais nous n'en tirerons que trois ou quatre exemplaires. Ainsi que vous l'avez dit hier à M. Zervos nous vous apporterons une dizaine d'exemplaires de Cahiers d'Art No complet avec la prière de la mettre en vente. Naturellement le gardien chargé de la vente pourra prélever le 10% que vous avez indiqué à M. Zervos.' Letter to the Musée d'Ethnographie, 5 July 1932. Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris. 'Messieurs, Votre lettre du 5 juillet 1932 : La vingtaine de numéros supplémentaires sur l'exposition du Benin sera la bienvenue. Nous mettrons à la vente les 10 numéros de Picasso-Benin ; nous notons que 10% seront versés aux bénéfices du service de vente. Veuillez établir un mémoire de Frs 2.500, en 3 exemplaires dont un sur timbre à 3 Frs 60 pour le règlement des 250 tirages à part – Benin. Ci-inclus modèle mémoire.' Thérèse Rivière, letter to C. Z., 6 July 1932. Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.

Breuil in collaboration with - among others - Harper Kelley and Thérèse Rivière. The new room proposed to complement the collections of European and mainly French prehistoric art displayed at the Musée des Antiquités Nationales de St Germain-en-Laye, including two distinct sections of African and Asian prehistory. A rich collection of facsimiles of African rock art (paintings and engravings) turned the new room into a veritable *musée rupestre*, which would present the pictorial value of these works not only to the general public but also to artists, as mentioned in the official announcement of the Museum.¹⁸⁰ The same month Frobenius organised the exhibition *Art Préhistorique de l'Afrique du Nord* which was complementary to the earlier show at the Salle Pleyel dedicated to his expeditions in South Africa.¹⁸¹ *Cahiers d'Art* continued the presentation of the *actualités du Trocadéro* publishing short reports on the exhibitions *La danse Sacrée* and *L'Art des îles Marquises* held in 1934.¹⁸²

There is little doubt that Frobenius' expeditions cast further light on the origins of art and culture, an issue that remained at the centre of Zervos' attention throughout the period in question. That Frobenius discovered in South Africa rock paintings that were produced almost simultaneously with those found in France and Spain 7.500 years before the Christian era¹⁸³ is telling, for Zervos was convinced that the meridional influence was omnipresent having set the foundations of human civilisation. It was in fact Breuil, among other ethnologists, who maintained that the

¹⁸⁰ Announcement sent to C. Z., concerning the Inauguration de la Salle de Préhistoire Exotique, 4 November 1933. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 4, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁸¹ 'On se souvient du grand succès remporté à la Galerie Pleyel, en 1929, par l'exposition consacrée à l'art préhistorique de l'Afrique du Sud et dont les travaux du Professeur Frobenius avaient également fourni la matière. L'infatigable chercheur, qui se trouve actuellement dans l'oasis de Kufra au désert Libyque, exposera cette fois au Trocadéro le résultat de ses études en Afrique du Nord, réparties en quatre groupes: gravures du Sahara, peintures et gravures des monts Tassili près de Nubie et de la vallée du Nil. Une abondante documentation photographique et bibliographique sera jointe aux grands relevés exécutés en couleurs et à la dimension des originaux. L'exposition sera ouverte jusqu'au 10 décembre inclusivement.' Announcement of the exhibition sent to C. Z., 4 November 1933. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 4, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁸² Curt Sachs, 'La Danse Sacrée,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-8, 1934, pp. 159-162. Michel Leiris, 'L'Art des îles Marquises,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-8, 1934, pp. 185-192. Rivière wrote to Zervos: 'Mes félicitations et remerciements pour l'admirable no de Cahiers d'art que vous venez de sortir et qui fait grand honneur à deux de nos expositions. Ci-joint mon chèque de 100 Frs. Veuillez m'inscrire comme abonné.' G.-H. Rivière, letter to C. Z., 9 October 1934, Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris. Zervos responded: 'Vu les difficultés que j'ai de faire rentrer l'argent en ce moment et comme je désire payer les deux collaborateurs du Musée d'Ethnographie, je me suis décidé à vous demander de mettre en vente les numéros des Cahiers d'Art que je vous fais remettre. Il y a quinze numéros à 40 Frs. = 600 moins 100 Frs. Pour le gardien qui s'occupe de la vente il restera 500 Frs que je repartirais 300 pour M. Sachs et 200 pour M. Leiris. Si vous n'y voyez aucun inconvénient recommandez au gardien de bien exposer les numéros pour en faciliter la vente.' C. Z., letter to G.-H. Rivière, 14 November 1934, Fonds Breuil, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.

¹⁸³ Léo Frobenius, 'Bêtes, Hommes ou Dieux,' *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1929, p. 443.

Extreme-South African style that Frobenius called 'du mouvement' had its origins in South-Western Europe and Western Spain, a consideration that obviously fascinated Zervos.¹⁸⁴ *Cahiers d'Art* published the same year the series of five studies by the Swiss Etruscologist and lecturer in the History of Human Civilisation at the University of Frankfurt Hans Mühlestein titled 'Des Origines de l'Art et de la Culture.' These articles, as we shall see, brought out eloquently Zervos' enthusiasm for the study of primitive cultures highlighting their mutual influences. The discussion developed simultaneously with the revival of the long dialogue over the identity of gothic art which served as an alternative issue of inquiry with regards to the origins of French art.

¹⁸⁴On the occasion of the exhibition at Witwatersrand University *Cahiers d'Art* presented the work of Frobenius underlining its importance to the studies of Breuil: 'Cette exposition a permis, pour la première fois, de se faire une idée d'ensemble de l'art préhistorique de l'Afrique du Sud et de lui trouver des points de contact avec les célèbres dessins sur rochers de l'Espagne et de la France méridionale. Ainsi l'abbé Breuil, en étudiant les dessins de l'exposition, a pu établir certaines concordances susceptibles de confirmer les nouvelles conceptions relatives à la préhistoire.' Léo Frobenius, 'L'Art de la Silhouette,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-9, 1929, pp. 397-400. See also Léo Frobenius, 'Dessins Rupestres du Sud de la Rhodésie,' *Documents* 4, 1930, pp. 188. Abbé Breuil, 'L'Art Rupestre en Afrique,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6, 1930, pp. 485-500. Léo Frobenius, 'L'Art de la Silhouette,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-9, 1929, pp. 397-400.

Part Two: Towards a Universal History of Art

Chapter 4: The Origins of Art and Culture

Whoever carries a veritable interest in art can not be satisfied with doctrines inspired by classicism [...] they are nothing but a consequence: we must remount to the origin.¹ Christian Zervos, 1930

Zervos acknowledged that the new generation was burdened with a heavy past and was driven into an acute crisis of conscience. But now, he judged in 1931, the appetite for destruction seemed to abate, as always happens in the course of history.² *Cahiers d'Art* demonstrated a *pious* devotion to the presentation and contextualisation of the past touching upon issues of wider cultural and art historical purview which were theoretically unconcerned with contemporary art practice. In 1929, the magazine established the column 'Art Ancien' under the direction of Georges Duthuit. The scholarly gaze towards the past was tenacious and importunate but provoked confusion among critics and artists since the references to the past, in terms of art criticism and art practice, pointed to a new academicism that now went far beyond the Roman period to prehistoric times. The discovery of primitive arts and cultures and their stylistic adaptation to contemporary art evoked the academic adventure of the classic tradition.

Zervos' unfaltering solicitude to discover the origins of art and culture offers an account of his effort to trace the constitutive components of the classic civilisation in the period that preceded it, the prehistoric times, also contemplating the prominent influence of the Orient, namely Sumerian art before the Semitic dominion. It is through the study of the origins of humanity that Zervos sought to contextualise the present and to shape the image of the future, admitting between the lines a determinist, almost mechanist, approach to cultural evolution. The human spiritual core, he explained, is conservative. After a few violent ruptures, the individual spirit is reabsorbed by human constancies, returns to equilibrium and confines itself anew in its cadre. 'Should we conclude from that the immobility of spirit? Not at all. Since the

¹ Christian Zervos introduction to Hans Mühlestein, 'Des Origines de l'Art et de la Culture I. Remarques Préliminaires,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1930, p. 57. 'Quiconque porte à l'art un véritable intérêt ne peut se satisfaire des doctrines inspirées par le classicisme, lesquelles ne reposent que sur une conception dérivée d'un état antérieur où l'instinct joue le rôle le plus actif. Elles ne sont qu'une conséquence: il faut remonter à l'origine.'

² Christian Zervos, 'La Nouvelle Génération,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9-10, 1931, pp. 399-400.

cadres in which human actions precisely evolve, although identical in their general lines, lose resemblance in the details. The event of today is not the event of yore.’³

The short passage of Hans Mühlestein through *Cahiers d’Art* was pivotal to the shaping of Zervos’ consciousness towards the conceptualisation of the prehistoric era. The series of articles by the Swiss Etruscologist and leftist ideologue constitute a restricted but substantial sample of his untranslated to this day corpus of writings in German. Similarly to Zervos, Mühlestein was fascinated by the work of Frobenius and Breuil demonstrating an inherent respect for Picasso’s universal aspirations. Breuil’s study turned out to be fundamental to providing a chronological scheme that extended beyond the Upper Palaeolithic furnishing testimony of human activity in the Middle and Lower Palaeolithic eras and thereby providing a convincing approximated periodization of the obscure origins of humanity.⁴ Mühlestein addressed his critique to the epistemological division of the fields of archaeology, art history, ethnology and palaeontology, which in his opinion was ridiculous, chaotic and misleading. He advocated the perspective of a unique field of study embracing all kinds of artistic manifestations throughout time. His positions exerted considerable influence over Zervos, a fact that is evident in his editorial policy of mixing artworks up with no respect for chronology.

Art was treated in *Cahiers d’Art* as a timeless phenomenon. The contemporary human position in reference to both history and the universe is more problematic than ever before, Mühlestein affirmed, with contemporary society suffering an intellectual crisis, which was originally a European phenomenon that found its most eloquent expression in art. Mühlestein’s approach to art acquires a paramount importance in this particular temporal context since it latently associates for the first time in *Cahiers d’Art* the artistic instinctive impetus that Zervos favoured with the surrealist technique of automatism. Zervos sustained his disbelief in the latter but subsequently embraced it in terms of spontaneous intellectual action. It was arguably Mühlestein’s interpretation of veritable artists as seismographs announcing in their works the supervening vibrations prior to their registration by scientific apparatuses that perhaps unintentionally brought his text closer to the surrealist concept of automatism

³ Christian Zervos, ‘La Nouvelle Génération,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 9-10, 1931, pp. 399-400.

⁴ Guillaume F. Monnier, ‘The Lower/Middle Palaeolithic Periodization in Western Europe,’ *Current Anthropology* 47, October 2006, pp. 709-744. See also Oscar Moro Abadía, ‘The Reception of Palaeolithic Art at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: Between Archaeology and Art History,’ *Journal of Art Historiography* 12, June 2015, 23pp.

(*appareil enregistreur*). Again, Picasso served here as an example to explain the phenomenon. In his pre-war creations, Mühlestein observed, the artist reacted like no other of his contemporaries against the tragic interior decomposition that the war brought about. His more recent works, he continued, offer an explicit demonstration of the inauguration of a new phase in human spiritual development, 'a phase when, after having found the primitive secret of our place in the cosmos, we will achieve a total reconstruction of our interior being.'⁵ The text draws significance from both its involuntary connection of Picasso with automatism and Zervos' tacit concession of surrealism.

Cahiers d'Art pursued a diligent struggle to demystify the classic origins of western civilisation, going so far as questioning the influence that the Greek art of the classic period exerted over the Roman tradition.⁶ These interpretations were clearly present in the first of the series of articles by Mühlestein published in *Cahiers d'Art* between 1929 and 1930, when its rival publication *Formes* was running a survey on the origins of Gothic Art. An expert on Etruscan art and author of *Die Geburt des Abenlandes* (Birth of the Occident, 1928), Mühlestein was highly concerned about the primordial sources and ancestral instincts of the spontaneous human genius. What rendered Etruscan art an enigmatic manifestation of the occidental past was its placement in the thresholds of prehistory and history. It drew significance from the fact that it constituted the only historical art, together with ancient Cretan art, that 'distinguishes in the creation of forms the genius of primitive humanity at the Palaeolithic age.' Mühlestein interpreted Etruscan art as the last collective leap of the principle of liberty that almost extended to anarchy and turned against historically rigid principles. Although developed contemporarily with classic Greek art, Etruscan art vacillated between its primitive force and the historic style that was contemporary to it, ending up being an anti-classic factor *par excellence*. The greatest works of Etruscan art, Mühlestein thought, were born out of this revolt and it was the persistence of its influence in the blood and spirit of Tuscan people like Cimabue and Niccolo Pisano that contradicted the classicism of the byzantine style as well as the roman and gothic traditions, setting the foundations for the Italian Renaissance.

⁵ Hans Mühlestein, 'Des Origines de l'Art et de la Culture I. Remarques Préliminaires,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1930, p. 59.

⁶ Cf. Georges Duthuit, 'Mosaïques Païennes à Zliten,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1929, pp. 37-38.

Mühlestein affirmed that Greek art contradicted Italian ancestral instincts. He maintained that ‘there is no greater error than that of numerous scholars for whom the Renaissance is solely dependent on Greek influence. In reality, it was nothing but an accessional element [...] to the Etruscan element that constituted the veritable hereditary basis of the Italians. This is why we may affirm that the Italian Renaissance carefully observed opposes Greek art.’⁷ Similar examples were diffused in the content of *Cahiers d’Art*. In 1929, Nantor Fettich from the museum of Budapest presented the Scythian golden deer (6th-5th century B.C.) recently discovered in Zoldhalompusztá, Hungary, which combined ancient naturalism and barbaric stylisation. These creations Fettich asserted represented a significantly developed culture which opposed occidental ideals. Though it derived its subjects from the classical world, these were developed in a way that rendered preeminent the personal impression.⁸ The case strongly relates to the way that Zervos understood and interpreted Picasso’s sources from the past and may well explain the nature of the *Call to Order* concept.

Mühlestein’s studies were subsequently adjusted to a nationalist discourse whose pursuit was furnishing evidence of racial purity for Italian art and culture. His views were enhanced by relevant approaches to linguistics.⁹ In the *Cahiers d’Art* context however the same concessions proposed to furnish a valuable lesson to the young generation of artists in terms of their anti-academic and instinctive output, while they were in keeping with Zervos’ conviction that all artists share in common the power of integration and it is only when their racial features surface that they separate.¹⁰ It is important that these remarks were addressed to the new generation shedding light on the way that Zervos drew parallels between present and past culture. Etruscan art was an important example not only for the racial determinism it brought forward, but also for its paradigmatic revolt against the historical style (academicism),

⁷ ‘Il n’est donc d’erreur plus grave que celle de nombreux savants qui font dépendre cette Renaissance de la seule influence grecque. En réalité, celle-ci n’était qu’un élément surajouté, par engouement ou par curiosité d’esprit, à l’élément étrusque qui constituait le véritable fond héréditaire des Italiens. C’est pourquoi on pourrait affirmer que la Renaissance Italienne attentivement observée est à l’opposé de l’art grec.’ Hans Mühlestein, ‘Histoire et Esprit Contemporain,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 8-9, 1929, p. 378. See also Valérie Dupont, ‘Cosmogonie de l’Art. Prélude à une Théorie Ebauchée,’ in Andrzej Turowski (ed.), *Arts et Artistes autour de C. Zervos*, Dijon : Editions Universitaires de Dijon, 1997, pp. 75-97.

⁸ Nantor Fettich, ‘La Trouvaille Scythe de Zoldalompusztá,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 1, 1929, pp. 21-23.

⁹ On the ideological projections of the study of Etruscan art and culture see Marie-Laurence Haack, ‘Le problème des origines Etrusques dans l’entre-deux-guerres,’ in Vincenzo Bellelli (ed.) *Le Origini di Etruschi : Storia, Archeologia, Antropologia*, Roma : L’Erma, 2012, pp. 397-410, and ‘Les Etrusques dans l’idéologie national-socialiste. A propos du Mythe du XXe siècle d’Alfred Rosenberg,’ *Revue Historique* 673, 2015, pp. 149-170.

¹⁰ Christian Zervos, ‘La Nouvelles Génération,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 9-10, 1931, pp. 399-400.

a revolt driven by instinct (anarchy). The magazine remained almost indifferent to the historical era, to classicism and the burden it *a priori* imposed on artists and was supportive of their revolt against the past.

Zervos and Tériade admitted alike that this was a period of spiritual and formal crisis, identifying the new tendencies that cubism fathered as *movements-solutions* to the crisis, as useful passages that presaged new ideals and signalled a return to instinct.¹¹ Zervos did not seek to impose formal aspects of the past on the work of contemporary artists. He rather observed with profound interest the ancestral inclinations of the primitive human which he thought offered an insightful understanding of the present times. Throughout his texts Zervos was supportive of an international style meticulously observing the aspects of stylistic syncretism witnessed in different geographical contexts. Pierre Paris' *La Peinture Espagnole depuis les Origines jusqu'au debut du XIXe siècle* (1928) was commented on by Zervos who stressed the influence that Greece, Italy and France exerted over Spanish heritage. This influence was however spontaneously transformed into an original idiom by the Iberian indigenes.¹² The great majority of texts on ancient art published in *Cahiers d'Art* concerned the same aspect of impulsive reaction against historical stimuli. Again, Picasso's work features as we shall see as a living reflection of that reaction.

Arguably Zervos did not espouse the entire spectrum of interpretations on primitive art that appeared in his magazine, nor did he question the racial connotations and ideological restrictions subsequently imposed on studies of this sort. His interest in them was less ideological than cognitional. Though he was open to present new findings and the earliest approaches to prehistoric, pre-orthodox and early Christian art, publishing texts by the controversial Polish-Austrian art historian Joseph Strzygowski who stressed the importance of a universal history of art shifting scholarly interest into the study of the Orient,¹³ he was unwilling to become involved in the long nationally-nuanced debate over the identity of Gothic art as *Formes* did the same period. The position-taking of the latter publication needs to be understood in

¹¹ Tériade, 'Documentaire sur la jeune peinture: IV. La Réaction Littéraire,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1930, pp. 69-77.

¹² Christian Zervos, 'Les Livres d'Art Ancien et Contemporain,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2-3, 1929, p. 124.

¹³ Joseph Strzygowski, 'L'Art Slave à l'Epoque pré-Orthodoxe,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6, 1929, pp. 269-274. Joseph Strzygowski, 'Les problèmes soulevés par la Nef d'Oseberg et sa cargaison d'œuvres d'art,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1930, pp. 121-128. See also Jas Elsner, 'The Birth of Late Antiquity: Riegl and Strzygowski in 1901,' *Art History* 25, 2002, pp. 358-379. Rémi Labrusse, 'Délires Anthropologiques : Josef Strzygowski et Alois Riegl,' *Histoire de l'Art et Anthropologie*, 2009, published online 28 July 2009.

terms of its editor Waldemar George's 'Retour à Rome'¹⁴ ideology which stressed his reactionary aesthetics throughout the period in question. The rivalry between *Cahiers d'Art* and *Documents* was substantial, involving both aspects of content and workaday commercialism. The rivalry with *Formes*, on the other hand, was as much aesthetic as ideological. Zervos was preoccupied with the origins of western culture presenting material associated with cultural and artistic aspects of periods that preceded both the Greek classic period and the Italian Renaissance shifting his interest beyond the cultural hegemony of Athens and Rome.

Arts de la Haute Epoque

And it is towards Rome that they gaze. *Ex Roma lux!* cries out Waldemar George [...] The Rome that we invoke here is not the one of Leo X but that of the Empire, the Later Roman Empire that the erudite merchants, M. Arthur Sambon, M. Brummer, strive to rehabilitate. Reaction against Negro art [...] we compare Derain's portraits to Egyptian-Roman Fayoum portraits and archaeology becomes vivid, poetic. Are we reaching classicism? We accept the augury, not without distrust, and attest that there are two spirits, the rivalry of which accentuates day by day: the spirit that represents [...] *Formes* – and the spirit of another review, *Cahiers d'Art*. For *Cahiers d'Art* Picasso is God, the future is adventurous and Borès, Viñes, Ghika, Cossio, a few others, appear the conquerors of that future. We praise them sometimes without measure. They also have something to say. We find them almost all at the Surindépendants.¹⁵ Paul Fierens, 1930

The survey 'Les Origines de l'Art Gothique' was launched by *Formes* in December 1929, aiming to discuss the controversial but widespread views that Uhde brought forward in his book *Picasso et la Tradition Française*, published about a year earlier.¹⁶ The responses aimed to question Uhde's remark that gothic art was a synthetic style born out of collaboration between the Gallo-Roman habitants of the île de France and the Germanic tribes of the Franks, claiming that the gothic spirit was an émigré product adopted subsequently by indigenous people. The discussion dates

¹⁴ Yves Desbiolles-Chevrefils, 'Le 'Retour à Rome' de Waldemar George,' *Predella* 31, August 2012.

¹⁵ Paul Fierens, 'Chronique Artistique,' *La Revue Hebdomadaire*, 20 December 1930, pp. 360-361. 'Et c'est vers Rome qu'ils regardent. *Ex Roma lux!* s'écrit Waldemar George [...] La Rome qu'on invoque ici n'est pas celle de Léon X mais celle de l'Empire, du Bas-Empire que des marchands érudits, M. Arthur Sambon, M. Brummer, s'efforcent de réhabiliter. Réaction contre l'art nègre [...] on compare les portraits de Derain aux portraits égypto-romains du Fayoum et l'archéologie devant vivante, poétique. Allons-nous vers un classicisme? Acceptons-en l'augure, non sans l'antagonisme, de jour en jour, s'accroît: l'esprit que représente, illustre et défend la revue de Waldemar George, intitulée, non sans pertinence, *Formes* – et l'esprit d'une autre revue, les *Cahiers d'art*, Picasso est dieu, l'avenir est dans l'aventure et de cet avenir Borès, Viñes; Ghika; Cossio; quelques autres; apparaissent les conquérants. On les encense parfois sans mesure. Ils ont, eux aussi, quelque chose à dire. Nous le retrouvons presque tous à l'exposition des Surindépendants.'

¹⁶ Wilhelm Uhde, *Picasso et la tradition Française*, Paris: Les Quatre Chemins, 1928.

back to the last decade of the previous century with, among others, the *Leçons Professées à l'École du Louvre (1887-1896)* by Louis Courajod, devoting a significant part of its analyses to examining the origins of Roman and Gothic art. The author acknowledged the decisive presence of oriental influences and the perpetual struggle between the Germanic and Roman spirits.¹⁷ Courajod was among those who admitted the French origins of the Renaissance tradition. He traced in the French medieval intelligentsia a profound interest in the classic sources and blamed the Monarchy and the Academy for abandoning the penchant of the race for the benefit of the Roman style.¹⁸ His views exerted considerable influence but were strongly contested by Louis Hourticq who identified the Renaissance as a pan-European phenomenon. He furthermore denied the Germanic precedent of the French race and reduced the oriental influence to ornamentation.¹⁹ In the series *Les Patries de l'Art* published between 1925 and 1936, René Schneider identified the Latin influence over the Gauls, thinking of Roman art as the first expression of national genius. The series is important for it maintains the survival of the national idiom despite the apparent intrusion of foreign elements, an aspect that Zervos favoured.²⁰

Cahiers d'Art did not publish specialist articles but closely observed the debate. In 1930, it published a review of Louis Bréhier's *L'Art en France des Invasions Barbares à l'Epoque Romaine* (1929) which commented on the survival of indigenous art and its contribution to the birth of pre-Roman art in France distinguishing the classic elements of the early Christian era from pre-Roman art. Zervos remarked that the influence that the Orient exerted over the latter should not be neglected underlining the evident rupture between the art of the Merovingian period and the classic Greek antiquity that was examined in the book.²¹ Michela Passini has offered valuable insights into the construction of the narrative for a national art at the turn of the century and throughout the inter war years, a narrative

¹⁷ On other contemporary studies relating to these questions see also Georges Duthuit, 'Les Livres' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1929, p. xiii.

¹⁸ Louis Courajod, *Leçons Professées à l'École du Louvre (1887-1896)*, Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1899.

¹⁹ Louis Hourticq, *De Poussin à Watteau ou des Origines de l'École Parisienne de Peinture*, Paris : Hachette, 1921, pp. 7-8.

²⁰ René Schneider, *L'Art Français des Origines à la Fin du XIIIe Siècle. L'Art Français, Fin du Moyen Age et Renaissance*, 2 vols, Paris : H. Laurens, 1928.

²¹ C. Z., 'Livres d'Art Ancien et Moderne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1930, p. 165. *Cahiers d'Art* reported systematically on publications dealing with the origins of French art and the identity of the Gothic period. See also the review of Julius Baum, *L'Architecture Romane en France* in *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1930, p. 55.

based in principle on pledging the French identity of the gothic period.²² The selected passages from Emile Male's *L'Art Allemand et l'Art Français au Moyen-Age* (1917), republished as a response to the *Formes* survey, exaggerated nationalist rhetoric comparing ironically the German artist with that of Numidia, who thought that building a temple in his African city would grant him the right to boast of making Greek art.²³ The responses varied from Focillon's assertion that Gothic art is neither German nor Latin but 'the French art of the royal domain from the beginning of the 12th century,' to Brinkman's analysis of the causes and effects of racial interface and mixture.²⁴ The survey cannot but reflect this struggle for identity reviving the debate over the French claims for artistic paternity of the Middle-Ages, which was in reality the prelude to the modernist quarrel between the École Française and the École de Paris.

In the debate over the identity of gothic art most observers focused on the study of architecture and sculpture on wood or stone. In contrast to his contemplation of both mediums as everlasting records of human civilisation and his inherent inclination to the monumental, Zervos founded his observation on late Gothic miniature illuminations and in particular on the origins of French landscape painting. In the *Paysages Français du XVe Siècle* published earlier in 1927, Zervos explained that 'in the late 14th and the early 15th century an artistic school was formed in France that was more international than before. The pictorial tendencies of Flanders, Catalonia, Italy and the Orient revived and recreated over the French soil, give a pictorial school of premium order,' as was the case one might observe with the modern École de Paris.²⁵ It was in France, Zervos thought, that the Flemish genius managed to develop and become conscious of itself just as Picasso's talent blossomed out of his contact with the French spirit.²⁶

Zervos sought persistently to find connections between past and contemporary art. He identified in French medieval landscape painting two distinct tendencies. The first gave a pictorial effect to the arrangement of nature without being descriptive and

²² Michela Passini, *La Fabrique de l'Art National: Le Nationalisme et les Origines de l'Histoire de l'Art en France et en Allemagne (1870-1933)*, Paris: Ed. de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2013.

²³ Emile Male, 'Enquête: Les Origines de l'Art Gothique,' *Formes* 1, December 1929, p. 12-13.

²⁴ Henri Focillon and A. E. Brinkman, 'Questionnaire: The Origins of Gothic Art,' *Formes* 1, 1930, pp. 19-22.

²⁵ Tériade published a review of the book in *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1928, p. 46, which mainly quoted passages from the main text.

²⁶ Christian Zervos, *Paysages Français au XVe Siècle*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1928, p. 12, 14.

constituted a precious lesson to the young surrealists who lack the profound knowledge of expressing reality turning into caricaturists in their effort to depict the surreal. The second tendency involved pictorially advanced landscapes that treated nature conventionally but sought to create new lines in terms of composition and light. However, only Picasso and no more than a couple of other contemporary painters could be compared to it.²⁷ Zervos surmised the foreign influence on the art of Jean Fouquet – the artist-symbol of the French Middle-Ages – but affirmed that despite that influence, he remained the most representative artist of the French spirit.²⁸ The aspect of domination of racial instincts in environments that were subject to foreign influence was prevalent in Zervos' writings during that period evoking the Lamarckian appreciations of his youth.

The interest in the origins of art and culture was omnipresent but became particularly widespread in the highly politicised period of the 1930s. Most epistemological theories or histories of racial and cultural output were adjusted to nationalist rhetoric that sought to give scientific warrants of racial or indigenous purity. Strzygowski stands out as a champion of a pan-Germanic ideology, while the work of Frobenius, Wilhelm Worringer and Mühlestein also attracted similar attention in the 1930s. Such theories could not but echo the change in the appreciation of works of art now interpreted in terms of psychology with form viewed as a living organic entity that was subject to heteroclit extrinsic transformations but without losing its identity. Faure's voluminous *Esprit des Formes* gave way to Focillon's *Vie des Formes*, Guillaume's *Psychologie de la Forme* and Malraux's *Psychologie de l'Art*. Uhde's own approach was founded on psychological factors. In response to the survey and the controversy provoked by his synthetic approach to the Middle-Ages, Uhde published an open letter in *Formes* shortly after the conclusion of the survey. Conceding to Faure's synthetic approach,²⁹ Uhde explained that the collaboration between these two elements, the *verticality* of the German-gothic spirit – also evident in ancient Greek art - and the *horizontality* of the French Latino-classic heritage was manifested two times in the course of art history. The first had the birth of the gothic tradition as a result. The second gave birth to cubism through the direct contact of

²⁷ Christian Zervos, *Paysages Français au XVe Siècle*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1928, p. 15.

²⁸ Christian Zervos, *Paysages Français au XVe Siècle*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1928, p. 17.

²⁹ Elie Faure, 'Les Origines de l'Art Gothique,' *Formes* 2, 1930, p. 12.

Picasso with the French tradition.³⁰ The debate over the analytic (French) and the synthetic (Gothic), the nationalist and the internationalist approach to the Middle-Ages was only a reflection of the modernist struggle over the sources and origins of modern Parisian art.

Formes published about a year later Worringer's 'L'Esprit Grec et l'Art Gothique' which identified the direct influence – without the intermediary of Rome – of Greek antiquity over French medieval art and architecture. The Roman tradition he maintained was a mere obstacle, a reactionary element that decelerated the flourishing of the gothic era. Worringer demonstrated a concrete interest in non-western, primitive forms publishing significant studies on expressionism and abstraction,³¹ Gothic and Egyptian art as well as an analysis of the contribution of Greek art to the shaping of the Gothic idiom,³² most of which remained for many decades without translation.³³ The German art historian affirmed in his short contribution to *Formes* that 'the artistic vocabulary of western medieval Christianity has nothing Latin in it. It constitutes a fusion [...] of the Greek element combined with vulgar orientalism, becoming the vehicle of universal artistic expression of Christian humanity.'³⁴ The disdain for Rome, the symbol of a sterile academicism, was widespread in modernist circles throughout the period in question.

Zervos had long admitted the inhibitory contribution of Rome to artistic evolution. The contact with Strzygowski however intensified his interest in the Orient, paying close attention to the stylistic syncretism that stood out in the observation of the art produced before and after the classic era. Zervos admitted the French inclination to the Aristotelian combination of instinctive and deductive methods of thought. He followed Taine's assertion observing that the French 'don't know how to walk irregularly. They move step by step on a straight path. Order is inherent to them [...] they disarticulate the object or event no matter how complicated or entangled it is and place the pieces one after another, in line, following the natural liaisons. To

³⁰ Wilhelm Uhde, 'Lettre Ouverte,' *Formes* 4, 1930, p. 18.

³¹ Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (1907), Munich: R. Piper & Co Verlag, 1921.

³² Wilhelm Worringer, *Formprobleme der Gotik* (1911), Munich: P. Piper & Co, 1912. Wilhelm Worringer, *Ägyptische Kunst*, Munich: P. Piper & Co, 1927. Wilhelm Worringer, *Griechentum und Gotik, vom Weltreich des Hellenismus*, Munich: P. Piper & Co, 1928.

³³ See Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraction and Empathy: A Contribution to the Psychology of Style*, trans. Michael Bullock, intr. Hilton Kramer, Chicago: Ivan Dee, 1997. Neil Donahue (ed.) *Invisible Cathedrals, The Expressionist Art History of Wilhelm Worringer*, Pennsylvania: Penn State Press, 1995.

³⁴ Wilhelm Worringer, 'L'Esprit Grec et l'Art Gotique,' *Formes* 14, 1931, pp. 63-66.

comprehend it is necessary that the second idea be contiguous to the first.’³⁵ Zervos adopted here again the widespread position that advocated the creative mingling of art and culture, but stressed the predominance of indigenous elements. The rupture with the classic past gradually dominated the content of *Cahiers d’Art* and became the focus of Zervos’ writings.

L’Art en Grèce, des Temps Préhistoriques au début du XVIIIe Siècle, published by Cahiers d’Art in January 1934, was the first volume of the series *Arts de la haute époque* signed by Zervos. The book was published on the occasion of the IV CIAM (*Congres International d’Architecture Moderne*) on the theme ‘La Ville Organique’ held in Greece the previous year.³⁶ The congress initially proposed to be held in Moscow, but the winning project of the competition for the construction of the Palais des Soviets was deemed reactionary due to its neoclassical conception. Giedion and other CIAM members decided that Moscow was no longer appropriate to host a congress of modern architecture and urbanism.³⁷ *Cahiers d’Art* presented in 1932 the project of Le Corbusier and Jeanneret for the Palais des Soviets which was eventually commissioned to Russian architects.³⁸ In 1934 the magazine had presented the selected project admitting that although it approved of the interior structure which corresponded to the intentions of the Soviets to commemorate the struggles and the victory of Russian proletariat, it disapproved of the plastic conception of its plan

³⁵ Christian Zervos, ‘La Nouvelles Génération,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 9-10, 1931, p. 401.

³⁶ *Cahiers d’Art* announced the IV CIAM as dedicated to the theme La Ville Fonctionnelle. See ‘Ville Fonctionnelle I. Ville Fonctionnelle II : Extraits du IVE Congrès, Athènes, 1933,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 1-4, 1935, pp. 90-93. ‘Les Livres d’Art Ancien et Moderne,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 1-4, 1934, p. 122. Cf. Pierre Gueguen, ‘Le Rajeunissement du Miracle Grec,’ *Les Nouvelles littéraires, artistiques et scientifiques*, 31 March 1934, p. 3. See also Dimitris Plantzos, ‘Grèce Mensongère: Christian Zervos and the Rehabilitation of Cycladic Art,’ in Nicos Stambolidis (ed.) *Genethlion, Museum of Cycladic Art Anniversary*, Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art, 2006, pp. 335-345. The author refers to and cites the enriched 1946 edition of the book titled *L’Art en Grèce du Troisième Millénaire au IVe Siècle avant notre ère*.

³⁷ Prior to the decision of the jury for the Palais des Soviets, Giedion was sympathetic towards the developments in Russia, anticipating the construction of the new palace which he thought posed for the first time the problem of constructing ‘eternal buildings.’ Giedion added: ‘le travail qu’accomplissent actuellement en Russie les Ernst May, Hans Schmidt, Mart Stam et d’autres encore, a donc pour nous aussi plus d’importance que d’aucunes le pensent, qui se réclament du stade élevé où est parvenu l’industrie européenne [...] C’est pourquoi nous attendons anxieusement les résultats qui seront obtenus en Russie dans la catégorie des constructions légères (par exemple en bois démontable), car ces résultats, nous en tirerons profit, sans doute plus rapidement que nous ne l’imaginons.’ Siegfried Giedion, ‘Les Problèmes Actuels de l’Architecture à l’occasion d’un Manifeste de Frank Lloyd Wright aux Architectes et Critiques de l’Europe,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 1-2, 1932, pp. 69-73.

³⁸ Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret, ‘Projet pour la Construction du Palais des Soviets,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 1-2, 1932, pp. 74-77.

which was nothing more than an archaeological souvenir without importance to the present times.³⁹

The fourth CIAM eventually took place on board the ship *Patris II* and concluded at the Athens Polytechnic offering its participants a cruise across the Mediterranean Sea, from Marseilles to Piraeus.⁴⁰ A passage through the Cyclades was part of the schedule. *Cahiers d'Art* published relative notes on Greek modern architecture the following year.⁴¹ The volume on Greek art also included a number of 'Témoignages' by poets, painters, architects and writers on contemporary art (Pierre Gueguen, Léger, Le Corbusier, Gaston Bonheur, Ozenfant, Raynal).

L'Art en Grèce is significant for it offers for the first time rich photographic material namely by Emil Seraf and a detailed account of Zervos' preoccupation with Greek art.⁴² The volume included 450 reproductions and was indispensable to the understanding of contemporary art, as a relative note announcing its publication mentioned in the 1933 special promotional issue 7-10 of *Cahiers d'Art* devoted to Greek art.⁴³ The special number was available exclusively to subscribers at the price

³⁹ N. D. L. R., 'Le Futur Plais des Soviets à Moscow,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, p. 114.

⁴⁰ The intervention of Zervos to the choice of Greece as a pertinent place to host the congress remains obscure. Due to his brother's collaboration with the Neptos Company, the idea is oftentimes attributed to him. However opinions vary. See François Loyer, 'Du Voyage en Grèce à la Charte d'Athènes. Le Quatrième Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (1933), in Sophie Basch, Alexandre Farnoux (eds.), *Le Voyage en Grèce 1934-1939 : Du périodique du tourisme à la revue artistique*, conference proceedings, Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 2006, pp. 18-19. Michel Ragon, *Histoire de l'Architecture et de l'Urbanisme Modernes*, vol. 2 : Naissance de la Cité Moderne, 1900-1940, Paris: Casterman, 1986.

⁴¹ 'La jeune architecture grecque, bien qu'elle occupe la première place dans la péninsule balkanique, ne saurait encore rivaliser avec l'architecture des pays de l'Europe Occidentale. Nous devons néanmoins reconnaître qu'il se dessine déjà en Grèce un mouvement de révolte contre les influences néfastes officielles de l'Occident, qui tiennent sous leur tutelle l'architecture grecque'. N.D.L.R., 'Notes sur l'Architecture Grecque Moderne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, p. 115. See also Sigfried Giedion, 'Pallas Athéné ou le Visage de la Grèce,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, pp. 77-80. Patroklos Karantinos, 'Les Nouveaux Bâtiments Scolaires de l'Etat Hellénique,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, pp. 115-118. Anon. 'Sanatorium pour le traitement de la Tuberculose Chirurgicale,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, p.118. Anon. 'Manufacture de Tabacs, Papastratos, Le Pirée, Paraskevopoulos,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, p.120.

⁴² Cf. Rémi Labrusse, 'Dieux Cachés, Mirages des Origines,' in Christian Derouet (ed.), *Cahiers d'Art. Musée Zervos à Vézelay*, Paris : Hazan, 2006, pp. 39-59.

⁴³ 'Nous avons reçu votre bulletin de commande de 2 exemplaires du No 7-10 en compte ferme et 3 exemplaires du même numéro en dépôt. Ce numéro ayant été tiré strictement pour les abonnés de la revue, nous ne disposons pour la vente que du volume intitulé 'L'Art en Grèce'. Ce volume contient tous les clichés parus dans le No 7-10 plus 200 clichés, une carte géographique et plusieurs textes qui ne figurent pas dans le numéro de la revue. Ce volume est relié. Son prix est de frs. 100 net 75 à Paris. De l'avis unanime ce livre est le document le plus complet et le mieux présenté que l'on ait publié sur l'art grec. Nous vous conseillons de nous souscrire plusieurs exemplaires dont vous aurez la vente rapide. Voici l'échelle des remises que nous consentirions par plusieurs exemplaires. Jusqu'à 20 exemplaires 25%, jusqu'à 50 exemplaires 30%, jusqu'à 100 exemplaires 35 % , au dessus 40%. Au cas où vous voudriez nous acheter un certain nombre d'exemplaires en compte ferme (nous n'en faisons pas le dépôt) nous vous consentirions certaines modalités de paiements, couvertes par de traites ou un

of 50 Frs (the volume *L'Art en Grèce* was announced at 100 Frs but was eventually sold to bookstores at 65 Frs or approx. 9 dollars)⁴⁴ including the text by Zervos also published in the book and a limited but significant number of reproductions of Neolithic terracottas, Mycenaean gems, Cycladic, Geometric, and Archaic vases and statuary. In fact, the volume *L'Art en Grèce* stood out for its rare photographic material⁴⁵ being both criticised and praised for its 'audacity to photograph, direct from Greek vases [...] large scale details of drawing which might readily be mistaken for products of 20th century Paris.'⁴⁶ However the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* accused Zervos in 1935 of publishing photographs without the permission of the École Française d'Athènes, arguably referring to the second edition which was enriched with 73 unpublished photographs.⁴⁷ What is interesting with this publication is that it selected its 'examples of Greek art from a point of view entirely opposed to that held by Winckelmann and every academic scholar up to the present day,' Herbert Read acknowledged in his review of the book.

Zervos focused on the Neolithic era, examining the Cycladic and Mycenaean periods and concluded his presentation with the beginning of the – generally considered as splendid - classic period, the 5th B. C., which was more or less treated here as a decadent era.⁴⁸ He subsequently traced the revival of the influence of Greek

autre moyen à votre convenance.' C. Z., letter to Dietrich & Co, Brussels, 15 January 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁴⁴ 'Faisant suite à notre conversation téléphonique de ce jour je vous envoie inclus, en un cheque sur Société Générale agence A. K. série CY. No 0358 la somme de francs : 650, - qui réglera dix exemplaires de ZERVOS : L'art en Grèce. Je reste vous devoir présentement encore 12ex. Par ailleurs je crois avoir dépassé le chiffre de 200ex. ce qui revient à dire que mes prochains assortiments seront à facturer 55 francs pièce.' Louis Reynaud, letter to C. Z., 18 April 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁴⁵ Cf. Anon., 'L'Art en Grèce by Ch. Zervos. 368 plates, N.Y.: E. Weyhe. 9\$,' *The New York Times*, 2 September 1934, 12.

⁴⁶ '...and its producers have been charged with the serious crime of manipulating light and vision so successfully as to upset the still prevailing academic standards of judgement [...] That Pericles and Picasso should kiss each other is a notion revolting to staid minds, and the indignation it caused is not surprising to those who know our universities.' J. E. Barton, 'Archaic Greek Sculpture,' *Greece & Rome* 6, 1937, p. 65 (65-69). On the *Cahiers d'Art* approach to photography see Moholy-Nagy, 'La Photographie ce qu'elle était ce qu'elle devra être,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1929, pp. 29-30. Anon., 'Nouvelles Photographies : Ringl Grete Stem, Pit Ellen Rosenberg, Walter Peterhans, Horacio Coppola,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, n.p.

⁴⁷ M. P. Lemerle, 'Chronique des Fouilles et Découvertes Archéologiques dans l'Orient Hellénique,' *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 1, 1935, p. 291.

⁴⁸ Louis Reynaud wrote to Zervos on January 24th 1934: 'Ainsi que je vous l'ai exposé ce matin par le truchement de votre collaborateur je suis disposé à m'occuper activement de l'ouvrage L'ART EN GRECE que vous venez d'éditer. Il établit si prestigieusement, d'une part, la prépondérance de la frontalité sur l'académisme, sa présentation est si bien architecturée, de l'autre, que je ne doute pas d'un franc succès. Ces éloges dictés par l'enthousiasme spontané que je ressens à l'endroit de l'art grec archaïque ne doivent malheureusement pas m'empêcher d'aborder le côté matériel de l'affaire telle que je vous la présente. Il est en effet impossible de rendre viable un commerce de librairie avec une remise

art in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine period enriching the illustration with about seventy reproductions of works dating from the 12th to the 18th century. Zervos was obviously concerned about what he considered to be the 'jeunesse' of Greek art. Read accurately observed that the book was blasphemous for the champions of idealistic naturalism, adding that it nonetheless found support amongst those 'who regard art as the projection into plastic form of some kind of subjective or intuitive perception of the nature of reality.'⁴⁹ Indeed, its content was poorly received by academic institutions. Zervos informed Bianchi Bandinelli in 1935 that the publication was censored at the Sorbonne as susceptible of misleading students.⁵⁰ The book apparently also aimed at a scholarly readership. Read admitted that despite the reactions provoked by this novel and controversial approach to Greek art 'no student can fail to be interested by a body of material that has never previously been properly presented, nor adequately judged.'⁵¹

Both the commercial and critical reception of *L'Art en Grèce* was ambiguous, as was the case with most books published by Zervos with the Picasso catalogue standing out as an exception to this more or less inauspicious commercial norm.⁵² Its

de 25%, d'autant que tous les clients demandent un rabais pour le paiement comptant ou sollicitent neuf fois sur dix le bénéfice d'un achat à tempérament. Je vous propose donc, bien certain que je suis d'employer mes activités à notre mutuel avantage, d'élever votre remise à 33% et de régler mes achats à 30 jours s.l.m. LAROUSSE, HACHETTE, tous les éditeurs d'art appliqué, la Société Générale agence A. K. pourront vous renseigner utilement sur ma solvabilité et la ponctualité de mes règlements.' Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁴⁹ H. R., 'Review,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 64, April 1934, pp. 190-191.

⁵⁰ 'Pour la collaboration en France ce sera difficile que vous trouviez des esprits libres, lorsque je vous dirai que mon livre *L'Art en Grèce* a été défendu aux étudiants de la Sorbonne comme susceptible de déformer leur esprit, vous comprendrez la mentalité. On a ici accusé le livre d'avoir fait la part très belle aux œuvres d'art grecques du VII^e, du VI^e et du début du Ve siècle et de n'avoir pas insisté sur les époques postérieures. Les siècles que j'ai donnés sont considérés par les savants d'ici comme des balbutiements, historiquement dignes de prendre place dans une histoire mais pas plastiquement [...] Vous pourriez peut-être toucher un ou deux jeunes conservateurs d'ici, mais il faudrait les guider, sans en avoir l'air.' C. Z., letter to Bianchi Mandinelli, 2 February 1935. Cited in Marcello Barbanera, 'Cher Maître [...] il serait pour moi un grand plaisir de vous rencontrer [...] en parlant avec vous de ces problèmes qui nous angoissent: Lo Sguardo di Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli verso la Cultura Francese,' *MEFRA* 123/2, 2011, p. 419. Bandinelli published earlier in *Cahiers d'Art* an article on Sardinian statuettes [R. B. Bandinelli, 'Les Statuettes Sardes,' *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1930, pp. 501-508.] Zervos was interested in presenting the rapports between the Nuragic period and Mycenaean civilisation asking the director of the Monumenti e Opere d'Arte della Sardegna to contribute an article on the topic. The director recommended Bandinelli. See letter to C. Z., 24 March 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou. In his letter to Zervos Bandinelli presented himself as Mühlestein's friend. R. B. Bandinelli, letter to C. Z., 1 April 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 2, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou.

⁵¹ H. R., 'Review,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 64, April 1934, p. 191. See also Jean Prevost, 'L'Art en Grèce par Christian Zervos (*Cahiers d'Art*), *NRF* 248, May 1934, p. 878.

⁵² 'Pour *L'Art en Grèce* je pourrai vous prêter les clichés pour une édition allemande lorsque j'aurai presque épuisé l'édition française, c'est-à-dire dans 5 ou 6 mois. Pour *L'Art en Mésopotamie* il m'est impossible de vous prêter les clichés car il me reste encore beaucoup d'exemplaires à vendre. Vous

publication took place at the moment when a new magazine of culture and tourism, *Le Voyage en Grèce*, was under preparation by Hercules Johannides, director of the Neptos navigation company.⁵³ The magazine proposed – in a more distinct way than *L'Art en Grèce* – to re-establish the connection of modern Greece with its classic past reviving the cultural interactions between Greece and France which, it declared, have been present throughout the centuries. Léger, who also wrote a short text in Zervos' book, gave a lecture the same year at the Sorbonne under the title 'De l'Acropole à la Tour Eiffel,' highlighting the connection between the two civilisations.⁵⁴ The artist however admitted in his personal correspondence about a year earlier that the 'Acropolis is lamentable' adding that 'this old ruin is now the loot of the official litterateurs and poets.'⁵⁵ Alexandre Farnoux has highlighted the evident *mishellenisme* that dominated French art and literature between 1919 and 1939⁵⁶ - a period that more or less comprises what André Level called Picasso's 'Époque Antique' (1919-1923)⁵⁷ and Anthony Blunt his 'Classical Period' (1917-1925).⁵⁸ *Le Voyage en Grèce* proposed to reconstitute the image of Greece by underlining its omnipresent and uninterrupted connections with France but presented Greece as a timeless phenomenon, an idea rather than a historical entity.⁵⁹

comprenez que ce serait folie de ma part de sacrifier un ouvrage pour l'impression duquel je dois encore de l'argent à l'imprimeur.' C. Z., letter to Edwin Landau (Benno Schwabe & Co, Basel), 28 October 1936. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 6, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou.

⁵³ Neptos co-organised cruises with the liner Patris II to Palestine, Syria and Greece with the Musées Nationaux, the Élèves de l'École du Louvre and the Société des Amis du Louvre in 1933. A relative note was published in the review *14 rue Dragon* 2, April 1933.

⁵⁴ Anon., 'Le Beau et le Vrai,' *Beaux-Arts* 73, 9 February 1934, p. 2. I would like to thank Christian Derouet for furnishing me this reference.

⁵⁵ Letter 68 (August 1933) Christian Derouet (ed.), *Fernand Léger. Une Correspondance Poste Restante*, Cahiers du MNAM, Hors-Série/ Archives, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 1997, p. 60 cited in Alexandre Farnoux, 'Utopie et uchronie dans le Voyage en Grèce,' Sophie Basch, Alexandre Farnoux (eds.), *Le Voyage en Grèce 1934-1939 : Du périodique du tourisme à la revue artistique*, conference proceedings, Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 2006, p. 34.

⁵⁶ Alexandre Farnoux, 'Utopie et uchronie dans le Voyage en Grèce,' Sophie Basch, Alexandre Farnoux (eds.), *Le Voyage en Grèce 1934-1939 : Du périodique du tourisme à la revue artistique*, conference proceedings, Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 2006, pp. 33-54. See also *Les Mishellénismes : Actes du Séminaire organisé à l'École Française d'Athènes, 16-18 mars 1998*, Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 2001 and Sophie Basch, *Le Mirage Grec, La Grèce Moderne devant l'opinion Française (1846-1946)*, Athens-Paris : Kauffmann-Hatier, 1995.

⁵⁷ André Level, *Picasso*, Paris: G. Crès, 1928 cited in 'Notice Documentaire,' *Documents* 3, 1930, p. 181.

⁵⁸ Anthony Blunt, 'Picasso's Classical Period (1917-1925),' *The Burlington Magazine* 781, 1968, pp. 187-191.

⁵⁹ Alexandre Farnoux, 'Utopie et uchronie dans le Voyage en Grèce,' Sophie Basch, Alexandre Farnoux (eds.), *Le Voyage en Grèce 1934-1939 : Du périodique du tourisme à la revue artistique*, conference proceedings, Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 2006, p. 41.

Unlike *L'Art en Grèce* and *Cahiers d'Art*, *Le Voyage en Grèce* was less concerned with archaeology, documentation or aesthetics. It aimed to stretch the aspect of the renovating influence that Greek thought exerted over western civilisation conceiving historical development as a scheme of cyclical returns. This cyclical revival of Greek thought was manifested, according to a survey published in *Le Voyage en Grèce*, in the Renaissance, 17th century Classicism, the 18th century Hellenistic style revival, the Neo-classical movement and 19th century Romanticism.⁶⁰ Both Zervos' brother and Tériade were involved in the publication. In fact, the latter served as its artistic director without necessarily espousing the positions that the magazine rather superficially embraced. Zervos *a priori* opposed the restriction of Greece to its classic past. *L'Art en Grèce* constitutes an effort to highlight the anti-classic aspects of Greek art conceiving the classicist revivals that *Le Voyage en Grèce* considered as fertile renovations as decadent regressions or more precisely as prolonged domination of academicism. In fact Zervos' views were closer to what Einstein identified as the 'cyclic sequence of three moments': the nomadic, the tectonic, and the classical, all associated with the perpetual adventure of classicism. Together with Einstein, Zervos admitted that the most important of the three phases was apparently the tectonic, which signalled the transitional period that succeeded chaotic nomadism (nomadic) and preceded normative routinization and paraphrastic dispersion (classical).⁶¹

The book was apparently conceived as an anti-classic manual *par excellence*. The promotional correspondence found in Zervos' archive demonstrates that his focus on the Greek readership was unprecedented. In the letters that he exchanged with the Kauffmann bookstore in Athens Zervos mentioned that:

The volume appeared yesterday in Paris and met with considerable success. Everyone says that it is a revelation of Greek art presented under a totally unknown aspect. I will send you later the daily and weekly press-cuttings from Paris. I am satisfied in principle for having made this book, even proud. The presentation of the volume is really good, I think it is difficult to do any better. As for the fabrication costs I leave it to your judgement. I think it is really a gift at 100 Frs, what do you think?⁶²

⁶⁰ Sophie Basch, 'Paris-Marseille-Le Pirée, Le Voyage en Grèce et les Cahiers du Sud,' Sophie Basch, Alexandre Farnoux (eds.), *Le Voyage en Grèce 1934-1939 : Du périodique du tourisme à la revue artistique*, conference proceedings, Athens: École Française d'Athènes, 2006, pp. 74-80.

⁶¹ On these issues see the very important study by Isabelle Kalinowski, 'Les Trois Moments de Carl Einstein,' *Gradhiva* 14, 2011, pp. 100-121.

⁶² C. Z., letter to the Librairie Kauffmann, 12 January 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Le volume est paru depuis hier à Paris et il a rencontré

Zervos insisted on the success of the first edition of the volume abroad but affirmed to Ghika that the market in France was feeble and the profit from the sales in Greece small.⁶³ Ozenfant ordered three copies in June 1934.⁶⁴ In 1935, a letter to Grohmann revealed that the publication resulted in a deficit of 10.000 Frs.⁶⁵ Zervos announced to Kauffmann that he was preparing three more volumes concerning Chaldean sculpture, contemporary painting from Corot to present times and the second volume of the Picasso catalogue.⁶⁶ More than half of the total number of printed copies of *L'Art en Grèce* was sent to Greece with Zervos struggling to mobilise all possible acquaintances in order to increase the sales of the book. The Greek tobacco

un succès considérable. Tout le monde dit que c'est une révélation de l'art grec qui se présente sous un aspect absolument inconnu. Je vous enverrai plus tard des coupures de la presse quotidienne et hebdomadaire de Paris. En principe je suis content d'avoir fait ce livre, même fier. La présentation du volume est vraiment bien, je pense qu'il est difficile de faire mieux. Quant aux frais de fabrication je vous laisse juge de la chose. Je trouve que c'est vraiment donné pour 100 francs, qu'en pensez-vous ? [...] Au brochage projeté du volume j'ai ajouté la reliure afin de lui donner plus de tenue. Je vous compterai la moitié du prix comme je n'ai pas eu le temps de vous prévenir, c'est-à-dire 4 francs par volume, en tout 64 frs le volume. Si par la suite vous me prenez d'autres exemplaires en grand nombre je vous les laisserai à 50 francs reliés. J'ai écrit à M. Bettos du Bureau de la Presse de vous donner, comme il me l'avait promis, toutes les recommandations nécessaires pour le placement du volume. Voulez-vous avoir l'obligeance de vous mettre en contact à ce sujet. On m'avait également promis à la Grande Bretagne de s'occuper du volume, ainsi que la Compagnie HERMES. De M. Bettos vous aurez des recommandations si vous le désirez pour la Banque de Grèce, la Banque Nationale. M. Aravandinos vous donnera également des recommandations. Demandez également à M. N. Hadjikyriako, le fils du Ministre de la Marine, 25 rue Homère, de vous obtenir par son oncle auprès des chemins de fer du Péloponnèse l'achat de plusieurs numéros. Il se pourrait que par son père il obtienne une recommandation pour le Ministère dont dépendent les chemins de fer de l'Etat. On m'a dit ici que le Ministère de l'Instruction publique serait susceptible de prendre quelques exemplaires pour les grandes écoles et les universités. Au fur et à mesure que je verrai des possibilités d'achat du volume en Grèce je vous les transmettrai. En tout cas vous pouvez être sûr que je ferai l'impossible pour vous aider de manière que vous écoulerez vite les 500 exemplaires souscrits et m'en demanderai d'autres. Je vous demanderai comme un service d'appeler le photographe M. Seraf et de lui montrer le volume et la notice le concernant à la fin du volume. J'aimerais qu'il ait quelque satisfaction de ce volume parce qu'il m'a aidé vraiment et avec beaucoup de talent. Je profite de l'occasion pour vous dire que c'est un garçon qui a du talent et que vous pouvez le recommander comme un très bon photographe et aussi comme un garçon très honnête dans ses transactions.'

⁶³ 'Ici tout est mort... terriblement mort. Ni expositions, ni intérêt, rien du tout. Tout le monde est plongé dans le cafard jusqu'aux cheveux, c'est quelque chose d'atroce. Surtout depuis les derniers événements tout est en panne, on croirait un pays en agonie. Vous ne pouvez vous imaginer depuis notre retour comme tout est changé. Paris est un immense village sans joie, sans vie nocturne. Je ne pouvais m'imaginer qu'un peuple aussi vivant pouvait se laisser aller aussi profondément dans le désespoir. Heureusement que nous avons l'affaire Stavisky pour nous donner des émotions, sans quoi tout serait terne.' Jean-Pierre de Rycke, 'La correspondance Ghika-Zervos : souvenirs d'une amitié et chronique de la vie artistique parisienne durant l'entre-deux-guerres (1933-40)', *Mousetio Benaki*, 1, 2001, p. 139.

⁶⁴ A. Ozenfant, letter to C. Z., 8 June 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 24, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁶⁵ C. Z., letter to Will Grohmann, 2 February 1935. Archiv Grohmann, Stuttgart. I am thankful to Malcolm Gee for communicating the letter to me.

⁶⁶ C. Z., letter to Kauffmann, 21 July 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

manufacturer Evangelos Papastratos offered significant support to Zervos.⁶⁷ He ordered 40 copies committing to present the book to Ioannis Dambergis and the former Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos.⁶⁸ *Cahiers d'Art* presented the same year the advanced architectural constructions of the *Papastratos Manufactory* in Piraeus designed by the Greek engineer Paraskevopoulos.⁶⁹

Zervos sent 180 copies to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs which were transferred by the liner *Théophile Gauthier* owned by the Société Neptos, which collaborated with his brother, Stamos. Zervos underlined on every occasion the exceptional character of the book which aimed to present the vitality and emotion of Greece that contradicted the academic Greece of the savants.⁷⁰ This was precisely the

⁶⁷ Papastratos wrote to Zervos on the 27th of February 1934: 'J'ai l'honneur de vous prier de vouloir bien délivrer à Mr. R. DURAND OLIVIER, représentant de notre Société à Paris (9 rue Chauchat) 40 exemplaire de l'ouvrage L'Art en Grèce. Monsieur R. DURAND OLIVIER se présentera lui-même pour prendre livraison des dits exemplaires, et vous remettra la somme de frs : 1.600. -, montant de la participation de notre Compagnie à l'édition en question. Veuillez noter en même temps que la Société Générale pour favoriser le développement du Commerce et de l'Industrie en France, 29 Boulevard Haussman, Paris a reçu ordre de tenir à votre disposition la montant de Frs. 1.400.' Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁶⁸ 'Nous ne manquerons pas à notre retour en Grèce de faire parler entre nos connaissances de votre livre ainsi que de donner l'exemplaire à Mr. Jean Dambergis pour le montrer à Mr. Venizelos et à ses connaissances'. Evangelos Papastratos, letter to C. Z., 29 January 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'J'espère que vous avez reçu ma lettre dernière de Grèce du mois de Novembre concernant les 40 exemplaires que j'ai l'intention de distribuer en France et je vous prie de bien vouloir m'écrire à Berlin votre opinion sur ma demande. Remise : 2000frs.' Evangelos Papastratos, letter to C. Z., s.d. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Faisant suite à ma lettre du 15 oct je m'empresse de vous signaler certaines personnes susceptibles de nous aider à la vente du volume sur L'ART EN GRECE. Vous pourriez vous adresser de ma part à M. Kitsikis, sénateur à qui j'écris à ce sujet. Il pourrait vous bien introduire auprès des établissements bancaires. Si vous voulez vous pouvez aller le voir le lendemain de la réception de ma lettre avec le volume. Je me rappelle également que l'hôtel de l'Apollon à Delphes m'avait promis de s'occuper de vendre le livre. Si vous le jugez bon vous pouvez vous entendre avec la direction. Ils m'ont l'air de gens très sérieux. Lors de mon séjour à Athènes M. Aravandinos m'avait promis de vous recommander auprès de : Tapitourgikos Organismos, Exposition de Zappeion, Vins d'Achaïe, Vins et Spiritueux.' C. Z., letter to Kauffmann, 17 January 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁶⁹ Anon. 'Manufacture de Tabacs, Papastratos, Le Pirée, Paraskevopoulos,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, p.120.

⁷⁰ 'J'espère que lorsque vous aurez vu le livre vos sentiments ne changeront point. En tout cas, de l'avis des gens d'ici, j'ai montré une Grèce pleine de vitalité et d'émotion, contrairement à la Grèce académique que nous montrent les savants. Aujourd'hui la Cie NEPTOS de notre Ville a fait partir une caisse contenant 180 exemplaires de l'ouvrage à l'adresse du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, port du. Ci-inclus je me permets de vous envoyer double de ma facture afin de dégager définitivement votre responsabilité pour la caution que vous avez donnée de 20.000frs, ce dont je vous remercie encore de tout cœur. Afin de donner plus d'allure aux livres destinés à être offerts par le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères j'ai fait imprimer au dos du titre la mention OFFERT PAR LE MINISTERE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES DE GRECE [...] Je compte sur vous et Mme Papastratos pour la diffusion du volume. M. Kauffmann, sans avoir vu le livre, a pris l'engagement de m'en prendre 500 exempl. Il serait très honnête de ma part de le récompenser de sa confiance en lui faisant vendre très vite le volume. Si vous obtenez, comme je l'espère, des souscriptions de M. Venizelos et de ses amis, il faut que M. Kauffmann en bénéficie.' C. Z., letter to Evangelos Papastratos, 7 February 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

feature that distinguished it from other publications.⁷¹ The Kauffmann bookstore received 350 copies *in toto*, becoming the exclusive distributor of the book in Greece. Zervos reported on the successful sales of the book in England (Zwemmer), America (Weyhe),⁷² Germany (Valentin)⁷³ and Switzerland (Benno Schwabe&Co), envisaging a second edition shortly after its publication, which was officially announced about a year later in *Cahiers d'Art* (5-6, 1935) at the price of 125 Frs.⁷⁴ In fact Zervos published a third edition of the book in 1938 in a print-run of 1.040 copies which was re-issued in 1946 in 1.700 copies including 60 more photographs under the title *L'Art en Grèce du Troisième Millénaire au IV^e siècle avant notre ère*.⁷⁵ Kauffmann

⁷¹ Earlier studies on Cycladic art are cited in Etienne Michon, 'Idoles des Cyclades (Musée du Louvre,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6, 1929, pp. 251-256.

⁷² See Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 30, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁷³ Zervos wrote to Valentin : 'Je suis persuadé que pour le livre *L'Art en Grèce* vous pouvez faire beaucoup. Un élève de l'École du Louvre, s'est chargé ici de placer ce volume pour se faire un peu d'argent. Il vient de gagner en l'espace d'un mois et demi plus de six mille francs de commissions. C'est un livre qui plait et qui n'est pas du tout cher. Vous pouvez le placer chez tous les collectionneurs que vous avez connus à la Galerie et cela d'autant plus facilement que ce livre tout en étant jeune par l'esprit n'est pas moderne dans le sens qui aurait pu l'empêcher de se vendre, quoique je ne peux pas dire qu'il y a contre notre revue et nos éditions la moindre hostilité officielle en Allemagne. Les Écoles et les Instituts continuent leurs abonnements. Je pense que pour la revue aussi vous pourriez faire beaucoup, d'autant qu'il ne reste plus de revue française. Formes, c'est fini, on m'a dit de source sûre que Minotaure est fini également. D'autre part dans *Cahiers d'Art* pour attirer le public davantage je fais des planches en couleurs mais nullement dans l'esprit des autres revues. Vous verrez combien le prochain cahier est différent des autres.' C. Z., letter to Curt Valentin, 1 March 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁷⁴ 'J'ai reçu vos lettres du 30 Janvier et 1^{er} Février 1934 et vous en remercie ainsi que de la somme de frs. 5.000 remise à nous par la banque Flury Herard de notre Ville. Les deux caisses vous ont été adressées par l'intermédiaire de la Compagnie NEPTOS de notre ville. J'ai choisi ce moyen parce que j'ai obtenu de mon frère de ne prélever aucun bénéfice sur les expéditions successives par le Théophile Gautier, et les papiers ont du vous être remis par la Compagnie Nationale de Navigation I Place Karaïskaki, Le Pirée. Je pense que vous avez reçu les dites papiers. Ci-inclus vous trouverez deux copies des lettres que j'ai adressées à la M.L.F. et au Dép. Etr. Hachette, au sujet de l'exclusivité. Celle-ci a paru d'ailleurs dans la Bibliographie de France du 26 Janvier 1934. Vous pouvez compter absolument sur ma correction à ce sujet. D'ailleurs je ne tiens pas que la maison Eleftheroudakis vende ce livre, car cette maison ne nous a jamais payé les sommes qu'elle nous devait. Je reçois aujourd'hui une lettre de M. Evangelos Papastratos de Berlin, dans laquelle il me dit que sitôt de retour à Athènes il priera son oncle M. Damverghis de s'occuper du livre auprès de M. Venizelos. J'ai prié également mes amis d'Athènes de téléphoner à leurs connaissances que la vente du livre vous a été cédée en toute exclusivité et qu'elles passent leurs commandes directement à vous [...] J'espère que la vente marchera bien. Avec l'Angleterre je suis très content, ainsi qu'avec l'Amérique. L'Allemagne et la Suisse marchent très bien. Si la vente continue je pourrai envisager une deuxième édition et ce n'est qu'alors que je pourrai gagner quelque chose, car la première vente ne me rapportera presque rien, le livre étant trop luxueux pour son prix de vente.' C. Z., letter to Kauffmann, 6 February 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁷⁵ Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 23, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Yvonne Zervos, letter to Marcel Michaud, 29 July 1941. Fonds Michaud, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon. I am thankful to Christian Detrouet for communicating this letter to me. Zervos had gathered the material for the re-issued volume throughout the war informing Ghika in 1945 that he intended to publish it in two volumes of 500 pages each, including 6.000 illustrations. C. Z., letter to Ghika, 23 April 1945 cited in Christian Derouet (ed), *Zervos et Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 2011, p. 175.

promoted the first edition to the Greek press but he remarked that the sales were subdued.⁷⁶ Zervos wrote in March 1934:

I received the press-cuttings from the journal *Eleftheron Vima*. Mr Yokarinis' article is very good. This book was entirely made for artists and poets, only those maintain still the sentiment of beauty. I do not care about the savants, apart from those whose spirit remains young and feeling for beautiful things intact [...] I am perfectly sure about the success of the volume. Some dogs may bark but this has nothing to do with the quality of the volume which is addressed to clear and young spirits. Here the book has met with a good success, also in Switzerland the sale goes well, in Germany it begins despite the actual enmity between Germans and French.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ 'Jusqu'aujourd'hui je n'ai pas pu retirer de la Douane ni l'exemplaire en colis postal, ni les 240 exemplaires envoyer [sic] en caisses. Je vous retourne votre facture s/date pour 14 exemplaires et pour 1 ex. de Madame Papastratos. De ces 15 ex., quatre sont destinés pour les journaux (*Vima*, *Estia*, *Proia*, et *Ephnos* [i.e. *Ethnos*]), et 1 ex. vous m'avez promis d'échanger. Par conséquence c'est pour 10 ex. qu'il me faut envoyer la facture et non pour 15 ex. Vous avez envoyé 1 ex. à Monsieur Tombros, sculpteur ; Cet exemplaire était probablement par faute adressé à notre adresse. Je lui ai écrit aujourd'hui. En tout, vous m'avez envoyé 240 ex. plus 50 plus 10 : 300 ex. J'ai vendu jusqu'aujourd'hui 45 ex. Vous voyez que la vente ne marche pas très bien, malgré la bonne réclame que le journal *Eleftheron Vima* a fait.' Kauffmann, letter to C. Z., 7 February 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

'Je suis avisé par la Compagnie Neptos que les 2 caisses sont envoyées par le bateau Théophile Gauthier. Je les attends ici dans quelques jours. Je vous prie de m'envoyer une facture. 1) pour la quantité des volumes expédiés. 2) une autre facture pour les 50 exemplaires déjà reçus ici. 3) une facture pour 75 exemplaires. Cette dernière facture est indispensable pour obtenir la permission de la Banque de Grèce de retirer les 2 caisses de la douane. Nous changeons de local et nous installons le 20 mars dans un nouveau magazine. Nous avons pensé de faire une exposition de votre volume. Mr. Seraf va nous donner le matériel de propagande. Nous avons l'intention de faire une très grande propagande et vous prions de nous dire si vous êtes d'accord de donner 4 exemplaires de presse : 1) *Eleftheron Vima*, 2) *Proia*. 3) *Estia*. 4) *Kathimerini* [...] He regrette d'être obligé de terminer cette lettre en vous annonçant une chose bien désagréable pour moi. Vous m'aviez accordé l'exclusivité pour la Grèce et j'avais envoyé le volume à mes confrères en fixant le prix à 750 Drs avec une remise de 20% - Drs 600 netto. Ce volume coûte à Paris F 105 + 8 Frs frais de poste - F113 à 7.10 - Drs 802. - J'étais très étonné d'entendre que la Librairie Eleftheroudakis vend ce volume à Drs, 700, en le recevant directement de Paris. Dans une de mes lettres précédentes je vous priais de s'entendre avec le Département Etranger Hachette, 79 Bd St. Germain, et la Maison du Livre Français, en leurs déclarant que vous m'avez confié l'exclusivité. Si vous rencontrez des difficultés chez Hachette, vous pouvez vous adresser au Directeur Commercial Mr. Amiot, qui est un grand ami à moi et qui vous donnera satisfaction. Dans tous les cas je compte absolument sur vous et j'espère que vous prendrez les mesures nécessaires afin que Eleftheroudakis ne soit plus fourni de Paris. Si vous le désirez, je peux réduire le prix à Drs 700, mais dans ce cas nous aurons une perte en faisant le rabais de 20%.' Kauffmann, letter to C. Z., 7 February 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁷⁷ C. Z., letter to Kauffmann, 10 March 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'J'ai reçu les coupures du journal *Eleftheron Vima*. C'est très bien l'article de M. Yokarinis. Ce livre a été fait absolument pour les artistes et les poètes les seuls qui conservent encore le sentiment de la beauté. Des savants je n'en ai cure, sauf pour ceux dont l'esprit est resté jeune et le sentiment des belles choses entier [...] Je suis parfaitement sûr du succès du volume. Quelques chiens peuvent aboyer mais cela n'a rien à voir avec la qualité du volume qui s'adresse à des esprits clairs et jeunes. Ici le livre a rencontré un très beau succès, en Suisse aussi la vente va très bien, en Allemagne ça commence malgré l'inimitié actuelle entre Allemands et Français.'

In *L'Art en Grèce* Zervos sought to rehabilitate the image of ancient Greece revealing aspects of artistic production on its soil that were put in the shade of the classic era. The primitive art produced before the period that came to be regarded as the Golden Age of Greek art and the cradle of western civilisation could offer, Zervos thought, the same vivid satisfactions to modern artists as those derived from African and Polynesian sculptures. Though Zervos seemingly belittled the classic era, he was in fact giving spotlight to its origins, rehearsing its constitutive elements which were traced in the organic abstractions of the Cycladic idols, the geometric patterns of the Geometric era and the vitality of expression, the naturalist lyricism of archaic ceramics and statuary. The combination of the modes of expression of these three periods resulted in the naturalistic idealism of classic art. Each one of the three components was not a synthetic style consisting of anterior data but the mature and orderly product of animated spirits that enriched art with passion and spouts of instinct. Given that Zervos contemplated earlier the idea of a new classicism, it is not clear whether he now abandoned that idea considering classicism as a dead-end, or identified the period as a transitional era of a new classic ideal in the making. The equivalences that he drew with contemporary art arguably validate the second hypothesis.

Zervos did not seek to impose Greek art as a model to contemporary artists. He rather thought that thanks to the spiritual 'gymnastics' of modern art, readers were better prepared to justly evaluate the excellence of the diverse components of pre-classic art. Another important aspect that Zervos emphasised in his book was the collective conscience of the Hellenic spirit through an inherent respect for the spiritual liberties and social responsibilities of individual genius that distinguished it from the material and ideological accentuation of individualism that the Renaissance period brought forward. Clearly Zervos employed every possible means to disassociate the Hellenic civilisation from what was erroneously considered as its descendant, the Italian Renaissance which was regarded as an edifice of the savants stressing the opposition between the *homme de génie* and the *médiocrité des masses*. Zervos demonstrated since his early writings a profound interest in the spontaneity of popular/folkloric expression that found its equivalent in linguistics. The book also addressed issues mirroring the ideologically nuanced discourse that the troubled political landscape of the mid-1930s brought forward constituting a sample of Zervos'

position taking with regards to the political climate of his times and its repercussions in the artistic domain.⁷⁸

It would be futile to stretch the aspects of scholarly accuracy and archaeological scrutiny in the examination of *L'Art en Grèce* since the book, like the volume *L'Art de la Mésopotamie: de la fin du quatrième millénaire au XVe siècle avant notre ère* published in 1935, aimed strictly at identifying the vitality of the plastic idiom and the anti-academic character of the art produced during these particular periods at the dawn of human civilisation.⁷⁹ *L'Art en Grèce* was not a 'document d'érudition' but rather a revised plan for the study of Greek art.⁸⁰ Zervos explained that one should not expect to find in these two volumes scientific appreciations since his ambition was reduced to presenting to artists, art amateurs and the wider circle of cultivated readers the plastic qualities of these works and the intellectual and moral background on which they germinated and flourished. This ambition, he maintained, relies on the images presented – Horacio Coppola was in charge of the illustrations of the second volume which reproduced material from the Louvre and the British Museum but their enlargement was negatively received⁸¹ – which are revealing of the technique that these artists employed to give expression to their ideas.⁸² The influence of the methods employed by Frobenius is self-evident in

⁷⁸ 'D'où l'art classique serait-il donc sorti ? Une idole cycladique, un vase ou un bronze de la période géométrique, une statue ou une céramique de l'époque archaïque ne contiennent-ils déjà les éléments essentiels du style du Parthénon ?' Christian Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1934, n.p.

⁷⁹ A relative note accompanying the publication on Mesopotamian art was published in *Cahiers d'Art* 9-10, 1934, including a significant number of reproductions.

⁸⁰ Christian Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1934, n.p.

⁸¹ Henry Moore thought that the photographs of the volume 'cannot be overpraised [...] Some of the photographs in M. Zervos' book are many times larger than the original works. To see a piece one knows to be only 2 or 3 inches high [...] but I think it is legitimate to use any means which help to reveal the qualities of the work [...] But size alone should not in sculpture become of main importance. There is a limit at which the control of the unity of the parts to the whole becomes physically too difficult – and when the love of size becomes a love of the colossal it results in inventiveness and vulgarity.' Alan G. Wilkinson, *Henry Moore: Writings and Conversations*, University of California Press, 2002, p. 102. Similarly E. L. M. Taggart argued that the volume was 'visual in its presentation' with superb illustrations but regretted that 'certain plates where the subject has been overly enlarged with no gain in its appeal. Many ancient works of art of exquisite detail and surety of scale benefit in appreciation by such enlargement but others were originally designed *in little* and should remain so.' E. L. M. Taggart, 'Four Books on the Near East,' *The Brooklyn Museum Quarterly* 23-24, 1936, p. 154.

⁸² Christian Zervos, *L'Art de la Mésopotamie*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1935, n. p. Zervos prepared a second enriched edition of the book in 1951 authorising the Greek antiquities dealer Nicolas Koutoulakis based in Geneva to photograph on his behalf Sumerian works from the museum of Bagdad. Koutoulakis selected 91 photographs from the museum's photographic collection. C. Z., letter to the Director of the Museum of Bagdad, 10 August 1951 and the response of the director, 22 September 1951. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. A few documents of Sumerian art and poetry were published in 1949. See M. Lambert, 'Poésie et Art Sumériens,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1949, pp. 8-72.

the inclusion in the volume of mythological poems, legends and psalms which defined the identity of Sumerian expression. Zervos equally focused on the plastic equivalences between sculpture and poetry, highlighting their apparent economy of means.⁸³ He presented the early Elam, Sumer and Akkad civilisations concluding his analysis with the times of the first Babylonian Dynasty when the Sumerian race was absorbed by the Semites. After the latter development, art entered a period of agony, he remarked, being unable to add anything significant to the ancestral instinctive inventions.

Zervos published a short note on the origins of both the Sumerian and Semitic races, taking the side of the scholars that proclaimed the anteriority of the former.⁸⁴ It would be disputable to isolate this latter passing reference in order to shape hypotheses over Zervos' latent inclination towards certain racial discriminatory schemes. Considering however the incriminating mindset of the period when the book appeared, one might remark that such positions could not but stimulate attention of this sort. Lydia Gasman has remarked that 'despite his anti-Nazi sentiments, Zervos [...] parsed out the distinctions between Sumerian and Semitic contributions to early Mesopotamian art, thereby tacitly accepting the so-called scientific justifications of Hitler's racism.'⁸⁵ She however acknowledged the influence that Zervos' book illustrations of Mesopotamian art exerted over Picasso's iconography, tracing elements in the conception – among others - of *Guernica*. This was in fact the role that the publication intended to play.

As a matter of fact, Zervos praised the spirituality of the mythological and pastoral pre-dynastic Sumerian sculpture which contradicted the mundane materiality and the militarist spirit of the art that succeeded it, since it derived its ideas from the invisible world. The influence that the art of Mesopotamia exerted over Persian, Greek and Roman art was deemed incontestable, a fact that explains Zervos' decision to publish books on particular aspects of primitive civilisations, almost all of which demonstrated direct liaisons to the development of Greek art, which monopolised his interest in the decades to come. In fact Zervos also planned to publish a book on Egyptian art, envisaging a trip to collect relevant material since 1936. The book was never published although a part of the material was reproduced in the magazine after

⁸³ Christian Zervos, *L'Art de la Mésopotamie*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1935, n. p.

⁸⁴ Christian Zervos, *L'Art de la Mésopotamie*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1935, n. p.

⁸⁵ Lydia Gasman, *War and the Cosmos in Picasso's Texts, 1936-1940*, iUniverse, 2007, p. 249-250.

the war.⁸⁶ *L'Art de la Mésopotamie* underlined the instinctive ingenuous inventions of the Sumerians furnishing evidence of Zervos' intention to defend once again here Picasso's work. In the third volume titled *Histoire de l'Art* (1931) of the *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale* series published between 1927 and 1947, Georges Contenau commented on Picasso's *ingénuité voulue* that Zervos strongly contested. It is important to note that Contenau's first volume was entirely devoted to Sumerian and Elamite art which had exerted considerable influence over modern artists.⁸⁷ In defence of Picasso, Zervos maintained that the simplicity of the artist's works was symptomatic of the expression of the 'great spirits' and certainly not an indication of 'researched ingenuousness.' The cubist turn to the primitives, he argued, should not be viewed as a deliberate retrogression but as a reaction against academicism with an orientation towards substantial form and primordial schemes of expression. The irritation against Picasso, Zervos affirmed, was not the result of his naivety but, on the contrary, of his subtle enigma.⁸⁸

Le Mystère Picasso and 'the Zervos'

Do not believe that it is sufficient to be renovated once, one has to renovate the novelty itself.⁸⁹ – Origen of Alexandria

To a world wrung dry of sap since the Middle-Ages through the conceit of the own intellectuality, and for which the last century had established science as the sole purveyor of certitudes, Picasso has brought back the plastic myth.⁹⁰ James Johnson Sweeney, 1932.

⁸⁶ 'Sculptures et Textes Poétiques de l'Égypte,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, pp. 37-38. 'Le Livre des Morts,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, pp. 52-56. 'Hymne au Nil,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, p. 58. 'Le Conte de Naufragé,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, pp. 72-74. 'Hymne à l'Aton,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, p. 76. 'Les Aventures d'Horus et de Seth,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, p. 78-84. 'Le Chant du Harpiste,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, p. 86. 'Chants d'Amour,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, pp. 88-92. 'Le Conte des deux Frères,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, pp. 97-100. 'Le Conte du Prince Prédestiné,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, pp. 101-102.

⁸⁷ In fact Henry Moore published a review of Zervos' book in *The Listener* the same year demonstrating a concrete interest in the Sumerian collections of the British Museum. 'About one-third of the reproductions in M. Zervos' book are of works in the British Museum and help us to realize what a wonderful selection of the world's sculpture we have there. It is only recently that the Mesopotamian works have been collected in one room and shown so that they can now be well seen.' Alan G. Wilkinson, *Henry Moore: Writings and Conversations*, University of California Press, 2002, pp. 100-102. See also Jean M. Evans, *The Lives of Sumerian Sculpture: An Archaeology of the Early Dynastic Temple*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 61-67.

⁸⁸ Christian Zervos, *L'Art de la Mésopotamie*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1935, n.p.

⁸⁹ Quoted in the first page of Picasso's catalogue, vol.2, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1949. 'Ne croyez pas qu'il suffise de s'être renouvelé une fois, il faut renouveler la nouveauté même.' Quoted in the first page of Picasso's catalogue, vol.2, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1949.

⁹⁰ James Johnson Sweeney, 'Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3-5, 1932, p. 128 (text in English).

The *catalogue raisonné* of the work of Picasso usually referred to as ‘the Zervos’ remains still a reference work for Picasso scholars. The catalogue was published in 33 volumes including more than 16.000 reproductions of the artist’s works, the great majority of which belonged to the artist and to private collections. The first volume was published in 1932 in a limited edition of 537 numbered copies⁹¹ following a smaller edition of Picasso’s recent works that appeared in 1926⁹² and several lengthy surveys on the artist that featured with astounding frequency in the pages of *Cahiers d’Art*. The English edition of the first volume was distributed by Weyhe.⁹³ Green has offered valuable insights as to both the nature of the Picasso-Zervos collaboration and the character of Zervos’ analyses of the artist’s work.⁹⁴ This chapter deals with the contextual analysis of the publication of the Picasso catalogue with particular focus on aspects of Zervos’ formal analyses notably concerning the originality of the artist’s expression. Zervos was fascinated with publishing unpublished works.⁹⁵ The Picasso catalogue was no exception.

Cahiers d’Art reproduced in 1928 a number of Picasso’s unpublished early creations. It was arguably Zervos’ reference to works produced at the age of nine and fourteen⁹⁶ that motivated two years later Calvet Marti to visit Picasso’s mother in Barcelona buying without the artist’s permission a series of works produced at an early age. The affair provoked the artist’s outrage but was not connected to Zervos’ references.⁹⁷ It is possible that Zervos had the artist’s authorisation to photograph his entire work since the late 1920s, with the works reproduced in 1928 in *Cahiers d’Art*

⁹¹ The expensive first Picasso volume appeared in 1932, sold at the price of 1.200 - 1.500 Frs to clients and 1.000 Frs to bookstores with its printing cost reaching only 70.125 Frs. The price for regular volumes was 500 Frs. Fonds Cahiers d’Art CA 23, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁹² The text was also reproduced in *Cahiers d’Art*, *Der Querschnitt and Transition*. See Christian Zervos, ‘Picassos Neuste Werke,’ *Der Querschnitt*, May 1926, pp. 618-620. Christian Zervos, ‘The Latest Works of Picasso,’ *Transition*, November 1927, pp. 170-174.

⁹³ ‘Il a été tiré de cet ouvrage 537 exemplaires dont deux exemplaires sur Japon impérial numérotés 1 et 2 ; dix exemplaires sur carte d’arches numérotés de 3 à 12; trois cents exemplaires sur papier vélin avec texte français numérotés de 13 à 312; deux cent vingt-cinq exemplaires sur vélin avec textes anglais numérotés de 313 à 537 tirés spécialement pour le libraire E. Weyhe à New. Il a été tiré en outre quelques exemplaires hors commerce.’ Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso : Ouvres de 1895 à 1906*, vol.1, Paris : Cahiers d’Art, 1932.

⁹⁴ Christopher Green, ‘Zervos, Picasso and Brassai, Ethnographers in the Field: A Critical Collaboration,’ in Malcolm Gee (ed.), *Art Criticism since 1900*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993, pp. 117-139.

⁹⁵ Christian Derouet (ed), *Christian Zervos et Cahiers d’Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2011, p. 33.

⁹⁶ Christian Zervos, ‘Picasso : Œuvres Inédites Anciennes,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 5-6, 1928, pp. 205-207.

⁹⁷ Laurence Madeline, ‘Picasso and the Calvet Affair of 1930,’ *The Burlington Magazine* 147, 2005, pp. 316-323.

belonging to certain Parisian dealers and to Picasso himself. As a matter of fact, he did not meet Picasso's mother until 1936 upon his visit to Spain preparing the book on Catalan art.⁹⁸ Zervos returned to publish a series of drawings and *images inédites de la jeunesse de Picasso* in 1950.⁹⁹

The project of the catalogue was publicly announced in 1929 when Zervos addressed an open call to museum curators and collectors of works by Picasso to send reproductions of these works with indications of the precise dimensions, dates, titles and acquisition information to the magazine. The documentation proposed to be presented to the artist who would confirm or decline the authenticity of works so that the catalogue would become an accurate and reliable illustrated guide to Picasso's art.¹⁰⁰ The volume was initially announced as part of the Cahiers d'Art series *Les Grands Peintres d'Aujourd'Hui* and was supposed to appear in November 1930, aiming to present the artist's work up to that year. It eventually became a series in its own right, launched in 1932, with the first volume covering the years from 1895 to 1906 including a short biography and Zervos' rather vague analysis of Picasso's style.¹⁰¹ The envisaged volume for 1930 proposed to coincide with a spectacular show held in Flechtheim's Berlin gallery displaying 60 works by Matisse, Braque and Picasso from private collections in Germany. Flechtheim offered free publicity for the Picasso volume in the exhibition catalogue asking in return for 67 images (worth 6.034 Frs.) for reproduction in his magazine.¹⁰²

There is little doubt that Picasso offered significant help to Zervos to accomplish the project of the catalogue. To precipitate the publication of the first

⁹⁸ C. Z., letter to Pablo Picasso, 26 November 1936. Archives Picasso, Musée Picasso, Paris. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating this letter to me.

⁹⁹ Christian Zervos, 'Œuvres Inédites de la Jeunesse de Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1950, pp. 277-279.

¹⁰⁰ *Cahiers d'Art* 7, 1929, n. p.

¹⁰¹ The New York Times commentator observed: 'Mr. Zervos contributes, by way of text, a preface – which does not throw upon the subject any very dazzling illumination – and a serviceable biography presented in considerable detail though not in faultless English. The reproductions, constituting the book's importance, are of excellent quality'. Anon., 'Picasso's Art in Vivid Reproduction: Pablo Picasso by Christian Zervos,' *The New York Times*, 7 May 1933, p. 5.

¹⁰² 'Le 20. septembre j'ouvrirai une grande exposition de Matisse, Braque et Picasso, toiles provenant des collections particulières allemandes. Je voudrai publier dans le catalogue votre publicité relative à votre grand livre sur Picasso. Dites moi si vous êtes d'accord. Je la publierai gratuitement à condition que vous me prêtiez pour un Almanach que je publierai vers Noël des clichés de votre revue.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 25 July 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Zervos commented on Léger's exclusion from the show as a second letter by Flechtheim revealed: 'Je vois justement que vous regrettez que je n'ai pas exposé dans mon exposition Matisse, Braque, Picasso, Léger. Comme vous savez j'ai fait une grande exposition de Léger ici il n'y a pas longtemps et Matisse, Braque, Picasso longtemps.' Alfred Flechtheim, letter to C. Z., 13 November 1930. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 26, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

volume in 1930, the artist authorised Zervos to be involved in the sales of the luxurious *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide*, illustrated with 32 etchings by him. The pricey volume printed in only 145 copies was commissioned by Albert Skira, a young publisher who was making his first professional steps in Switzerland before becoming the chief editor of the rival *Minotaure* magazine a couple of years later. The young Skira started his career with two very ambitious but commercially risky projects. He published two artist's books, the first illustrated by Picasso (1931); the second by Matisse (*Poésies de Mallarmé*, 1932).¹⁰³ Zervos undertook the exclusive sale of 50 copies, indicating in a letter to Jean Lurçat the significant benefits that he could draw from it. The volume was nonetheless unsuccessful in sales. Zervos mentioned that the illustrations were classic but infinitely superior to the Vollard suite, also conceived in a neo-classical style.¹⁰⁴ He furthermore published two short notes on Skira's splendid edition in *Cahiers d'Art*. Picasso, it seems, was one of the very few modern artists, after Rouault and Chagall, who ventured to illustrate literary texts.¹⁰⁵ The artist, Zervos observed, approached the textual references in an abstract manner reducing

¹⁰³ A relative announcement was published in *Cahiers d'Art* 6, 1931. See *Focus on Minotaure, The Animal-headed Review*, exhibition catalogue, Gevena: Musée Rath and Paris: Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, 1987.

¹⁰⁴ 'M. Skira [sic], un jeune éditeur de Lausanne, va bientôt faire paraître un magnifique ouvrage illustré par Picasso, Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide. Les dessins sont classiques, mais infiniment supérieurs même à ceux qu'il a faits pour Vollard. Il y a en tout 32 eaux-fortes. Chaque exemplaire ordinaire vaudra 8.000 francs. En plus il y aura un exemplaire unique dont vous trouverez sur une autre feuille la description. Je suis parvenu, sur l'instance de Picasso, à avoir l'exclusivité de la vente de 50 exemplaires ordinaires et du grand exemplaire. Le prix de ce dernier est de 375.000 francs. Là-dessus Cahiers d'Art toucheront 50.000 francs. Sur les exemplaires ordinaires Cahiers d'Art toucheront 2.000 frs par exemplaire. C'est une façon élégante de Picasso de me sortir d'embarras [...] Pour l'exemplaire unique, je pense que vous pourriez vous adresser à M. Chester Dale, je suis sûr que c'est une bonne affaire pour lui étant donné le nombre de dessins originaux inclus dans cet exemplaire.' C. Z., letter to Jean Lurçat, 21 November 1930, Archives Galerie Pudelko, published in Christian Derouet, *Jean Lurçat et les Cahiers d'Art : 1926-1933*, exhibition catalogue, Vézelay: Musée Zervos, 2007, pp. 37-38. See also Elizabeth Cowling, 'Classical Movements : Picasso's Métamorphoses illustrations and the Suite Vollard,' in Yve-Alain Bois, Elizabeth Cowling and Marilyn McCully (eds,) *Picasso Harlequin, 1917-1937*, exhibition catalogue, Rome: Palazzo Vittoriano, 2009.

¹⁰⁵ Rouault illustrated the adventures of Père Ubu. [See Christian Zervos, 'Illustrations de Georges Rouault pour Les Réincarnations du Père Ubu de A. Vollard,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-2, 1932, p. 67.] In 1923, Chagall started working in collaboration with Vollard for the illustrations of Gogol's *Ames Mortes* and the *Fables de La Fontaine*. The projects however failed to materialise. Tériade published many years later both books. Following Vollard's death in 1939, his brother Lucien Vollard sold the rights for the edition to Chagall and Tériade. In 1946, he wrote to the artist: 'Je confirme par la présente avoir reçu la somme de Francs 1.000.000 (Un Million de Francs) en paiement et pour solde de tous comptes pour la totalité des épreuves, tirages et droits de propriété artistique des trois séries de gravures exécutées par vous pour mon frère, Ambroise Vollard, décédé en 1939. En acceptant le prix susmentionné, je vous cède tous les droits de reproduction, de publication et d'impression, en tous pays, des trois livres qui furent projetés par mon frère, d'accord avec vous, à savoir : Les Ames Mortes de Gogol, Les Fables de la Fontaine, et la Bible.' Lucien Vollard, letter to Marc Chagall, 23 November 1946. Archives Tériade, Musée Matisse, Le Cateau Cambrésis. See also René Schwob, 'Les Fables de la Fontaine par Chagall,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4, 1928, p. 167. Pierre Courthion, 'Chagall et les Fables,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5, 1929, pp. 215-216. Jacques Maritain, 'Eux-fortes de Chagall pour la Bible,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1932, p. 84.

forms to essential and permanent aspects. Their conception was, in other words, classic. Zervos however avoided discussing extensively the classic quality of Picasso's prints as he also did with the artist's so-called classical period in the texts to the catalogue.¹⁰⁶

Commenting on Picasso's illustrations for Balzac's *Chef d'Oeuvre Inconnu* published by Vollard, he focused on the printing quality of the volume and Vollard's pioneer idea to present in the same book illustrations belonging to three distinct phases of Picasso's style. It contained a series of etchings executed in a manner that Zervos thought was erroneously described as classic, a series of wood engravings that presented the artist's latest stylistic researches, and reproductions of drawings that Picasso created a few years earlier which 'express all the lyricism of his soul with only a few spots.'¹⁰⁷ Zervos mentioned in his letter to Lurçat that the illustrations for Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were classic, but he refrained from making the same statement in his published texts. Zervos maintained in the fifth volume of the catalogue that it is difficult to establish direct connections between Picasso and the Greek painting of the 5th century B.C., since there are no traces left of the latter, but only imitations that manifest its influence elsewhere.¹⁰⁸ Picasso's classic period has been fairly identified by posthumous scholarship with the *Retour à l'Ordre* concept that gained momentum after the Great War but one that Zervos consistently refrained from discussing.¹⁰⁹ He started making references to a 'new archaism' instead of a 'new classic order.' Similarly Tériade confined the *Rappel à l'Ordre* idea to the post World War One effort of the Purists to reconstruct the classic argument abandoned by cubism and

¹⁰⁶ Christian Zervos, 'Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide illustrées par Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 10, 1930, pp. 511-512. C. Z., 'Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide illustrées par Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1931, pp. 369.

¹⁰⁷ Christian Zervos, 'Le Chef d'Œuvre Inconnu de Balzac, illustré par Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3-5, 1932, p. 193.

¹⁰⁸ 'A dire la vérité il n'est pas facile d'établir une relation directe entre les œuvres de Picasso et celles des artistes grecs. On sait que des peintures helléniques du Ve siècle et des siècles suivants il ne reste pas trace : celles qui les représentent sont des copies prises dans tous les genres picturaux où la Grèce a laissé son empreinte. Il n'est en effet presque aucune des peintures pompéiennes qui ne se recommande d'antécédents helléniques illustres.' Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso. Œuvres de 1923 à 1925*, vol. 5, 1952, p. x.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Kenneth Silver, *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1989. Elizabeth Cowling and Jennifer Mundy (eds), *On Classic Ground: Picasso, Léger, De Chirico*, London: Tate, 1990. Goettfried Boehm, Ulrich Mosch, Katharina Schmidt (eds) *Canto d'Amore: Classicism in Modern Art and Music, 1914-1935*, Basel: Offentliche Kunstmuseum, Paul Sacher Stiftung, 1996. Kenneth Silver, *Chaos and Classicism*, Bilbao: Guggenheim Museum, 2010. Christopher Green and Jens M. Deahner (eds), *Modern Antiquity: Picasso, De Chirico, Léger, Picabia*, Los Angeles: Paul Getty Museum, 2011.

therefore admitting the movement's anti-classic principle,¹¹⁰ although he exalted a couple of years earlier the classicism of Braque, Picasso and Léger.

Picasso, it is true, rejected in the pages of *Cahiers d'Art* in 1935 the sterility of classical Greek art, vindicating Zervos' appreciations.¹¹¹ The latter nonetheless published emphatic declarations of Braque's classicism in 1931. Though admitting that the idea of classic painting remains vague and arbitrary, he insisted that Braque became the inventor of a new classic painting offering to cubism, painting essentially classic, a natural development.¹¹² The term classicism here has to be interpreted in terms of geometry and lyricism, the components of classic Greek art. It was nine years later, in 1940, when Zervos observed in Braque's drawings on plaster produced in Varengeville his distance from the geometric and archaic periods and a profound interest in Hesiod's poems, namely *Theogony*, guided by universal inquietudes and the principle of Heraclitus.¹¹³

One is given pause to wonder about whether Zervos deliberately overlooked Picasso's classic period that obviously contradicted his anti-classic/academic persuasion, or he identified in it an effort on the part of modern artists to re-appreciate and re-approach the textual and artistic sources that the late medieval creator disposed of. This was in fact a practice that Tériade would exalt later in his luxurious *livres d'artistes*. In the second case, one might trace a direct congruency and emulation between the medieval and the modern era that could well offer valuable insights with regards to the earlier significant shift of interest into the classical sources which furnished modern artists the occasion to create masterpieces based on counter-

¹¹⁰ E. Tériade, 'On Expose,' *L'Intransigeant*, 25 March 1930, p. 5. Tériade however admitted a few years earlier that 'à ce moment Picasso se trouvait dans ce qu'on pourrait appeler l'état d'esprit classique; cet état d'esprit actif qui s'oppose à l'esprit d'imitation tirant ses ressources des lois découvertes dans l'étude des œuvres classiques. Picasso, pourrait-on dire, s'est trouvé, à travers ses inquiétudes, obéissant aux mêmes besoins profonds et avide de résoudre les mêmes problèmes que les plus grands de l'antiquité.' E. Tériade, 'Les Peintres Nouveaux. I. De la Formation d'une Plastique Moderne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1927, p. 30-31.

¹¹¹ 'Les beautés du Parthénon, les Vénus, les Nymphes, les Narcisses, sont autant de mensonges. L'art n'est pas l'application d'un canon de beauté, mais ce que l'instinct et le cerveau peuvent concevoir indépendamment du canon. Quand on aime une femme, on ne prend pas des instruments pour mesurer ses formes, on l'aime avec ses désirs et cependant on a tout fait pour introduire le canon même dans l'amour. A vrai dire, le Parthénon n'est qu'une ferme sur laquelle on a mis un toit; on a ajouté des colonnades et des sculptures parce qu'il y avait à Athènes des gens qui travaillaient et qui voulaient s'exprimer. Ce n'est pas ce que l'artiste fait qui compte mais ce qu'il est.' Christian Zervos, 'Conversations avec Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-10, 1935, pp. 173-191.

¹¹² Christian Zervos, 'Le Classicisme de Braque,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1931, p. 36, 38.

¹¹³ 'Il faut savoir et ne pas oublier que Braque et quelques autres artistes contemporains s'inquiètent fortement des relations entre le créateur et l'univers, que le principe héraclitéen *πάντα ρεῖ* les guide et les aide à oublier la multitude d'erreurs enracinées dans les esprits sur les idées, la logique et tous ses reflets trompeurs.' Christian Zervos, 'Braque et la Grèce Primitive,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-3, 1940, p. 5.

standards, as Zervos admitted many years earlier following Taine's observation. However Zervos in principle thwarted any pictorial influence – in terms of direct imitation - over Picasso's genius accepting it only in terms of ingenious transformation of the artist's visual stimuli.

Zervos announced in 1934 the publication of a series of etchings by Braque, Matisse, Picasso, Kandinsky, Klee, Laurens, Léger, Dufy, Marcoussis, Arp, Beaudin, Borès, Lurçat, Masson, Ernst, and Miró. The set, according to the relative note, proposed to include 'gravures d'interprétation d'après les maîtres d'autrefois auxquels les *Cahiers d'Art* se sont toujours intéressés.' Although it was impossible to retrieve information relevant to its publication, the album is important for it reveals Zervos' ambition to directly involve contemporary artists with the masters of the past. This ambition is nonetheless absent from his texts. In fact, the reinvention of the distant past through its myths and legends rather than its plastic idiom constitutes an aspect that flourished from the 1930s onwards with both surrealism and relative approaches to primitive arts playing a role in it.¹¹⁴



20. Eduard Manet, *Luncheon on the grass*, Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

21. Raphael, *The Judgement of Paris* (detail from an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi), N.Y., Metropolitan Museum.

Zervos was unconcerned with the iconographical source *per se* but focused on the pictorial quality of its appropriation. The series of articles titled 'Les Problèmes de la Jeune Peinture: Le Retour au Sujet est-il probable?' commented on the concept of the anecdote in the choice of the subject-matter taking the form of a survey dating

¹¹⁴ Cf. Françoise Weill-Levaillant, 'Le Mythe dans l'œuvre graphique d'André Masson, au début des années 30 : Un Problème d'Interprétation,' in *L'Art face à la Crise : L'Art en Occident, 1929-1939*, Travaux XXVI, CIEREC, Université de Saint-Etienne, 1980, pp. 111-134.

back to Courbet. The discussion mainly concerned the aspect of realism in painting. The illustrations are telling, for Zervos focused on various representations of two different subject-matters, *La Baignade* and *Le Dejeuner sur l'Herbe*, both present in the work of Picasso and Cézanne. Zervos remarked that 'between Courbet and his predecessors [...] from the point of view of the anecdote, there is actually nothing but a transposition of categories, of subjects,' but real rupture with the past was introduced later by Cézanne and the living generation. Manet, Zervos remarked, never knew what Cézanne called *objective memory*¹¹⁵ that is why the latter's *raison imaginative* became the motivating force of 20th century artists.¹¹⁶ The article aimed at presenting Cézanne's pioneer influence but reduced his references to contemporary artists to illustrations, which are nonetheless enlightening with regards to his position over the distinction between the iconographical appropriation of subject-matter and its poetic execution. As a matter of fact the article was little concerned with iconography. It sought to demonstrate that an artwork's originality resided in its formal elements and technique rather than its subject-matter. It constituted a reflection of the artist's subjective transposition of reality.

Zervos published two different versions of Picasso's *La Baignade*, both from the collection of Paul Rosenberg, next to reproductions treating the same subject by Cézanne (Philadelphia Museum of Art) and Seurat (London National Gallery). Renoir's *La Baignade* from the Bignou collection (Barnes Foundation) was respectively reproduced on the same page with a *Baignade* by Matisse (Minneapolis Institute of Arts), arguably confirming Zervos' concession of the parallels drawn earlier by Uhde. For *Le Dejeuner sur l'Herbe*, Zervos published works by Cézanne, Monet, Renoir, Courbet, and Manet's influential work (originally titled *The Bath*) next to Picasso's own first version of *The Luncheon on the Grass of the Soler Family* (1903) belonging to his 'Blue Period,' which was sold by Kahnweiler to the Wallraf-Richartz museum of Cologne in 1913. The work carried no apparent influence by Manet. It is nonetheless impossible that Picasso did not know Manet's celebrated *Dejeuner* which was on display at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs since 1907, but is quite unlikely to have seen it in 1903 when he painted the first version of the subject. Picasso produced as a matter of fact a significant number of variations of Manet's

¹¹⁵ 'la mémoire peinte de l'homme concrétisé dans ce qu'il voit.'

¹¹⁶ Christian Zervos, 'Les Problèmes de la Jeune Peinture : I. Le retour au sujet est-il probable?', *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1931, pp. 122, 126.

masterpiece many years later between 1949 and 1962.¹¹⁷ It is important to mention here the artist's 1932 note on the back side of an envelope saying 'when I see Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe*, I tell myself: grief for later.'¹¹⁸ The note was arguably written when Picasso got in his hands the rich material published in *Cahiers d'Art* the same year which challenged Manet's claims to originality. Zervos' rather patronising article was titled 'Manet est-il un grand créateur?' Manet was more or less presented by Zervos as a plagiarist who copied directly from the old masters with his work lacking imagination and courage.¹¹⁹ Zervos presented an important number of reproductions to support his argument, confirming that Manet copied directly from Goya, Velazquez, Murillo, Rubens, Raphael, Titian and Chardin. It is remarkable that he avoided making the same comparison with the works of Picasso.

The controversy around Picasso's work was perennial and well known. Zervos is fairly listed among the artist's most loyal faction of supporters that never gave up the struggle to explain but more importantly to understand the mystery surrounding his work. The unfailing endeavour to discover the obscure mentality of the primitive human sprung out from Zervos' contact with the entire corpus of Picasso's work although it was the mathematical reasoning and architectural conception of cubism that first attracted his attention. He however admitted many years later, in the second volume of the catalogue, that Picasso's cubism had no penchant for theory being unconcerned with scientific systems.¹²⁰ Zervos interpretation of the work of Picasso resides in two central axes that were mobilised to defend the conception (iconography) and the execution (technique) of his works. The artist became a recipient of widespread accusations concerning the self-evident and - to some observers - insolent and blatant 'borrowing' of his themes from masterpieces of past periods and his 'mechanical' (*automatisme né de l'habitude*) variations of subject-matter.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ See Laurence Madeline, *Picasso/Manet Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, exhibition catalogue, Paris : Musée d'Orsay, 2008.

¹¹⁸ For the quote see Brigitte Léal, Christine Piot, and Marie Bernadac (eds), *The Ultimate Picasso*, N.Y.: Abrams, 2003, p. 430.

¹¹⁹ Christian Zervos, 'Manet est-il un Grand Créateur?,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-7, 1932, pp. 295-296. Christian Zervos, 'A Propos de Manet,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-10, 1932, pp. 309-324 and 'Manet et la Femme,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-10, 1932, pp. 325-326. See also Alan Bowness, 'A Note on Manet's Compositional Difficulties,' *The Burlington Magazine* 103, Special issue in Honour of Professor Johannes Wilde, June 1961, pp. 176-177.

¹²⁰ Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso : Œuvres de 1906 à 1912*, vol.2, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1942, p. x.

¹²¹ Cf. Susan Grace Galassi, *Picasso's Variations on the Masters: Confrontations with the Past*, N.Y.: Abrams, 1996.

Posthumous scholarship has shed plentiful light on this issue so that Picasso's iconographical influences are now deemed unchallengeable. The artist however more or less denied any direct influence on his work, a position that featured throughout Zervos' catalogue and texts, maintaining the automatism of his volition.¹²² Picasso's ideally abstract spirit, Zervos thought, was a common feature of 'youth' which exalted formless reverie and abstract reason. The artist was compared to Plato, who refused sensation in *Theaetetus* but when he came to maturity he re-established the sense of reality in *Philebus*.¹²³ It is interesting to mention here the special number published as Homage to Picasso by *Documents* the following year. Henri-Charles Puech, adjunct director at the École des Hautes Etudes, signed the text 'Picasso et la Représentation' in which he remarked the modernist gradual course towards a total repugnance of all aspects of representation in which Picasso played a special role.¹²⁴ Einstein similarly affirmed that 'Picasso understood that the death of reality is a necessary condition to the creation of an autonomous work [...] his realism is much more powerful as his work is exempt from all naturalism.'¹²⁵

In keeping with Zervos' views, Tériade maintained that Picasso never abandoned either the world, or the earth in his long spiritual journey. He never reduced himself to literature.¹²⁶ He pursued instead a kind of subjective reality, characteristic of the work of the 'young,' which was the *juste milieu* between analytical abstraction and objective realism.¹²⁷ Zervos stressed the aspect of realism in Picasso's works, an aspect that he felt the need to defend and redefine after the artist's adhesion to the Communist Party in 1944. Commenting on the artist's creations at Dinard, he remarked that Picasso utilised the appearance of the sensible world but in

¹²² 'Il est des moments où Picasso œuvre réellement dans un état presque Independent de sa volonté. Il lui arrive assez souvent de dessiner ou de peindre comme malgré lui. Ses suppositions en éclair sont transcrites par sa main avant même qu'il ait eu le temps de s'en faire une idée précise. D'ailleurs ce qui actuellement l'attache à la peinture c'est la surprise du résultat. Il prend sa joie de peindre dans l'attente de l'image qui apparaîtra sur la toile.' Christian Zervos, 'Les Dernières Œuvres de Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6, 1929, pp. 233-250.

¹²³ Christian Zervos, 'Les Dernières Œuvres de Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6, 1929, pp. 236.

¹²⁴ Henri-Charles Puech, 'Picasso et la Représentation,' *Documents* 3, 1930, pp. 118-126.

¹²⁵ Carl Einstein, 'Picasso,' *Documents* 3, 1930, p. 156. See also Lisa Florman, 'L'Art mantique of Picasso, and Documents,' *Papers of Surrealism* 7, 2007, pp. 1-14. See also Dawn Ades, 'Picasso in Documents,' in Yves-Alain Bois, Elizabeth Cowling and Marilyn McCully (eds.), *Picasso Harlequin, 1917-1937*, exhibition catalogue, Rome: Palazzo Vittoriano, 2009, pp. 59-69.

¹²⁶ 'Mais ni Picasso ni Braque n'ont jamais quitté la terre, surtout le second. Il y a toujours dans leur œuvres une base de représentation.' E. Tériade, 'Les Peintres Nouveaux. I. De la Formation d'une Plastique Moderne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1927, p. 30-31.

¹²⁷ E. Tériade, 'Besoin d'un Nouveau Fauvisme. II. Réalisme Subjectif ou Peinture d'Imagination,' *Comoedia*, 8 September 1927.

order to ascribe a universal value to it. Picasso transformed his objects into ideograms of reality. 'Human forms are nothing but a souvenir of reality. He turns them into idols of the physical world. [...] The complete reality of the world exists in human spirit.'¹²⁸ It is pertinent to note that the works produced at Dinard in 1928 were reproduced with reference to the precise date of their creation.¹²⁹

The important thing about these works, according to Zervos, was that they demonstrated the way in which Picasso treated forms in a sculptural manner perceived through an architectonic perspective. The biomorphic works at Dinard, literally surrealist in their conception, were described by Zervos as projects for a monument due to their sculptural parts and architectonic wholeness.¹³⁰ Zervos could not possibly identify surrealist elements in these compositions where the aspect of plasticity was dominant. The perpetual displacement of lines and the aspect of movement was an architectural effect which was overmastered here by Picasso by means of the multiplicity of aspects that the combination of the parts could offer. The abstraction of forms was equivalent to the inherent abstraction of architecture which no matter how distinct it was from literary figuration, was as concrete as a natural organism.¹³¹ In 1937, Zervos presented Picasso's transformation of photographic reality in a series of works which fused mechanical reproduction with engraving, a technique pretty much evocative of Dali's works.¹³²

On every occasion Zervos found the pretext to cite Picasso as an example, establishing his observation on his work. In the series of articles titled 'De l'Importance de l'Objet dans la Peinture d'Aujourd'hui' he underlined the effort of the cubists to decompose the subject-matter giving preponderance to the object. Zervos remarked in 1930 that after examining more than 400 photographs of Picasso's work there is no indication of the slightest interest in the object from the part of the artist until the year 1907 – when cubism introduced its ultimate exploitation. The material that Zervos referred to was in reality published in the first volume of the Picasso catalogue which included 400 illustrations presenting Picasso's

¹²⁸ Christian Zervos, 'Picasso à Dinard,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1929, p. 6, 8.

¹²⁹ See also Christopher Green, *Picasso: Architecture and Vertigo*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, p. 246.

¹³⁰ Cf. Andrés Luque Teruel, 'Picasso y Christian Zervos, los Dibujos Escultóricos del Cuaderno de Cannes, en 1927, y las Esculturas Biomórficas Modeladas en París, en 1928,' *Art Longa* 21, 2012, pp. 407-428.

¹³¹ Christian Zervos, 'Projets de Picasso pour un Monument,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-9, 1929, p. 344.

¹³² Man Ray, 'Picasso, Photographe,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6-7, 1937, n.p. See also Anne Baldassari, *Picasso and Photography. The Dark Mirror*, Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1997.

work dating up to 1906. The volume coincided with an important retrospective at the Galerie Georges Petit,¹³³ the artist's first museum retrospective at the Kunsthhaus in Zurich,¹³⁴ an exhibition of Picasso's illustrations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Flechtheim's Dusseldorf gallery, a catalogue of the graphic work of Picasso published by Jeanne Bucher with texts by Bernhard Geiser, and the special number of *Cahiers d'Art* on Picasso and the exposition *Benin* at the Trocadéro. A monograph by Eugenio d'Ors appeared a year earlier published by the Chroniques du Jour.

Zervos initially announced the Picasso catalogue in five volumes although the artist's entire work was eventually published in 33 covering the years 1895-1972, the last eleven of which published after Zervos' death in 1970. Zervos initially counted on the number of pre-ordered copies. The Galerie Percier prepaid the entire set of five volumes in 1930 which he intended to publish at a three months distance from one another, asking for its money back in 1934 when only a single Picasso volume was issued. To cover the amount Zervos agreed to send a number of copies of other *Cahiers d'Art* publications.¹³⁵ A second edition of the first volume was printed in 500 copies in 1933. A third edition appeared many years later in 1957. In 1932, Zervos' text to the first volume was translated in Italian by Giacomo Prampolini for a small edition containing 30 illustrations. The special *Cahiers d'Art* number on Picasso included texts by a significant number of critics (Fierens, Salles, Fry, Grohmann,

¹³³ A relative announcement was published in *Cahiers d'Art* 3-5, 1932.

¹³⁴ For the recreation of Picasso's first museum exhibition on the occasion of the celebration of Kunsthhaus' 100th year see Tobia Bezzola (ed.), *Picasso – His First Museum Exhibition 1932*, exhibition catalogue, Zurich: Kunsthhaus, 2010.

¹³⁵ 'Nous venons d'apprendre de vous que vous renoncez à poursuivre la publication de votre ouvrage sur Picasso en cinq volumes (dont un seul paru) ouvrage dont la Galerie souscrit un exemplaire sur japon au prix convenu de dix mille francs, réglés le 24 novembre 1930 en un cheque sur la B N C. Nous vous serions très obligés de nous faire connaître quand vous entendez procéder à votre libération vis-à-vis de la Galerie en lui reversant la différence entre la valeur de ce qu'elle a reçu de vous pour le premier volume et le montant intégral de sa souscription désormais sans objet.' Galerie Percier, letter to C. Z., 4 May 1934. A second letter mentioned: 'N'oubliez-vous pas que votre prospectus d'édition spécifiait en 1930, que les quatre autres volumes paraîtraient de trois mois en trois mois, qu'il y a donc deux ans que l'échéance du dernier tome est dépassée et que l'abandon de la publication devient de jour en jour plus vraisemblable. Je me permets donc d'insister à nouveau sur le bien fondé de ma réclamation de remboursement.' Galerie Percier, letter to C. Z., 8 May 1934. Zervos responded: 'Obligé par les circonstances de faire paraître les volumes de l'ouvrage Picasso avec un grand retard je vous offre en compensation de ce retard et selon accord avec M. Level, les volumes ci-après: 8 ex. PAYSAGES à frs. 100 = frs. 800. 1 ex. LÉGER à frs. 150. 1 ex. DUFY à frs. 150. 1 ex. ART EN GRECE à frs. 105. 1 ex. PICASSO (hollande) à frs. 1200. 3 ex. ART MESOPOTAMIE (à paraître) à frs. 300. Au total frs. 2705. Quant à l'ouvrage PICASSO sur hollande que je vous ai déjà remis je vous prie de le remettre de ma part à M. Max Pellequer.' C. Z., letter to the Galerie Percier, 15 November 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CA 11, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

Asplund, and Apollinaire) which appeared in English translation for the special edition of the volume published by Zervos.¹³⁶

Picasso's first museum retrospective at the Kunsthaus had mixed reactions. It was at about the same time that the Swiss psychiatrist Carl Jung presented in Zurich an essay proclaiming Picasso's art schizophrenic. A relevant response appeared in *Cahiers d'Art* slightly afterwards. Considering Freud as an incontestable authority in the field, Zervos declared that the heretic psychoanalytic movement inaugurated by Jung and Alfred Adler was becoming increasingly dangerous and attracted many partisans. Jung, he argued, was totally unconcerned with both the plastic preoccupations and the historical conditions of Picasso's art focusing entirely on psychological aspects of his work comparing it with the art of the mentally ill.¹³⁷ Zervos confronted one after another Jung's remarks explaining that each one of the periods that the psychiatrist commented on carried influences by other artists, namely Cézanne and El Greco.¹³⁸ It is interesting that Zervos referred for the first time directly to particular artists and works that exerted direct influence over Picasso. Giedion sent him about a year later a letter literally disqualifying Jung as a 'banal man who wears a scientific mask and searches for his victims among famous people.'¹³⁹

Indeed, the fuss around Picasso's name was remarkable when the first Picasso volume appeared in 1932. To moderate his clients' discontent over the delay of the second volume, Zervos also published a second richly illustrated special number dedicated to the artist in 1935, which included material from the years 1932 to 1935. These works were by that time inaccessible due to Picasso's recent divorce. The special number was in fact met with great success due to its exceptional illustrations, with Alfred Barr trying in vain through the intermediary of Paul Rosenberg to secure

¹³⁶ 'Les Livres,' *l'Intransigeant*, 1 February 1932, p.5.

¹³⁷ That was an aspect that the surrealists favoured, namely Breton. See Katharine Conley, 'Surrealism and Outsider Art: From the Automatic Message to André Breton's Collection,' *Yale French Studies* 109, 2006, pp. 129-143.

¹³⁸ C. Z., 'Picasso étudié par le Dr Jung,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-10, 1932, pp. 352-254.

¹³⁹ '4. Picasso par Jung. Vous traitez Jung comme un grand savant ! Ce n'est qu'un homme banal, qui porte un masque scientifique et qui cherche ses victimes parmi les hommes célèbres. Pendant que Joyce était à Zürich, il y a trois mois, Joyce nous a montré une lettre de Jung où il cherche, avec tous les moyens de s'approcher à Joyce. On l'a averti de se méfier ! ' Siegfried Giedion to C. Z., 2 February 1933. G.T.A. Zurich [43 K 1932-02-02. ms.] I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the content of this letter to me.

photographs of Picasso's recent constructions and sculptures.¹⁴⁰ Zervos wrote to the Bachmann bookstore in Zurich:

I want to tell you that you should not return the unsold numbers, since at the end of the year we will publish a Picasso number that we will ask you to sell together with all the numbers of the year. The Picasso number will be in great demand because we are the only ones to have all the Picasso documents from 1932 to 1935 and no one can either see the tableaux or get reproductions because Mr Picasso is divorcing and all the works will be sealed for a long time. As for the anger of my friends in Zurich, they will get over it. If they really love modern art they will be obliged to buy *Cahiers d'Art* since there are no longer magazines of modern art. It is a passing sulk.¹⁴¹

Zervos had established strong connections with Switzerland. The Zurich Kunsthhaus organised a series of solo exhibitions for many of Zervos' protégés, with *Cahiers d'Art* publishing special numbers on these artists on the occasion of each one of the shows. Following the Picasso retrospective in 1932, the Kunsthhaus presented Léger and Gris in 1933.¹⁴² An important Braque exhibition held at the Kunsthalle of Basel the same year was accompanied by a special *Cahiers d'Art* number (1-2, 1933) which was also published separately as a small volume in its own right. However the collaboration with Zurich and the Kunsthhaus was interrupted in 1934 due to the controversy provoked by an exhibition of Parisian sculpture proposed by Zervos and Giedion. The latter disappeared from *Cahiers d'Art* shortly afterwards.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ 'I look forward with great interest to the Picasso number. Could you possibly send me a selection of photographs of Picasso's constructions and sculptures? Because of Picasso's divorce we are unable to borrow the original objects. Paul Rosenberg has offered to try to secure photographs but I am not sure he has been successful. Perhaps you will be kind enough to telephone him'. Alfred Barr Jr, letter to C. Z., 17 January 1936. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 6, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁴¹ C. Z., letter to the Librairie Bachmann, Zurich, 24 October 1935. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 6, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Je tiens à vous dire qu'il ne faut pas nous retourner les numéros invendus, car à la fin de l'année nous ferons paraître un numéro Picasso que nous vous demanderons de ne pas vendre qu'avec l'ensemble des numéros de l'année. Le numéro Picasso sera très demandé parce que nous sommes les seuls à avoir tous les documents Picasso de 1932 à 1935 et personne ne peut plus ni voir les tableaux ni avoir des reproductions du fait que M. Picasso divorce et que tous les tableaux seront sous scellés pendant longtemps. Quant à la colère de mes ex amis de Zurich ça leur passera. S'ils aiment vraiment l'art moderne ils seront obligés d'acheter les Cahiers d'Art puisqu'il n'y a plus de revue d'art moderne. C'est une bouderie passagère.'

¹⁴² Anon., 'Une Grande Exposition d'Œuvres de Juan Gris,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-6, 1933, p. 178. The number was dedicated to the artist. A special issue on Léger appeared the same year including Zervos' text 'Fernand Léger est-il cubiste?' *Cahiers d'Art* 3-4, 1933, pp. 85-91.

¹⁴³ The affair concerns the 1934 exhibition of sculpture at the Kunsthhaus in Zurich. I am extremely thankful to Christian Derouet, who has gathered important material concerning the exhibition and generously communicated important archival material to me. The exhibition proposed to include works by Arp, Brancusi, Giacometti, Laurens and Lipchitz, according to a relative note published in *Cahiers d'Art* in 1934. The artists were recommended by Zervos to Giedion. In fact Zervos had published an open call in 1931 addressed to the Kunsthhaus on the occasion of an exhibition of international sculpture

The Picasso number was in great demand. Zervos received requests for reproduction of the texts in the Spanish press on the occasion of a Picasso exhibition to be held in Barcelona the following year,¹⁴⁴ but he refrained from giving permission.¹⁴⁵ The exhibition was organised by the group A.D.L.A.N. (Amigos del

held the same year. He proposed publicly a show of sculpture *en plein-air* with a limited number of participants and duration of three or four years. The show would serve as a model for the *grandes cités européennes*. As a matter of fact the idea was also found in the project for the new museum in Paris by Le Corbusier and Jeanneret, presented the same year in *Cahiers d'Art*. Zervos suggested the names of Brancusi, Lipchitz, Laurens, Maillol and Lehmbruck [*Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1931, p. 378-379.] On the occasion of the 1934 show, Brancusi refused to participate. Laurens and Lipchitz subsequently revoked their participation due to issues relating with the amounts offered by the Kunsthhaus for the transfer of their works. Zervos was initially asked to write the texts for the catalogue and publish relative material in *Cahiers d'Art*, while his involvement in the organisation of the show in collaboration with Giedion was decisive. To Zervos' surprise, the show finally presented works by Arp, Giacometti, Ernst, Miró and Gonzalez. Eventually Zervos was accused of sabotaging the show together with Laurens and Lipchitz. He published an open letter to the members of the commission of the Kunsthhaus in which he explained his reaction against the policies of the institution, the unfruitful collaboration with Giedion and the lack of solidarity from the part of the artists, declaring publicly his refusal to publish the catalogue of the show. Giedion interrupted his collaboration with *Cahiers d'Art* the same year. Arp and Giacometti re-appeared in the content of *Cahiers d'Art* only after the war. See Christian Zervos, 'A propos de l'Exposition de sculpture au Kunsthhaus de Zurich,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9-10, 1934, pp. 272-273.

¹⁴⁴ 'Paul Eluard qui est maintenant notre Hôte a bien voulu m'autoriser à faire des extraits sur les articles de lui, de Breton, votre interview avec Picasso et les poèmes espagnols de ce dernier pour les faire publier dans un numéro spécial qui prépare la revue Gaceta de Arte de Tenerife, consacré à Picasso, et qui paraîtra au même temps de son exposition à Madrid. Dans la traduction espagnole de ces extraits on mettra le copyright des Cahiers d'Art, en faisant savoir d'ailleurs au lecteur espagnol que les textes intégraux paraîtront seulement dans votre revue [...] Ces reproductions partielles, j'y insiste ne porteront d'ailleurs aucun dommage à votre revue que déjà doit avoir paru, de l'avis d'Eluard, tandis que Gaceta de Arte ne paraîtra que vers la première dizaine de mars. Tout au contraire elle pourra constituer une réclame et aidera la diffusion de ce numéro des Cahiers d'Art, revue qui pourrait et devrait se voir et se vendre davantage en Espagne. Mais qui avez-vous comme correspondant libraire ? Pour sa part Monsieur Eduardo Westerdahl, le directeur de Gaceta de Arte, vous écrira aussi pour avoir votre autorisation ; et pour le moment si vous parlez à M. Breton vous pourrez avoir, à propos de M. Westerdahl, tous les renseignements que vous soient nécessaires. J'attends avec impatience ce numéro sur Picasso que j'ai commandé déjà à mon librairie, et dans quelques jours je me ferais un plaisir de vous envoyer la plaquette-préface que j'ai rédigé pour l'exposition Picasso à Madrid, ou vous trouverez une très complète bibliographie que j'ai fait de la littérature picassienne dans tout le monde et où je ne manque pas de signaler tout ce qui est paru dans votre revue à ce propos. Monsieur Eluard a regretté que sa signature, sa collaboration ne paraisse pas dans ce numéro sur Picasso, étant donné – et cela c'est dit sans aucune vanité – que je suis l'écrivain espagnol qui connaisse mieux leurs œuvres et qui a porté toujours le plus grande intérêt à son art. Mais c'est habituel l'oubli qu'on fait de l'Espagne et je ne me fâche point pour cela. J'espère seulement que pour votre part vous aurez dans une autre occasion le temps de rectifier.' Guillermo de la Torre, letter to C. Z., 8 November 1936. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 6, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁴⁵ 'Je regrette de vous dire que pour des raisons indépendantes de ma volonté je ne peux autoriser la GACETTA DE ARTE de reproduire des extraits des articles qui paraîtront à CAHIERS d'ART. D'ailleurs ce serait beaucoup mieux de faire un numéro de la GACETA consacré à PICASSO, avec des articles écrits uniquement par des Espagnols. Il n'y a pas de sens que l'on répète toujours sur Picasso ce qui a été dit à Paris. Nous sommes tous ici curieux de savoir ce que pensent les jeunes en Espagne de Picasso qui, après tout, est Espagnol. Nous aimerions ici voir un numéro vraiment espagnol sur Picasso, et non des répétitions de nos articles. Vous feriez un numéro avec les meilleurs œuvres de l'exposition et des articles d'auteurs espagnols, cela porterait plus que de ressasser nos idées. Si vous faites un numéro dans cet esprit, j'aurai plaisir d'en parler, tandis que si vous faites un simple démarquage des Cahiers vous me mettez dans l'impossibilité de le faire. Pour les poèmes, Picasso s'oppose formellement à leur publication, puisqu'il m'a demandé de prendre un copyright spécial pour les protéger. Pour la diffusion des Cahiers d'Art à Madrid seul s'occupe la librairie INCHAUSTI. Pour

Arte Nuevo) founded in 1932.¹⁴⁶ The Picasso number, which was probably published in the first months of 1936, also included short Spanish texts by the group commenting on the Catalan show. These were mainly transcriptions of their speeches broadcasted by the Radio Barcelona in January 1936.¹⁴⁷ The Spanish catalogue published contributions, among others, by Breton. As a matter of fact, the Picasso number was particularly important for it published one of the most oft-quoted texts in the history of *Cahiers d'Art*: Zervos' 'Conversations avec Picasso'.¹⁴⁸ Zervos informed the artist:

Several of the photographs that we made at yours were delivered. Since your departure I made the clichés of 10 photographs and I corrected them by myself at the engraver. They conform well to the photographs. I shared the rest of the pictures with Mr Level and Andre Breton. Both, above all the latter, are delighted. Breton wrote to me that the communicated photographs entirely correspond to what he wrote. So much the better! I preferred to not give them the photographs that appeared in *Cahiers d'Art* so that all your present work becomes known at the same time. This is necessary because there is a new reaction on the part of the incompetent and all those who do not leave you in peace. Some of your friends accuse me of talking too often about you, but those who do not know you, encourage me telling me that if there was not *Cahiers d'Art*, one would have to make a magazine that would show your work throughout its development. I agree with them. I accompanied the reproductions with a small article on your latest researches, where I evoked to penetrate, a little bit, your thought. Alas! Besides the creator there is the dictator in abyss [...] I published in the same number your photograph at 20 years old, for which I asked you for permission and a nice photograph that Artigas communicated to me the other day. Similarly, I published later, an entire page, a watercolour and a drawing, from the exhibition of

l'Exposition PICASSO à Madrid, est-il possible aux Organismes de cette manifestation d'acheter quelques numéros du Cahier spécial au prix librairie qu'ils feraient vendre au prix fort. Ainsi votre Revue et nos Cahiers vendus à l'Exposition, le souvenir de celle-ci. La raison pour laquelle je ne vous au point invité à collaborer, c'est que j'avais décidé de faire le numéro uniquement avec la collaboration des amis de Picasso à Paris, vous laissant l'initiative de manifester de votre coté votre enthousiasme pour cet artiste.' C. Z., letter to Guillermo de la Torre, 11 February 1936. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 6, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁴⁶ 'Je crois que vous avez reçu le catalogue de l'exposition Picasso faite par Adlan à Madrid et rédigé par moi. Nous aimerions beaucoup être en rapport avec vous pour les expositions suivantes. Nous avons en vue une exposition Juan Gris pour l'automne, une autre de Borès, une autre de Dali pour le printemps prochain, etc. Nous devons lutter aussi avec beaucoup de difficultés, spécialement avec la faut d'argent, mais nous sommes décidés à faire particulièrement ce qui ne fait pas l'Etat. PS. N'oublions de vous féliciter pour votre article de CA qui à mon avis est la pièce capitale au point de vue artistique de ce numéro [refers to Zervos' text 'Fait Social et Vision Cosmique,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-10, 1935, pp. 145-150]. Vous réussirez là à dire et il faut penser à ces monuments dangereuses de confusion sociale artistique.' Guillermo de la Torre, letter to C. Z., 13 April 1936. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 6, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Cf. Emmanuel Guigon, 'Adlan (1932-1936) et le Surréalisme en Catalogne,' *Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez* 26, 1990, pp. 53-80.

¹⁴⁷ J. Sabartés, 'La Literatura de Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-10, 1935, p. 225. Joan Miró and Salvador Dali short notes the exhibition published together with Juli Gonzalez, 'Desde Paris,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-10, 1935, p. 242-243.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Christopher Green, 'Zervos, Picasso and Brassai, Ethnographers in the Field: A Critical Collaboration,' in Malcolm Gee (ed.), *Art Criticism since 1900*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993, p. 120.

drawings. I have made the choice in a manner that they do not resemble to anything that I have already given in *Cahiers d'Art*. I prepare an anthology of Modern Painting written differently than Raynal's, I plan to give about ten heliotypes of your work. I think that you do not mind. I am sending you today lithography paper in the format of the album. Make something for me not only to please me but to help the magazine which passes through critical moments. I would ask you to make this lithograph immediately, since on the 5th of August I have to get my wife to the Haute Savoie, because she has three lesions in her lungs that put her life in danger. It seems that this is due to excessive fatigue and the vigils for the magazine. I am really sorry and to a certain extent remorseful for having let her sacrifice herself to work. But this is a different matter.¹⁴⁹

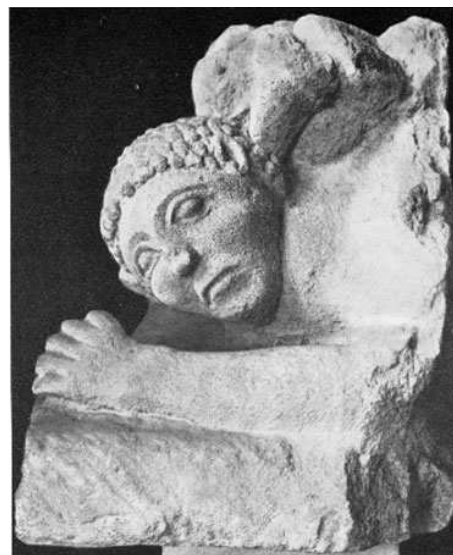
In principle, the catalogue relied on the opinion of Picasso, whose interventions proved fundamental in shaping Zervos' appreciations over his work. The second volume covering the years between 1906 and 1912 was initially announced for December 1939. Its publication was subsequently transferred to May 1940 and was eventually published during the occupation in 1942, in a print-run of 700 numbered copies including 360 reproductions.¹⁵⁰ The text accompanying the volume contained a concise analysis of Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* which was generally thought of as the starting point of cubism.¹⁵¹ The work was acquired by the MoMA in 1939

¹⁴⁹ C. Z., letter to Picasso, n.d. Archives Picasso, Musée Picasso, Paris. 'Plusieurs parmi les photographies que nous avons faites chez vous sont bien remis. Depuis votre départ j'ai fait les clichés de 10 photographies et je les ai corrigés moi-même chez le graveur. Ils sont conformes aux photos et très bien. Les autres photos je les ai partagées entre M. Level et André Breton. Tous les deux, surtout le dernier, sont enchantés. Breton m'écrit que les photographies communiquées correspondent tout à fait à ce qu'il écrit. Tant mieux ! J'ai préféré ne pas leur donner les photos parues dans Cahiers d'Art afin que toute votre œuvre actuelle soit connue en même temps. Cela est nécessaire parce qu'il se produit de la part de tous les impuissants et de tous ceux que vous ne laissez pas en paix, une nouvelle réaction. Certains de vos amis me reprochent de parler trop souvent de vous, mais ceux qui ne vous connaissent pas, m'y encouragent en me disant que s'il n'y avait les Cahiers d'Art il fallait faire une revue pour montrer votre œuvre au fur et à mesure de son développement. Je suis de leur avis. J'ai accompagné les reproductions d'un petit article sur vos dernières recherches, où j'ai évoqué de pénétrer, un tout petit peu, votre pensée. Hélas ! Il y a outre le créateur et le dictateur en abîme [...] Je publie dans le même numéro la photographie de vous à 20 ans, pour laquelle je vous ai demandé l'autorisation et une belle photo qu'Artigas m'a communiquée l'autre jour. De même je publie plus loin, page entière, une gouache et un dessin, de l'exposition des dessins. Je les ai choisis de sorte qu'ils ne rappellent rien de ce que j'ai déjà donné dans Cahiers d'Art. Je prépare une anthologie de la Peinture Moderne autrement faite que celle de Raynal, je compte donner une dizaine d'héliotypies de votre œuvre. Je pense que vous n'y voyez d'inconvénient. Je vous fais envoyer aujourd'hui du papier litho au format de l'album. Faites-moi quelque chose non pas seulement pour me faire plaisir mais pour aider la revue qui passe des moments critiques. Je vous demanderais de me faire cette litho tout de suite, car le 5 août je dois conduire ma compagne en Haute Savoie, car elle vient d'avoir trois lésions à ses poumons qui mettent sa vie en danger. Il paraît qu'elle est du à l'excès de fatigue et de veilles pour la revue. J'en ai vraiment de la peine et en une certaine mesure de remords de l'avoir laissée travailler jusqu'au sacrifice. Mais c'est autre chose.'

¹⁵⁰ Zervos printed two volumes during the occupation (vols 2, 3). He obtained permission for the first but he referred to the second volume as a clandestine publication in order to excuse its price reaching 1.500 Frs. C. Z., letter to Roger Dutilleul, 24 June 1945. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁵¹ This position was sustained by Kahnweiler and Barr. See John Golding, 'The Demoiselles d'Avignon,' *The Burlington Magazine* 100, 1958, pp. 155-163. Rubin claimed however that the work

through the Lilly Bliss bequest. Zervos remarked that the claim, upheld by Alfred Barr in the MoMA exhibition catalogue *Picasso: Forty Years of his Art* (15 November 1939-7 January 1940) organised in collaboration with the Art Institute of Chicago, that ‘the figures of the *Demoiselles d’Avignon* derive directly from the art of the Ivory Coast and the French Congo’ was inaccurate. The MoMA catalogue initiated the phase of literature on the painting, according to John Golding.¹⁵² It was obviously after the opening of the show when Picasso confessed to Zervos his influence by the collection of Iberian sculptures at the Louvre, the formal features of which were transformed and renovated with respect to the artist’s vision.¹⁵³



22. Pablo Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, 1935, N. Y., MoMA.
23. Iberian bas-relief from Osuna, Paris, Louvre.

Zervos reported that Picasso attested that ‘at the epoch when he painted the *Demoiselles d’Avignon*, he ignored African art,’¹⁵⁴ although *Cahiers d’Art* announced the second volume of the catalogue in 1934 as dealing with the ‘époque nègre, débuts

opposed the character of the cubist structure. William Rubin, ‘From narrative to iconic in Picasso: The buried allegory in *Bread and Fruitdish on a Table* and the role of *Les Femmes d’Avignon*,’ *The Art Bulletin* 4, 1983, pp. 615-649. In the 1947 catalogue of the exhibition organised by Yvonne Zervos at the Palais de Papes in Avignon, the entry on Picasso referred to the work as marking a total break with conventional representation, but it was disassociated from cubism, noting that the cubist period started in the summer of 1909 at Horta de Ebro.

¹⁵² John Golding, *Visions of the Modern*, University of California Press, 1994, p. 107.

¹⁵³ Picasso owned two pieces of Iberian sculptures which proved to have been stolen from the Louvre. See Noah Charney, ‘Pablo Picasso, art thief: The affaire des statuettes...,’ *Arte, Individuo y Sociedad* 23, 2014, pp. 187-197. Barr acknowledged his error in the revised and enriched version of the book in 1946. See Alfred Barr, *Picasso: Fifty Years of his Art*, N.Y.: MoMA, 1946, p. 51. A copy of the catalogue was sent to Zervos with the written dedication: *For Christian Zervos to whom all students of Picasso are in debt with thanks and most cordial greetings, Alfred Barr, New York, October 1946*. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for the reference.

¹⁵⁴ Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso : Œuvres de 1906 à 1912*, vol. 2, Paris : Cahiers d’Art, 1942, n.p.

du cubisme.¹⁵⁵ Zervos had in fact published in 1927 a reproduction of the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* together with pictures of African masks that were used to illustrate articles on African art by Georges Salles¹⁵⁶ and Henri Monnet.¹⁵⁷ This was a clear reference to their plastic equivalences.¹⁵⁸ It was up until 1939 that Zervos, as was the case with most cubist critics, advocated the influence of African art on cubism and consequently on what was considered as the movement's inaugural work, the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*. Picasso kept a distance from the appreciations shaped on his work. The Zervos catalogue furnished him the occasion to revise certain misinterpretations. It is pertinent to observe that Picasso became significantly attached to his Iberian identity, notably after the initiation of the conflicts that announced the Spanish Civil War in 1936. *Cahiers d'Art* played a role in this change.

Following the display of *Guernica* in the Spanish pavilion at the 1937 Parisian World's Fair Zervos gave generous space to discussions relating to the work. The texts were replete with references to Picasso's national identity.¹⁵⁹ Jean Cassou paired him with Goya and José Bergamin traced in *Guernica* an expression of what was called in the 17th century *la colère espagnole*.¹⁶⁰ Zervos nonetheless underlined in the volume on Greco that the origin of the artist was less important than the environment in which he developed.¹⁶¹ It is otherwise impossible to assume that the artist was not affected by the turn of the events in the political front of his country when the remark was made to Zervos.

¹⁵⁵ *Cahiers d'Art* 5-8, 1934. The album was announced at the price of 150 Frs including 150 pages.

¹⁵⁶ Georges Salles, 'Réflexions sur l'Art Nègre,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1927, pp. 247-254.

¹⁵⁷ Henry Monnet, 'Le Nègre et la Musique Américaine,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1927, pp. 259-260.

¹⁵⁸ It is true that most scholars have suggested the influence of African masks on Picasso's figures in the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*. However the central figures in the composition are considered as belonging to Picasso's late Iberian phase. See John Golding, *Cubism. A History and an Analysis 1907-1914*, London: Faber&Faber, 1959, pp. 53-54. See also Britta Martensen-Larsen, 'When did Picasso complete Les Demoiselles d'Avignon?' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48, 1985, p. 257.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Jonathan Brown (ed.) *Picasso and the Spanish Tradition*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996.

¹⁶⁰ Jean Cassou, 'Le Témoignage de Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4-5, 1937, p. 112. José Bergamin, 'Le Mystère Tremble. Picasso Furioso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4-5, 1937, pp. 135-139.

¹⁶¹ Of course one must consider Picasso's application for French nationality the same year, which was declined about a year later. 'Il serait faux de croire que le Greco est un artiste grec parce que la Crète fut son lieu d'origine et qu'il y fit ses études, comme il serait faux de croire que Picasso est un peintre espagnol, par le fait qu'il naquit à Malaga. Penser autrement c'est d'admettre ce que nous avons réfuté tout à l'heure qu'un artiste d'envergure n'est pas un agglomérat de circonstances physiques, mais une puissance qui les dépasse et évolue en dehors des conditions de lieu, de temps, de milieu.' Christian Zervos, *Les Œuvres du Greco en Espagne*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1939, p. LVII. Zervos was planning to publish a volume on Iberian sculpture in 1952 with reproductions coming from museums and private collections in Spain. See also André Lhote, 'Guernica par Picasso (Cahiers d'Art),' *NRF* 293, February 1938, pp. 332-334.

The second Picasso volume was published in 1942 but Zervos appears to have completed the text a few years earlier, since James Johnson Sweeney dated Picasso's report to Zervos to the spring of 1939, quoting the text that Zervos eventually published in the catalogue in a 1941 article discussing Picasso's influence from Iberian sculpture.¹⁶² Curator at MoMA since 1935, Sweeney omitted the reference to Barr's 'invalid' appreciation, as cited by Zervos. He acknowledged instead that Picasso's influence from Iberian sculpture was self-evident not only in *Les Femmes d'Alger* but also in a series of works produced in 1906, including his mask-like *Portrait of Gertrude Stein* (1905-6). Sweeney offered various examples of the possible influences that Picasso drew from Iberian sculpture but concluded that through this evidence 'it becomes evident that the *Femmes d'Alger* of 1906-1907 does not represent any specific turning point in Picasso's work so much as a large-scale embodiment of various influences which had been working on the painter's expression up to this time.'¹⁶³ Both Zervos and Barr agreed however that the work was epoch-making.¹⁶⁴ The former admitted in the catalogue that in the works produced after the *Femmes d'Alger* the influence by African art was obvious, although the artist did not copy their exterior form but kept the memory of its principle.¹⁶⁵

The originality of Picasso's plastic idiom increasingly became Zervos' primary focus. His analyses deliberately omitted the aspect of Picasso's iconographical 'borrowings' with Zervos committing himself to proving the artist's unprecedented instinctive force which maintained its originality through the survival of the cubist idiom. Zervos insisted in the third volume of the catalogue published in 30 July 1949 that the cubist principle, despite its misappropriation by contemporary artists, was omnipresent in Picasso's work throughout his career. The volume presented 465 works produced in just two years, from 1917 to 1919. Zervos refuted

¹⁶² Cf. John Golding, *Visions of the Modern*, University of California Press, 1994, p. 105-110.

¹⁶³ James Johnson Sweeney, 'Picasso and Iberian Sculpture,' *The Art Bulletin* 23, 1941, pp. 195, 191-198.

¹⁶⁴ See also Christopher Green (ed.), *Picasso's Les Femmes d'Alger*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. A thorough presentation of Picasso's sources for *Les Femmes d'Alger* is to be found in Christopher Green, *Picasso: Architecture and Vertigo*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, pp. 43-74.

¹⁶⁵ Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso : Œuvres de 1906 à 1912*, vol. 2, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1942, p. xlv. Although the two figures present obvious references to Iberian sculpture, the remaining three figures betray Picasso's response to African art. Christopher Green has suggested a wide range of visual sources that Picasso could have possibly looked at prior to his visit at the Ethnographic Museum. The influence by Gauguin is also possible. Christopher Green, *Picasso: Architecture and Vertigo*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, pp. 57-58.

the opinion that Picasso's works of 1917, created during his trip to Rome, Naples, Florence and Barcelona, were deprived of the cubist idiom. The oft-quoted influence by Ingres, he argued, was superficial and the connection of the two names unsubstantial.

That Picasso employs an invented form or uses a borrowed form more or less directly from the exterior world, here and there the form is one in his *racine*, being an organic function attached to his instinct [...] One could go further still and claim that, even from the material perspective, Ingres' influence over Picasso's works is not as convincing as one generally wants to think. The whichever borrowings Picasso could probably make from him are founded on his own technique, so that some drawing of peasants, called *Ingriste*, is closer to the works of personalities of anterior epochs than to the pencil of Ingres.¹⁶⁶

The volume reproduced many versions of Picasso's *Femme assise dans un fauteuil* including the *Portrait of Olga* and the *Portrait of Madame Rosenberg with her daughter*, both conceived in a manner evoking official portraiture of anterior epochs. It is impossible to miss here the fact that the right hand of Madame Rosenberg reposing on the decorated armchair constitutes a clear iconographical reference to two famous portraits, one by Velazquez (*Portrait of Pope Innocent X*, 1650, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome) and the other by El Greco (*Portrait of the Cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara*, c. 1600, Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y.) which more or less depict the same gesture. It is quite likely that Picasso had earlier seen El Greco's work, which was in the Durand-Ruel collection between 1901 and 1904 before its eventual purchase by Henry Osborn Havemeyer.¹⁶⁷ The same gesture also occurs in Titian's *Portrait of Pope Paul III Farnese* (1543, Art History Museum, Vienna) and *Portrait of Cardinal Filippo Archinto* (1550, Metropolitan Museum of Art). Picasso's *Portrait of Madame Wildenstein* (1918) was drawn in a similar manner. The references here were more direct than the borrowings in iconography derived from Ingres' *Turkish Bath* where the gestures of three figures were 'copied' in a distinct

¹⁶⁶ Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso : Œuvres de 1917 à 1919*, vol. 3, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, p. x-xi. 'Que Picasso fasse usage d'une forme inventée ou qu'il se serve d'une forme empruntée plus ou moins directement au monde extérieur, ici et là la forme est une dans sa racine, étant fonction organique incrustée dans son instinct [...] On pourrait aller plus loin encore et soutenir que, même sur le plan matériel, l'influence d'Ingres sur les œuvres de Picasso d'alors, n'est pas aussi probante qu'on voudrait généralement le laisser entendre. Les quelques emprunts que Picasso a pu peut-être lui faire sont si bien fondus dans sa propre technique, que tel dessin de paysans, dénommé *ingriste*, est bien plus près des personnages de ses époques antérieures que du crayon d'Ingres.'

¹⁶⁷ A reproduction of El Greco's portrait appeared in Maurice Barrès, *Greco ou le Secret de Tolède*, Paris : Emile-Paul, 1912, pp. 56-57. Considering the references in the contemporary press, the work must have been well-known.

style by Picasso in his *Bathers* of 1918, a work reproduced on the cover of *Cahiers d'Art* in 1926.¹⁶⁸

Needless to say, this 1918 series of portraits was obviously traditionalist. The cubist element that Zervos declared omnipresent was totally absent in the final works. To Léonce Rosenberg's disappointment, Picasso was well aware of this regressive turn in his style which, according to Michael Fitzgerald, was the result of his involvement with Paul Rosenberg's gallery. Rosenberg's wife did not like the portrait preferring to have posed instead for the Italian portrait painter Giovanni Boldini. Fitzgerald mentions that Picasso signed one of his drawings as 'Boldini,' treating with irony the attitude of Rosenberg's wife.¹⁶⁹ The Picasso catalogue certainly played a role in influencing the manner of judgements. Picasso's preliminary sketches for the theme *Femme assise dans un Fauteuil* published in the catalogue (cat. nos. 166-173) rendered evident that the artist started from cubism to end with a traditional synthesis, vindicating Zervos' claims.



24. Pablo Picasso, *Portrait of Madame Rosenberg and her Daughter*, 1918, Musée Picasso, Paris.

25. Pablo Picasso, *Studies for the Femme assise dans un fauteuil*, 1918 (Zervos, 1949, nos. 172-173).

Zervos was arguably more open to accept in Picasso any influence other than those associated with aspects of classicism, as was the case with Ingres. In 1936, he

¹⁶⁸ Cf. John Golding, *Visions of the Modern*, University of California Press, 1994, p. 105. Christopher Green, *Cubism and its Enemies: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art: 1916-1928*, Yale University Press, 1987, p. 58-59.

¹⁶⁹ Michael FitzGerlad, *Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth Century Art*, University of California Press, 1996, pp. 84-86. Rosenberg's wife did not appreciate Picasso's portrait and she allegedly had said that she would prefer Boldini to paint it. See Roland Penrose, *Picasso, His Life and Work*, University of California Press, 1981, p. 224. John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso: The Triumphant Years, 1917-1932*, Knopf Doubleday, 2008, p. 90.

published a small album sold at 45 Frs with reproductions of Matthias Grünewald's Isenheim altarpiece from the Unterlinden museum of Colmar completed between 1512 and 1516.¹⁷⁰ The volume was dedicated to Picasso and Eluard. Between 1930 and 1932 Picasso produced a series of studies after Grünewald's *Crucifixion*, the central theme of the altarpiece. The first was surrealist in its conception, the second biomorphic following the style he introduced earlier at Dinard. A lot of discussion has been made around Picasso's contact with the masterpiece involving Zervos' album and Breton's reference to the artist in *Le Surréalisme et la Peinture* as possible influences.¹⁷¹ The first case is unlikely. Zervos' album was not in preparation when Picasso produced these works. In fact Zervos visited Colmar to take photographs of the altarpiece in March 1936.¹⁷² The only connection one can draw between the works by Picasso and Zervos' album is the increased interest in and the controversy around Grünewald's identity that attracted scholarly and artistic attention since the late 1920s. Hans Haug and Hans Naumann identified the artist with Mathis Nithart, who was previously considered as Grünewald's follower or assistant.¹⁷³ The Isenheim altarpiece was initially attributed by scholars to Durer, although the styles of the two painters demonstrated significant contradictions.

The new evidence became an issue of inquiry among French scholars. Louis Réau attempted to give a quasi-French identity to Grünewald's early training.¹⁷⁴ The interesting point in the re-appreciation of Grünewald's life and work was that most scholars agreed that his art demonstrates no familiarity or apparent links with Renaissance aesthetics while his alleged trip to Italy remained unconfirmed and to some unlikely. The new evidence would certainly have impressed Zervos who started paying close attention to the German artist, possibly after 1932, when Picasso produced these works. Picasso, on the other hand, must have been aware of the 'noise'

¹⁷⁰ A review was published by Michel Florisoan, 'Les Livres d'Art,' *Marianne*, 7 April 1937, p. 5.

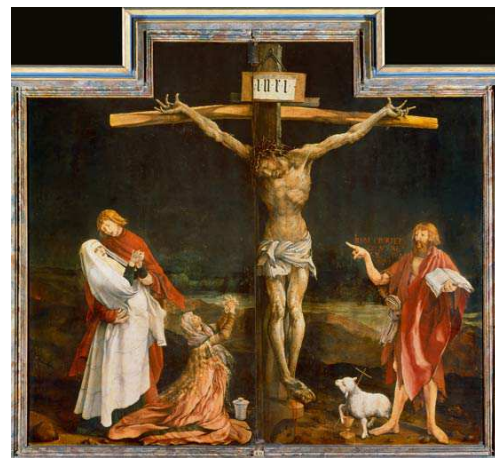
¹⁷¹ Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, 'The Essence of Agony: Grünewald's Influence on Picasso,' *Artibus et Historiae* 26, 1992, p. 400. See also Ruth Kaufmann, 'Picasso's Crucifixion of 1930,' *The Burlington Magazine* 798, 1969, pp. 553-561. John Golding, *Visions of the Modern*, University of California Press, 1994, p. 84.

¹⁷² 'Je me suis arrêté à Colmar, et j'ai fait faire les photos pour Grünewald. Ce volume pourra paraître en Mai ; il sera composé de 30 planches pleine page de format plus grande que L'ART EN GRÈCE. Les titres sur les planches seront imprimés en 3 langues (français, allemand, anglais. Le texte sera court maximum 4 pages), et il sera en français pour l'édition française. Le prix de vente sera de Frs 30. Prix pour 1000 ex. Frs. 13, 50. Pour 1500 ex. Frs 12' C. Z., letter to Edwin Landau, Berlin, 26 March 1936. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 6, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁷³ Hans H. Naumann, *Das Grünewaldproblem und das neuentdeckte Selbstbildnis des gwanzigjoedrigen Matthis Nithart aus dem Jahre 1475*, Iena, 1930.

¹⁷⁴ Louis Réau, *L'Art Primitif et l'Art Médiéval*, vol.2 of the series Histoire Universelle des Arts, Paris: A. Colin, 1934.

around Grünewald's name when he dealt with the *Crucifixion* in 1930.¹⁷⁵ The iconography was nonetheless significantly different.¹⁷⁶ Although it is likely that Picasso had seen the work through reproductions, he appears to have visited Colmar two years later, when a second series of drawings on the *Crucifixion* was produced in Boisgeloup which was closer to Grünewald's iconography. John Richardson informs us that Picasso confided to Kahnweiler that he would visit Colmar upon his return from the trip to Zurich on the occasion of his first museum retrospective in 1932.¹⁷⁷ The visit to Colmar could not but concern the close observation of Grünewald's altarpiece.



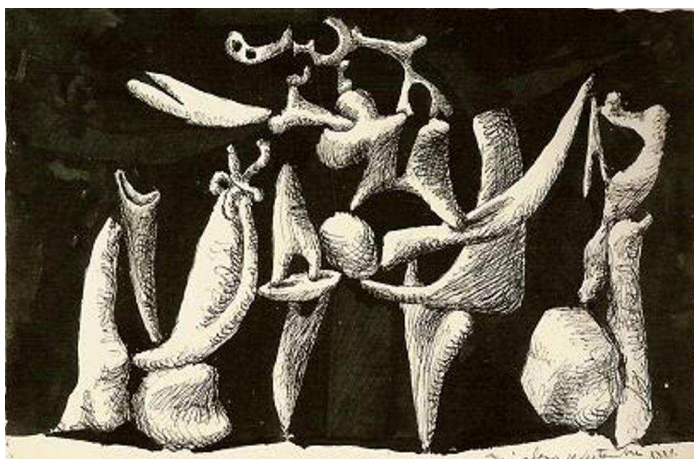
26. Pablo Picasso, *Crucifixion*, 1930, Musée Picasso, Paris.

27. Matthias Grünewald, *Crucifixion from the Isenheim triptych*, Unterlinden Museum, Colmar.

¹⁷⁵ Picasso also produced a drawing in 1927.

¹⁷⁶ Barr described the work as a potpourri of traditional iconography. He furthermore identified in the face of Christ the influence of Cycladic idols. Alfred Barr (1946), *Picasso: Fifty Years of his Art*, N.Y.: MoMA, 1980, p. 67. The composition contradicted Gospel narratives pointing to influences from Mithraic rituals and other primitive painted scenes that Picasso could have seen in *Documents*. C. F. B. Miller, 'Bataille with Picasso: Crucifixion (1930) and Apocalypse,' *Papers of Surrealism* 7, 2007, pp. 3-4. See also Jane Dillenberger and John Handley, *The Religious Art of Pablo Picasso*, New Haven: University of California Press, 2014.

¹⁷⁷ John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso: The Triumphant Years, 1917-1932*, Knopf Doubleday, 2008, pp. 486.



28. Pablo Picasso, *Crucifixion*, 1932, Musée Picasso, Paris.

29. Pablo Picasso, *Seated Bather*, 1930, N.Y., MoMA.

That Paul Fierens published a detailed analysis in three parts of the debate over Grünewald's identity in 1936 is telling, for the character of Zervos' album could not have been timelier, situated at the culmination of the named debate.¹⁷⁸ Zervos as expected focused on the *actualité* of Grünewald who managed to express – without being expressionist – the world of his thoughts 'spiritualised by the dreams of the Middle-Ages and the beginning of a Renaissance traversed by neo-Platonist thought to high mystical temperature.'¹⁷⁹ This was in fact the transitional period that Zervos particularly favoured – the prolific era that prepared the passage from the Middle-Ages to the Renaissance. Zervos was obviously aware of the debate over the identity of Grünewald's influences a fact that is evident in the text which treated such opinions with disbelief but avoided becoming involved in the discussion over the training of the artist.¹⁸⁰ He affirmed instead that 'Grünewald is not of one nationality, not even of one school [...] He is neither Greek, nor Gothic, neither German, nor Italian, he is all of them at the same time, since he is Grünewald.'¹⁸¹ Similarly to his appreciations of Picasso, Zervos insisted that the problem of Grünewald's early training is less important, since without the artist's genius no influence can produce similar works.

¹⁷⁸ Paul Fierens, 'Mathis Nithart dit Grünewald I,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 2 April 1936, p. 3. Paul Fierens, 'Mathis Nithart dit Grünewald II,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 14 April 1936, p. 3. Paul Fierens, 'Mathis Nithart dit Grünewald III,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 3 May 1936, p. 3. For a review of Zervos' album see D. de Charnage, 'Grünewald,' *La Croix*, 30 April 1937, n.p.

¹⁷⁹ Christian Zervos, *Grünewald: Le Retable d'Isenheim au Musée des Interlinden à Colmar*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1936, p.III.

¹⁸⁰ See Paul Fierens, 'Analyses Photographiques,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 30 June 1937, p. 4.

¹⁸¹ Christian Zervos, *Grünewald: Le Retable d'Isenheim au Musée des Interlinden à Colmar*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1936, p.III.

All that matters, Zervos noted evoking his personal reading of Picasso, is ‘the agitating consequences of the model over a vast personality which [...] profoundly modifies the model, destroys it by using it. I want to say, Zervos added, that originality does not consist in making what has never been made, but in being able to absorb and transform what has been done, but in such a particular manner that the derived work becomes original.’¹⁸²

One encounters with surprise Zervos’ total change in his approach to the artist many years later in 1960. In a text discussing Picasso’s confrontation with works from the past, published as an introduction to the presentation of his variations of Velazquez’s *Las Meninas*, Zervos named one after another the paintings after which Picasso had worked. He furthermore affirmed that the artist not only copied from the masters of the past, but also borrowed directly from journal illustrations (*La Famille de Napoleon III*) and photographs, as was the case with his *Danseuses*, *Paysans Italiens* and *Portrait de Renoir* drawings. His drawing *Le Ménage Sisley*, Zervos confirmed, was copied directly from Renoir’s *Les Fiancés*. At the age of 18, Picasso started working after Lautrec, Carrière and Steinlen. Zervos even relinquished here his obstinate refusal to accept the influence by Ingres noting that ‘the necessity to please his creative faculties led him to become attentive to Ingres’ lessons, to conform to the firm, somber and pure character of his forms, or even to borrow elements from his personalities, a hand for example, and adapt them to his own figures.’¹⁸³

It was in 1944 when Picasso turned to artists with whom he shared an aesthetic consanguinity producing drawings after Poussin’s *Triomphe de Pan*. Between 1940 and 1945, Zervos reported the influence of Cranach over a series of Picasso’s linocuts created after his *David et Bethsabée* and *Venus et l’Amour*. In 1950 he turned to Greco (*Portrait d’un Artiste*) and Courbet (*Les Demoiselles des Bords de la Seine*), although he moved beyond his models avoiding being descriptive. Between 1954 and 1955, Picasso produced 15 versions of Delacroix’s *Femmes d’Alger* in the Louvre with Zervos also citing its variant at the Musée Fabre in Montpellier as a possible source.

It is evident that these appreciations were shaped independently from Picasso’s dictations with Zervos discussing with unprecedented honesty and

¹⁸² Christian Zervos, *Grünewald: Le Retable d’Isenheim au Musée des Interlinden à Colmar*, Paris: Cahiers d’Art, 1936, p.II.

¹⁸³ Christian Zervos, ‘Confrontations de Picasso avec des Œuvres d’Art d’autrefois,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 33-35, 1960, p. 12.

objectivity Picasso's work. He went indeed so far as using the word 'replica' in his references to the influence by Delacroix. The text was by no means polemical. Zervos insisted on Picasso's original approach to the themes that he borrowed but it appears that it mattered less now to defend Picasso creative genius than to associate his evolution with that of the great masters of the past.¹⁸⁴ The influence of Malraux's writings should not be neglected in this respect. The author and later important factor in French cultural life summed up the entire scope of ideas and appreciations that were circulated among Parisian artistic and intellectual circles between the wars and adjusted it to the cultural concerns of his *Psychologie de l'Art*. Malraux identified earlier in the confrontation of modern artists with the works of the past an existential struggle, the eternal conflict of men with their destiny, that served the veritable ends of art to leave the mark of its existence to the universe. Malraux nonetheless never found a place in the content of *Cahiers d'Art*, as was the case with the rival publication *Verve* which offered generous space to his texts.¹⁸⁵

Objet/Sujet - Abstraction/Surrealism

Everyone knows that there is no surrealist painting.¹⁸⁶ –Pierre Naville, 1925

There is no abstract art. One must always start from something. One may afterwards remove every appearance of reality; there is no longer danger, since the idea of the object has left an ineffaceable impression [...] there is not, not anymore, figurative and non-figurative art. Everything appears in forms of figures. Even in metaphysics the ideas are expressed by figures [...] A person, an object, a circle, are figures.¹⁸⁷ Picasso, 1935

¹⁸⁴ 'Refaites par Picasso, selon ses vues et les intérêts de ses recherches, *Les Femmes d'Alger* se sont substituées aux effigies de Delacroix. Non seulement Picasso n'hésite pas à bouleverser l'ordre de la scène agencée par Delacroix, mais il se donne toute liberté d'intervenir dans la constitution plastique de l'original, de le soumettre aux exigences de sa vision et de le plier aux soins qu'il donne à son style.' Christian Zervos, 'Confrontations de Picasso avec des Œuvres d'Art d'autrefois,' *Cahiers d'Art* 33-35, 1960, p. 26.

¹⁸⁵ See Chara Kolokytha, 'The Art Press and Visual Culture in Paris during the Great Depression: *Cahiers d'Art*, *Minotaure* and *Verve*,' *Visual Resources* 29, 2013, pp. 184-215. Commenting on René Huyghe's book *Dialogue avec le Visible*, Dora Vallier made a passing reference to Malraux's *Psychologie de l'Art* published by Skira. She wrote: 'Livre éblouissant à certains égards, mais étourdissant aussi avec ses brusques sauts, avec ses confrontations d'expressions d'art si rapidement faites, qu'elles paraissent infondées, dufait même qu'elles demeurent insaisissables.' D. V., 'Livres d'Art et Expositions,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1956-1957, p. 409.

¹⁸⁶ Pierre Naville, 'Beaux Arts,' *La Révolution Surréaliste* 3, 1925, p. 27 'Personne n'ignore qu'il n'y a pas de peinture surréaliste. Ni les traits du crayon livré au hasard des gestes, ni l'image retraçant les figures de rêves ni les fantaisies imaginatives, c'est bien entendu, ne peuvent être ainsi qualifiés.'

¹⁸⁷ Christian Zervos, 'Conversations avec Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-10, 1935, pp. 173-191. 'Il n'y a pas d'art abstrait. Il faut toujours commencer par quelque chose. On peut ensuite enlever toute apparence de réalité; il n'y a plus de danger, car l'idée de l'objet a laissé une empreinte ineffaceable [...] Il n'y a pas, non plus, d'art figuratif et non figuratif. Toutes choses nous apparaissent sous formes de figures [...] Un personnage, un objet, un cercle, sont des figures.'

Picasso's positioning with respect to abstract art was almost identical to the ideas diffused by Zervos in *Cahiers d'Art* since 1926. The latter was reluctant to employ the term abstraction in his discussions of the artists that he supported, as was earlier the case with his references to Kandinsky. Similarly, he refrained from involving Picasso with surrealism as Einstein did earlier in *Documents*, insisting on the artist's concrete effort to transform reality rather than inventing it anew. It would be false to claim instead that *Cahiers d'Art* encouraged figuration. On the contrary, the aspects of abstraction that the magazine promoted concerned a synthetic approach to reality with descriptive elements being reduced to essential figuration, as was the case with primitive art and the representation of the world in children's drawings.¹⁸⁸ The simplicity of forms directed the eye of the primitive creator. Mühlestein had argued in *Cahiers d'Art* that it was an error to consider naturalism as precedent of Neolithic abstraction since both expressions co-existed since the Palaeolithic era.¹⁸⁹ It was this kind of synthesis that Zervos favoured thinking of it as a subjectified poetic approach to visual reality that opposed direct representation of the exterior world (literature).

In 'Fernand Léger et la Poésie de l'Objet,' Zervos observed that the most striking element in the artist's drawings was the transpositions that the objects became subject to. 'Thanks to these transpositions [...] we lose contact with the objects' resemblance to think only of the last representation which is a pure poetic evocation.'¹⁹⁰ *Cahiers d'Art* became increasingly preoccupied with poetry *per se*. The special numbers on Picasso not only included poems by his surrealist friends and his supporters, but also a series of prose-poems by the artist himself presented by Jaime Sabartés. The texts constitute a written version of Picasso's canvases demonstrating

¹⁸⁸ Zervos wrote in 1926 : 'L'enfant réalise ainsi des peintures qui sont l'impression directe de ce qu'il voit et des rapports qu'il discerne entre les objets. On n'y distingue que des vellétés de synthèse [...] Mais si l'enfant ne peut atteindre à la vraie synthèse, à plus forte raison il ne peut atteindre à l'abstraction. Je répondrai à mon ami Lipchitz, qui reprochait aux oeuvres des enfants mexicains de se tenir uniquement à l'imitation de la nature, qu'il serait monstrueux de demander à l'enfant de poursuivre l'abstraction. Les idées abstraites supposent une réduction au minimum du mouvement, ce qui est contraire comme nous l'avons vu à la nature de l'enfant. Les idées abstraites étant comme on dit couramment, des représentations de représentations, de purs schemas, des extraits fixes par un signe, l'élément moteur s'appauvrit dans la même mesure que l'élément représentatif.' Christian Zervos, 'Peintures d'Enfants,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7, 1926, pp. 175-176.

¹⁸⁹ Hans Mühlestein, 'Des Origines de l'Art et de la Culture : I. Remarques Préliminaires,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1930, p. 64.

¹⁹⁰ Christian Zervos, 'Fernand Léger et la Poésie de l'Objet,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, p. 99.

constant alteration in the 'narrative' which was not interrupted by full stops. For Picasso, Breton affirmed, poetry was not a *violon d'Ingres*, a hobby.¹⁹¹

The special number on Braque included a discussion on 'La qualité poétique de ses tableaux.' In 1933 Zervos launched in collaboration with Pierre Guéguen another magazine, *14 rue Dragon: Revue mensuelle. Lettres, Arts, Philosophie, Documents, Spectacles, Actualités*,¹⁹² in a print-run of 1.500, devoted to poetry and literature. It was a second short-lived effort after *Feuilles Volantes* to isolate in *Cahiers d'Art* discussions strictly associated with art historical matters and reports on the international recognition of contemporary art. The surrealist element was eminent in the content of the new quarterly which in reality introduced the pattern that Tériade and Raynal's *La Bête Noire* would adopt about a year later. It nonetheless had the same fortune as *Feuilles Volantes* interrupting its publication about a year later.

Tériade's 1930 'Documentaire sur la Jeune Peinture' series in combination with relative articles published in *L'Intransigeant* are revealing of the way abstract art was viewed as an undesirable academic consequence of cubism. The references were nonetheless reduced to geometrical abstraction. Though Kandinsky presented these articles to his Bauhaus students, Mondrian felt offended by the way Neoplasticism was treated by Tériade as a decorative style. The artist wrote a long letter defending Neoplasticism against Tériade's misunderstanding of its principle. A revised part of the letter was published the next year in *Cahiers d'Art* but excluded the comments referring to Tériade.¹⁹³ It was probably not a coincidence that the latter ended his collaboration with the magazine shortly afterwards, although it is also likely that the

¹⁹¹ André Breton, 'Picasso Poète,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-10, 1935, p. 185.

¹⁹²Text announcing the publication: '14 rue du dragon, lettres, arts, philosophie, documents, spectacles, actualités. Paraît le 10 mars 1933. Le numéro 3 F. 14 n'est pas un journal de plus venant s'ajouter aux innombrables journaux qui recouvrent la surface de la terre sur plusieurs épaisseurs. 14 n'est pas une revue de plus venant augmenter le nombre des revues distinguées, si distinguées que plusieurs ont déjà l'œil vitreux des statues et la circulation académique. 14 n'est pas un magazine de plus, essayant de concurrencer de brillants confrères dont les photos vous administrent du bromure à haute dose. 14 est un microcosme, un abrégé de tous ces mondes: journal par le pliage en apparence seulement compliqué; en réalité vite pratique. Revue par la qualité de ses textes demandés, autant que possible, à de jeunes auteurs encore en-deçà du projecteur, et que le public aura plaisir à découvrir et à juger. Magazine enfin, par quelques photographies d'actualité et d'art, dont une reproduction doublement magistrale, qui développera chez le lecteur le sens de l'art moderne, comme les textes développeront en lui celui des lettres modernes: tous deux composant un humanisme nouveau. Sa méthode correspond à la synthèse même réalisée par sa formule technique, est...Sélection d'abord. 14 ne publiera que ce qui vaut le peine d'être LU; ne parlera que de ce qui vaut la peine d'être VU. Et s'il n'atteint pas du premier coup à la perfection, il y visera du moins en toute sincérité. Enfin, selon le mot de Péguy il publiera des textes propres, avec une encre propre et des caractères propres, sur du papier propre. Il fait déjà mieux, puisque son papier et sa typographie sont beaux et que le satisfecit du mot propre convient seulement à son prix.'

¹⁹³ Piet Mondrian, 'De l'Art Abstrait,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1931, pp. 41-43.

development was motivated by Zervos' difficult financial situation at the time. Mondrian underlined several inconsistencies in the criticism of both Tériade and Zervos that literally rendered justice to his art practice. He wrote:

In *l'Intransigent* of March 11th, Mr Tériade fairly opposes superficial and empty imitations of cubism. But, as he says himself, we can also complain that all the paintings become mournful schemes of learned formulas, if, in fact, no one responds to them [...] But I reach to what seems to me misunderstood by Mr Tériade, which is that he sees neoplasticism itself as not being real painting (he says that much more clearly in a recent publication) as 'strictly decorative' [...] Neoplasticism is neither decorative painting nor geometrical painting. Only in the appearance. To explain this, we have to demonstrate how it was born out of cubism. But here is another point that Mr Tériade does not admit. It is true that the cubist 'work' cannot have the right to be continued, to be developed: that it is perfect in itself. But it is not correct that cubism as a plastic expression cannot be perfected nor continued. On the contrary, art history clearly shows us that plasticity is a continuous evolution [...] And, as Mr Zervos has said 'the glory of contemporary painting was to have succeeded in detaching itself from the necessities of literal figuration.' However, neither cubism nor Purism realised that completely. Only neoplasticism did that. Thereby it continued both cubism and Purism, as all movements continued the effort of previous epochs [...] Evidently, the cubist work, perfect in itself, could not further perfect itself after its culmination. It was left with two solutions: either to retreat, on the natural side, or to continue its plasticity towards the abstract, that is to become neoplasticism. It is reasonable that the cubist artists themselves could not take the latter step: that would be denying their nature.¹⁹⁴

Mondrian's text was published in fact as a response to a *Cahiers d'Art* survey on abstract art in 1931. That the survey was launched as a declaration of impartiality on the part of the magazine - as mentioned in its introduction - is telling, for it overtly

¹⁹⁴ Piet Mondrian, letter to *Cahiers d'Art*, 25 March 1930. Archives Tériade, Musée Matisse, Le Cateau Cambrésis. For the whole text see APPENDIX 1A. 'Dans l'*Intransigent* du 11 mars, M. Tériade s'oppose très justement aux imitations superficielles et vides du cubisme. Mais, comme il le dit lui-même, on peut tout aussi bien se plaindre du fait que toutes les peintures deviennent de mornes schèmes de formules apprises, si, au fond, personne ne répond d'elles [...] Mais j'arrive à ce qui me paraît être mal compris par M. Tériade, c'est-à-dire qu'il voit la néoplastique elle-même comme n'étant pas de la vraie peinture et (il dit cela plus clairement encore dans une autre publication récente) comme 'strictement décorative' [...] Or, la néoplastique n'est ni peinture décorative ni peinture géométrique. Elle en a seulement l'apparence. Pour expliquer cela, nous devons démontrer comment elle est née du cubisme. Mais voici encore un point que M. Tériade n'admet pas. Il est bien vrai que 'l'œuvre' cubiste n'a pas la faculté d'être continuée, d'être développée : qu'elle est parfaite en elle-même. Mais il n'est pas exact que le cubisme en tant qu'expression plastique ne peut se parfaire ni être continué. Au contraire, l'histoire de l'art nous démontre clairement que la plastique est une évolution continue. [...] Or, comme M. Zervos l'a dit 'la gloire de la peinture contemporaine fut d'avoir réussi à se détacher des nécessités de la figuration littérale'. Néanmoins, ni le cubisme ni le Purisme n'ont porté cela jusqu'à la réalité. C'est seulement la néoplastique qui a fait cela. De cette façon elle a continué et le cubisme et le Purisme, tout comme ces mouvements ont continué l'effort des époques précédentes [...] Evidemment, l'œuvre cubiste, parfaite en elle-même, ne pouvait se perfectionner encore après sa culmination. Il lui resta deux solutions : ou reculer, côté naturel, ou bien continuer sa plastique vers l'abstrait, c'est-à-dire devenir la néoplastique. Il est logique que les artistes cubistes eux-mêmes ne pouvaient faire ce dernier pas : ce serait nier leur nature.'

confirmed through that reference its reduced interest in abstract art. However, about a year later, Zervos had Mondrian's works hung on the walls of his office.¹⁹⁵ This was in fact the first time that a systematic report in defence of abstract art appeared in *Cahiers d'Art* calling upon artists to comment on four common accusations against abstract style: its cerebral excessiveness, its geometric objectiveness at the expense of emotion, its employment of purely ornamental forms, its leading towards an impasse with regards to possibilities of artistic evolution and development.¹⁹⁶ Léger and Kandinsky replied in defence of abstract art but seemed to distance themselves from the concept.¹⁹⁷ Arp, Baumeister and Mondrian were more apologetic.¹⁹⁸ The survey concluded with the response of the director of the museum of Hannover Alexander Dörner, who affirmed that abstract painting was a historically necessary phenomenon of great importance which was why a room was reserved for it in the Hannover museum.¹⁹⁹ The survey coincided with a small Picasso show at the Galerie Paul Rosenberg, displaying all in all eight works: four recent paintings and four canvases of anterior epochs. Zervos once again insisted that no matter how many times Picasso changed his style there were elements inherent in each composition that betrayed a unique creator.²⁰⁰ Pierre Guéguen remarked however, a few pages before the conclusion of the survey on abstract art, that the confrontation of the recent works of Picasso which signify a 'retour à l'objet' with his abstract works such as the *Trois Masques* of 1921 'affirms and resumes the admirable variations embroidered by Picasso on his vision *de-tout-le-monde*.'

Guéguen described Picasso as both primitive and cerebral. 'Primitive because he naturally remounts to the anecdote' and 'cerebral, because he begets at an epoch when everything has been said.'²⁰¹ In a second study on the conjunction of sensual reality and abstraction in the work of Laurens, Guéguen underlined the French idiom

¹⁹⁵ List of exhibition in the gallery *Cahiers d'Art* cited in Christian Derouet (ed.), *Cahiers d'Art. Musée Zervos à Vézelay*, Paris : Hazan, 2006. See also Christian Derouet, 'Correspondance de Mondrian avec Léonce Rosenberg et Christian Zervos,' in Brigitte Leal (ed.) *Mondrian*, Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2010, pp. 125-142.

¹⁹⁶ 'De l'Art Abstrait I,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1931, p. 41.

¹⁹⁷ Fernand Léger, 'De l'Art Abstrait II,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1931, pp. 151-152. Wassily Kandinsky, 'De l'Art Abstrait IV,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1931, pp. 351-353.

¹⁹⁸ Piet Mondrian, 'De l'Art Abstrait,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1931, p. 41-43. Willi Baumeister, 'De l'Art Abstrait III,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4, 1931, pp. 215-216. Hans Arp, 'De l'Art Abstrait IV,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1931, pp. 357-358.

¹⁹⁹ Alexander Dörner, 'Considérations sur la Signification de l'Art Abstrait,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1931, pp. 354-357.

²⁰⁰ Christian Zervos, 'A propos de la dernière Exposition Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1931, p. 325.

²⁰¹ Pierre Guéguen, 'Picasso et le Métapicassisme,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1931, p. 326.

of the artist which was closer to the Cartesian clarity of Braque but significantly distant from the quests of Picasso, Gris and Lipchitz. It was in the late 1920s, he added, that - together with Arp, Miró and the creators of surrealist objects of symbolic function - art marked an abrupt passage from abstraction to the object, as was the case with Picasso. Laurens remained nonetheless faithful to the human figure reconciling abstraction and sensual reality²⁰² – an aspect that Tériade exalted a few years later in *Verve* notably through the example of Matisse. Up to 1934, when he opened his own gallery, Zervos refrained from employing the term abstract to describe works by Kandinsky, Arp, Taeuber-Arp and Héliou, the first artists that were given shows in his gallery. This position progressively changed, culminating in the 1937 show *Origines et Développement de l'Art International Indépendant* at the Jeu de Paume.

The publication of *Le Nombre d'Or* by Matila Ghyka in 1932, furnished the occasion for further explanation of the role of mathematics in the domain of architecture. Zervos underlined that the 'preponderance given by Le Corbusier to the Section d'Or since *l'Esprit Nouveau* was pillaged by young architects precisely lacking in talent thanks to which Le Corbusier could surmount the feebleness of the golden section.' This was comparable to the adherence of Renaissance scholars to Pythagorean theories which prevented Renaissance artists from adhering to neo-Platonist ideas.²⁰³ Frank Lloyd Wright – Zervos published a volume on his work in 1928²⁰⁴ - addressed the same year a manifesto to European architects and critics underlining the dangers that modern architecture faced through its attachment to geometry. Wright's 'organic evolution' opposed, according to Behrendt, Le Corbusier's inclination to mathematics and formalism, forming two distinct schools to which modern architects faced the dilemma of adhesion. The American architect resisted the excess of geometry of the Machine Age casting doubt over the prospect of an international style. The manifesto Giedion noted postulated individual rights through the aspect of 'organic evolution.'²⁰⁵ The passage from the geometric and the

²⁰² Pierre Guéguen, 'La Conjonction de la Réalité et de l'Abstraction dans l'œuvre de Henri Laurens,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-2, 1932, pp. 52, 54. Precisely the same remarks were made on Jawlensky by Will Grohmann, 'L'Evolution de la Figure chez Jawlensky. De la Réalité Sensuelle à l'Expression Spirituelle,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-8, 1934, pp. 193-196.

²⁰³ Anon., 'Le Nombre d'Or par Matila C. Ghyka,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6-7, 1932, p. 306.

²⁰⁴ *Frank Lloyd Wright*, intr. H. R. Hitchcock, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1928. The volume was part of the series *Les Maîtres de l'Architecture Contemporaine*.

²⁰⁵ 'Ne croyez pas [...] que la mathématique soit musique, bien que la musique soit de la mathématique sublimisée. Et tout de même, la géométrie de la ligne droite et de la surface plane de l'ère de la machine, n'est point de l'architecture [...] Un style international est un épouvantable

functional to the organic found diverse expressions in both art and architecture constituting an aspect that current scholarship has, by and large, neglected.

In the increasingly politicised climate of the 1930s abstraction was progressively viewed as the scapegoat, an isolated from society art for art's sake. It is interesting that these responses in defence of abstract art were published together with reports on the latest architectural developments in Stalinist Russia.²⁰⁶ Zervos maintained his sympathy for the Stalinist reforms up to 1934, when he publicly expressed his disappointment with the Palais des Soviets project. His involvement with the surrealists had certainly played a role in this change. The suppression of avant-garde art in Russia was a transparent reality since the beginning of the 1920s with Lenin's attempts to banish what he thought of as the 'infantile disorder of Leftism.'²⁰⁷ Films became increasingly an explicit organ of Soviet propaganda with the rise of Stalin. *Cahiers d'Art* was tolerant of these developments for quite some time. Bernard Brunius presented in the magazine four Soviet cultural or more precisely propaganda films (*La Terre*, *Enthousiasme*, *Le Chemin de la Vie*, *Le Miracle de Saint Georgeon*) dealing with agriculture, antireligious struggle, industrial progress and elevation of childhood; the 'holy' quadruplet of the Soviet agenda. He nonetheless declared that his approach to them could only be aesthetic and pictorial given that his role as a French critic prohibited him from seeing them from the point of view of the audience they were addressed to, the proletariat. In fact the films were inaccessible to the French proletariat since their projection was limited to a restricted number of revolutionary intellectuals, a fact that was highlighted in the text.²⁰⁸

The film *Chemin de la Vie* was as a matter of fact denounced about a year later as a product of ignominious propaganda in a letter published in *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution* by Ferdinand Alquié. Breton's consent to publish the letter cost him his expulsion from the upcoming *Congrès des Écrivains et Artistes Pour la Défense de la Culture*. The surrealists released the manifesto 'Du Temps que les Surréalistes avaient Raison' as a reaction against the Stalinist intellectuals who had them excluded from the congress. Breton's speech was eventually read by Eluard in

cauchemar' cited in Siegfried Giedion, 'Les Problèmes Actuels de l'Architecture à l'occasion d'un Manifeste de Frank Lloyd Wright aux Architectes et Critiques de l'Europe,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-2, 1932, pp. 69-73.

²⁰⁶ Anon., 'Le Palais de Culture à Léninegrad,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1931, p. 384.

²⁰⁷ See also Alfred Barr, *Cubism and Abstract Art* (1936), N. Y.: MoMA and Arno Press, 1966, p. 16.

²⁰⁸ Jacques Bernard Brunius, 'Films Soviétiques: La Terre – Enthousiasme – Le Chemin de la Vie – Le Miracle de Saint-Georgeon,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9-10, 1931, pp. 433-436.

an expectedly hostile environment.²⁰⁹ A brief report from the part of surrealists with regards to the A.E.A.R. Congress was published in *Cahiers d'Art* in 1935. A second note was signed by Vitezslav Nezval.²¹⁰

Zervos' introduction to the 1932 *Cahiers d'Art* survey on 'Spiritual Values,' run by Henri Sérouya, was titled 'Vie Spirituelle ou Activité Utile?' It marked Zervos remoteness from art's purely utilitarian role giving prominent place to spiritual values. Obviously influenced by the developments in the political front, Zervos cited the example of Russia but was highly apologetic about what has been generally considered as an intensively materialist orientation on the part of the Soviets. This orientation, he declared, was 'the provisional consequence of primordial necessities that force all Soviet activities to turn for some time towards the realisation of a vast economic plan susceptible to permitting the Russian republics to bring their economy in accord with those of other great states, since the problem of the soviet people is their very existence.' A certain position-taking is self-evident in the text. Zervos however admitted that it would be unthinkable for the Soviet leaders to commit the error of circumscribing human activity exclusively to practical ends.²¹¹

The survey coincided with a show in the Galerie Charpentier organised by the phalange of the *Temps Présent* group presided by Lhote. It mainly displayed works by artists involved in leftist politics such as Gromaire, Alix, Lhote, Bazaine, Favory, Goerg, Delaunay but also Matisse. The group focused on the technical aspects of painting neglecting, as the commentator of *L'Art et les Artistes* noticed, the spirituality and philosophical preoccupations of Braque, Miró, Picasso, Ernst and Tanguy²¹² – artists championed in *Cahiers d'Art*. The special *Cahiers d'Art* number on Matisse's drawings in 1936 was arguably motivated by the artist's involvement in the show and the recent triptych mural that he produced for Albert Barnes with Zervos' text focusing entirely on associating technical quality and spiritual energy by pairing them with the surrealist technique of automatism.²¹³ It is interesting that Sérouya's survey published answers by several members of the Institute and

²⁰⁹ Clifford Browder, *André Breton, Arbiter of Surrealism*, Droz, 1967, pp. 33-35.

²¹⁰ Marcel Jean and Léo Malet, 'Qui! Ce sont Toujours les mêmes Méthodes !,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-6, 1935, p. 114. Vitezslav Nezval, 'Bases d'un Congrès International des Ecrivains,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-6, 1935, p. 132.

²¹¹ Christian Zervos, 'Vie Spirituelle ou Activité Utile?,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-2, 1932, p. 6.

²¹² M [ichel] F[lorissone], 'Exposition du Temps Présent,' *L'Art et les Artistes* 29, February 1935, pp. 177-178.

²¹³ Christian Zervos, 'Automatisme et espace illusoire,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3-5, 1936, pp. 69-75.

professors at the Sorbonne, all of them – with the exception of Reinach - holding academic posts in the domain of philosophy, sociology, history and linguistics.²¹⁴ Their positions were more or less moderate with Lévy Bruhl admitting that history has shown that social transformation cannot be achieved imminently and totally. Although the contemporaries of a revolution, he continued, imagine that overturning social order is as violent as destroying any equilibrium, the succeeding generations cease to carry the same illusions since they acknowledge that most institutions have survived the turmoil, as was the case with the French Revolution.²¹⁵

By 1935 the position-taking of the magazine with regards to the Soviet policies pointed to unequivocal scepticism. A note on Soviet poetry by George Reavey declared that ‘Soviet’ is not a linguistic or ethnological term associated with Russian origin. It is a political term with references to a *de facto* government, dialectical Marxism and social reconstruction. Consequently the references to Soviet poetry are reduced to two aspects. The first concerned its ideological communist-Marxist character associated with the doctrine of social engagement by means of proletarian dictatorship. It involved a doctrinal and critical system employed by proletarian and communist poets. The second indicated its historical character based on national tradition while it brought forward novel modes of thinking and feeling. The directions of its exponents varied with some of them being identified due to their stylistic eccentricities as bourgeois intellectuals.²¹⁶ These tendencies in poetry found equivalences in the plastic arts.

The introduction to the 1935 Picasso number carried the title ‘Fait Social et Vision Cosmique,’ a text that epitomised Zervos’ views towards politically engaged art that emerged in the form of socialist realism.²¹⁷ He acknowledged that his generation was dominated by the *fait social* but inquired: ‘on what reposes the conviction that this [i.e. art] would not exist but as an instrument of social activity?’ It is interesting to observe how Zervos’ writing was shaped, influenced, and subsequently transformed by the socio-political climate of the 1930s. The first condition for a return to equilibrium, he maintained, is to acknowledge the distinction between the variable laws of production - the distribution of natural resources and the

²¹⁴ M. Meillet - M. Lévy-Bruhl - M. le Dr. Pierre Janet - M. Léon Brunschvig - M. Emile Bréhier - M. Victor Basch - M. Julien Benda - M. Henri Delacroix - M. Salomon Reinach - M. André Lalande.

²¹⁵ Lévy Bruhl, ‘Enquête sur les Valeurs Spirituelles,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 1-2, 1932, p. 9.

²¹⁶ George Reavey, ‘Poésie Soviétique,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 5-6, 1935, p. 111.

²¹⁷ Sarah Wilson, ‘La Beauté Révolutionnaire ? Réalisme Socialiste and French Painting 1935-1954,’ *Oxford Art Journal*, October 1980, pp. 61-69.

spiritual principles. The solution to the social problem, he concluded, 'does not have the close relation to art that we seek to give it.'²¹⁸ The discussion progressively turned to the recent works of Picasso ending up being defensive against the accusation on the part of the Soviets that Picasso's work constituted the last step of the great manifestations of bourgeois art.²¹⁹

Zervos insisted on the social preoccupations of the artist but returned to the question of the anecdote, this time to oppose the choice of the subject-matter in terms of political propaganda. 'It is not important, he declared, to paint with or without subject-matter, what is really important is the intensity of thought which is manifested in the work and its general overtone.'²²⁰ Of course the styles grouped under the portmanteau term 'abstraction' were diverse in their major principles and Zervos employed the term to describe neither cubism nor Picasso. In 'Art Sur-descriptif et Art Non-figuratif,' published in the same number, Louis Fernandez identified two distinct 'abstract' tendencies that were erroneously grouped together given their attitudes towards figuration were different. The first tendency was the one that merited the title 'abstract' with its representatives seeking to rid their works of any resemblance with the exterior world including the sentiments and thoughts reflecting it in human mind. The second tendency, which was mistakenly called 'abstract', included works by Picasso and the cubists opposing documentary description of natural aspects and treating its subject-matter in terms of plastic means in a way that any intention for abstraction suppressed the vital elements of the composition – the tendency that *Cahiers d'Art* favoured.²²¹

The emphasis on the object at the expense of the subject-matter that cubism introduced was an aspect that abstract artists stretched *plastically* to its limits and the surrealists embraced from 1931 onwards as part of their preoccupations with its anti-materialist, supra-real and fetishist potentials.²²² The subject-object opposition is of

²¹⁸ Christian Zervos, 'Fait Social et Vision Cosmique,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-10, 1935, p. 145.

²¹⁹ Christian Zervos, 'Fait Social et Vision Cosmique,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-10, 1935, p. 148.

²²⁰ 'Est-ce à dire qu'il a moins conscience du social parce qu'il cherche des conquêtes sur l'inconscient? Le moins que l'on puisse dire de son œuvre, est qu'elle prépare pour l'avenir une conception très élargie du social, intégré dans le moral et le spirituel, par là même d'une œuvre vivace, digne de l'homme, à l'échelle du nouvel esprit qui sortira peut-être, du conflit social et psychologique actuel.' Christian Zervos, 'Fait Social et Vision Cosmique,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-10, 1935, pp. 146, 148, 150.

²²¹ Louis Fernandez, 'Art Sur-descriptif et Art Non-figuratif,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-10, 1935, p. 240.

²²² See Johanna Malt, *Obscure Objects of Desire: Surrealism, Fetishism, and Politics*, Oxford University Press, 2004. Katherine Conley and Pierre Taminiaux (eds), *Surrealism and its Others*, special number of *Yale French Studies*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

paramount importance in this particular socio-political context for it signifies two distinct art practices that evolved simultaneously: the first represented the concrete message that a canvas could communicate to the widest possible audience, the second the symbolic-universal message of a pure plastic synthesis addressed to an elite of art connoisseurs exalting bourgeois individualism. Scholars traced the starting point of Picasso's surrealist period in the mid-1920s, a time when Zervos maintained a polemical tone against the movement's blatant unconcern with plasticity.²²³ His views were transformed from the beginning of the 1930s and certainly after the publication of *Minotaure* in 1933 by Skira and his former colleague, now rival, Tériade. The special *Cahiers d'Art* number dedicated to the theme 'L'Objet' in 1936 was published on the occasion of an exhibition held by the surrealists in the Galerie Charles Ratton.²²⁴ Its content was separately published as a catalogue to the show which presented various categories of objects most of which, Steven Harris argued, 'were understood to exist outside the generally accepted categories of art.'²²⁵

Zervos signed the introductory text to the volume titled 'Mathématiques et l'Art Abstrait.' It is interesting to observe how the passage to surrealism was effectuated by critics of the order of Zervos and Tériade who were and partially remained sceptical to the nature of subjectivity that the movement brought forward. Geometrical abstraction played a role in this *volte-face* on the part of the champions of plasticity. It was about at the same period when Tériade was about to depart from the editorial board of *Minotaure* after three years of ongoing strife and discontent with the surrealists that he published one of his last texts in the magazine which identified surrealism as a salutary reaction against the academic and domestic misconception of

²²³ 'On sait que la libération qui fait la valeur de la peinture surréaliste leur vient du cubisme et surtout de l'œuvre récente de Picasso dont l'immense portée échappe encore à la plupart des gens [...] Mais ce qu'ils semblent délibérément négliger dans l'œuvre récente de Picasso c'est l'effort pour atteindre à l'extrême de la plasticité [...] et c'est là le principal point sur lequel je ne suis nullement d'accord avec les peintres surréalistes [...] c'est pourquoi j'ai considéré de mon devoir de leur dire assez brutalement afin d'attirer leur attention, que si l'on veut s'exprimer picturalement il est indispensable de tenir compte de la plasticité [...] Tel se présente à mes yeux le phénomène surréaliste [...] qui n'a pas encore le temps de se développer.' Christian Zervos, 'Du phénomène surréaliste,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1928, p. 114. Plasticity was however a concept that Breton in principle renounced. In *Le Surréalisme et la Peinture* he declared that 'the plastic work of art will either refer to a purely internal model or will cease to exist.' Simon Watson Taylor and Mark Polizzotti (eds) André Breton, *Surrealism and painting*, MFA, 2002, p. 4.

²²⁴ *Exposition Surréaliste d'Objets*, Galerie Charles Ratton, Paris, 22-29 May 1936.

²²⁵ Steven Harris, 'Beware of Domestic Objects: Vocation and Equivocation in 1936,' *Art History* 24, November 2001, p. 725 (pp. 725-757). Harris observed that Claude Cahun distinguished two categories of surrealist objects: le petit mimétique and le grand paranoïaque which mainly marked the opposition of Breton's automatism to Dali's paranoiac-criticism. See Claude Cahun, 'Prenez garde aux Objets Domestiques,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-2, 1936, pp. 45-48.

Cézanne's apples, Picasso's guitars and Matisse's interior spaces by indifferent copyists.²²⁶ It was precisely the surrealist opposition against the objective plasticity of cubism that Raynal,²²⁷ Zervos and Tériade initially criticised but subsequently embraced as a necessity in order to rid contemporary art of the burden of mathematical objectivity.

That the references to Plato dominated the texts signed by Zervos and Dali was not a coincidence, for the polemic was clearly addressed here to the mathematical idealism of abstract art in its approach to the object.²²⁸ As a matter of fact, Zervos published an apologetic note explaining that his critique did not apply to the work of Kandinsky who always drew inspiration from the world being the only authentic abstract painter. Zervos acknowledged that abstract art completed the work that cubism initiated against the servile transcription of nature. He tried instead to explain with these notes the constraint that he felt in front of a *mathematised* abstract synthesis being unable to comprehend it without further research. He furthermore claimed that he wished to protect the public from 'les incapables' who take advantage of abstract art in order to perform as artists.²²⁹ Zervos now appears remarkably moderate in his appreciations considering the aggressive texts that he published a few years earlier revolting against all the 'parasites' that profit from the confusion of the moment claiming they are precursors, an ineptitude exalted by collectors.²³⁰

The special number on 'L'Object' coincided with the spectacular show *Cubism and Abstract Art* that opened at the MoMA the same year. *Cahiers d'Art* published a short review of the catalogue with its only objection being the exclusion of Ozenfant's works from the reproductions accompanying the entry on Purism and a

²²⁶ Tériade, 'La Peinture Surréaliste,' *Minotaure* 8, June 1936, p. 5.

²²⁷ 'The doctrine of the Hyper-realists [...] consists in obeying the inspiration of thought uncontrolled by reason [...] it is a fashionable whim more German than French, more literary than plastic [...] which hardly corresponds to the tendencies of our art.' Maurice Raynal, *Modern French painters* (1927), New York: Arno Press, 1969, pp. 26-28. Breton also addressed his critique to formalist art critics, including Raynal. In *Le Surréalisme et la Peinture* he wrote: 'En présence de la faillite complète de la critique d'art, faillite tout à fait réjouissante d'ailleurs, il n'est pas pour nous déplaire que les articles d'un Raynal, d'un Vauxcelles ou d'un Fels passent les bornes de l'imbécillité. Le scandale continu du cézannisme, du néo-académisme ou du machinisme est incapable de compromettre la partie à l'issue de laquelle nous sommes vraiment intéressés. Qu'Utrillo 'se vende' encore ou déjà, que X ou Y arrive ou non à se faire passer pour surréaliste, c'est l'affaire de ces messieurs les employés de l'Épicerie.' André Breton, *Le surréalisme et la peinture*, Paris : N. R. F., 1928.

²²⁸ Salvador Dali, 'Honneur à l'Objet,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-2, 1936, pp. 53-56.

²²⁹ Christian Zervos, 'Mathématiques et l'Art Abstrait,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1936, p. 8. *Cahiers d'Art* reserved a place for the work of Dali in its content since the first years of its publication. Zervos avoided however to comment extensively on his work although he identified the plastic concession of his work.

²³⁰ Christian Zervos, 'Fausses Libertés,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1927, p. 125.

short reference to the authorship of *Vers une Architecture* by both Ozenfant and Le Corbusier.²³¹ A letter from the latter however informed Zervos about Ozenfant's non-involvement in the publication.²³² Zervos acknowledged the responsibility that cubism carried over the birth and expansion of the abstract idiom, but eventually thought that the renowned diagram published by Barr on the catalogue's front cover was in itself an academic system of historicising discourse, the conception of which he questioned as we shall see in a subsequent chapter.

Minotaure's contribution to bringing together the quests of the surrealists and those of the so-called *poètes--plasticiens* was decisive. *Cahiers d'Art* played a role in distinguishing a small number of surrealist artists for their plastic qualities. Surrealism had entered what Maurice Nadeau called its period of autonomy (1930-1939) which followed its shorter *période raisonnée* (1925-1930)²³³ and was 'searching for its greatest possible expansion in the luxurious *Minotaure*.'²³⁴ It is necessary to repeat here Brassai's well-known pointed criticism that by the time that *Minotaure* appeared surrealism 'was no longer a wild revolt but rather a successful revolution whose promoters had acceded to power.' But while the surrealists 'were able to sustain the

²³¹ Anon., 'Les Livres' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1936, p. 67.

²³² Le Corbusier wrote : 'Dans votre No de Cahiers d'Art de juin 1936, rubrique Les Livres, vous avez publié un compte rendu dans lequel vous faisiez remarquer que VERS UNE ARCHITECTURE est de Le Corbusier et d'Ozenfant. La première édition de ce livre est signée Le Corbusier-Sangnier, ce dernier nom étant le pseudonyme d'Ozenfant. Je vous serais obligé de reproduire en même place la rectification suivante : VERS UNE ARCHITECTURE a été écrit exclusivement par moi, mot à mot. Vers une Architecture traite : 1) de l'ingénieur, Je venais de passer cinq années à la tête d'une entreprise d'études techniques et industrielles. 2) Du plan, de la coupe, de la façade. C'est mon métier. 3) d'Athènes, de Pompéi. J'étais seul de nous deux à être allé voir et étudier ces choses. De Rome. Ozenfant était pour Raphael ; J'étais contre et j'opposais Michel-Ange (mon voyage de 1910 et celui que nous fîmes avec Ozenfant en 1921). 4) D'Architecture ou révolution. C'est l'objet même de toutes mes préoccupations depuis la guerre. Si deux livres ont été écrits contre moi m'accusant de péchés révolutionnaires, c'est que mon action dans l'architecture et l'urbanisme portait sur des facteurs novateurs (La Ville Radieuse, aboutissement de mes recherches, 1935). Ozenfant et moi avons, dans L'Esprit Nouveau, des pseudonymes communs. Nous avons travaillé en commun les problèmes de la peinture signés Ozenfant et Jeanneret et, alternativement ou ensemble : Vauvrecy, P. Boulard, de Fayet. J'ai écrit seul les études sur l'art décoratif, l'urbanisme et l'architecture. A la réédition de vers une Architecture, pour couper court à des affirmations dont l'écho multiple me revenait, j'ai signé le livre Le Corbusier, seul, mais je l'ai dédié à Amédée Ozenfant (page de garde), heureux de pouvoir d'un coup servir l'exatitute et une amitié à laquelle je ne me résignais pas encore à renoncer. A la publication d'Après le Cubisme, 1918, nous avons annoncé à paraître, entre autres : Vers une Architecture, L'Art Décoratif actuel, Règlement, Tilleul et Camomille, programme qui était le mien. Le Nombre et la plastique devait être écrit par nous deux, bien que j'aie été seul à avoir fait des recherches sur le problème des proportions. Cette rectification n'intervient aujourd'hui dans vos colonnes qu'à cause de la grande estime dans laquelle je tiens Cahiers d'Art. Cahiers d'Art, parlant d'histoire dans sa rubrique Les Livres juin 1936, se doit de ne pas commettre d'erreur.' Le Corbusier, letter to C. Z., 6 July 1936. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 6, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

²³³ See Maurice Nadeau, *Histoire du surréalisme*, Paris : La Seuil, 1964.

²³⁴ André Breton, *Entretiens 1913-1952*, Paris : Gallimard, 1969, p. 181.

surrealist spirit in *Minotaure*, they had to give up the combativeness that had once characterised their reviews. And this sumptuous publication, printed in a limited edition of 300 copies – [was] inaccessible to proletarian pocketbooks [...] Was accepting that collaboration – that collusion – with capitalism not betraying one's principles, selling out?'²³⁵ The 1934 *Minotaure* exhibition at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, despite E. L. T. Mesens' effective grouping of a total number of 119 works in different rooms, was the earliest manifestation announcing a fertile collaboration between the surrealists and what came to be regarded as 'mainstream Parisian art.'²³⁶

The show opened with a lecture by Breton titled *Le Surréalisme* which was edited and published a few months later as *Qu'est-ce que le Surréalisme?* by René Hernandez. The *Cahiers d'Art* number on the Object contained surrealist texts including Breton's 'La Crise de l'Objet' which was mainly a re-positioning of surrealism with reference to reality through the intermediary of the object.²³⁷ The surrealists were less concerned with the abstract adventure of cubism than with the realist misfortune of surrealism. The espousal of Marxism, Helena Lewis noted, which followed the decision of the surrealists to make a brief passage (Aragon maintained his loyalty to the party) through the Communist Party came to be regarded as an espousal of the 'historically truthful and concrete depiction of reality' that the movement in principle renounced.²³⁸ The 1934 surrealist tract 'Planète sans Visa' was literally a denunciation of the P.C.F.'s involvement in the expulsion of Trotsky from French territory virtually announcing the new ideological directions of the movement *Towards a Revolutionary Independent Art*, the title of the 1938 manifesto written by Trotsky, Rivera and Breton in Mexico.²³⁹

²³⁵ Brassai, *Conversations with Picasso*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999, pp. 10-11.

²³⁶ The show was organised by Skira and Tériade. It displayed works by Salvador Dali, Hans Arp, Balthus, Constantin Brancusi, Victor Brauner, Giorgio de Chirico, Charles Despiau, Marcel Duchamp, Max Ernst, Alberto Giacometti, Valentine Hugo, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Aristide Maillol, Joan Miró, René Magritte, Picasso, Man Ray, Yves Tanguy, André Beaudin, Francisco Borès, Henri Matisse, Georges Braque, Suzanne Roger, Gaston Louis Roux, Pablo Gargallo, Abraham Rattner and André Derain. See also Géo Charles, 'Expositions à l'Etranger,' *L'Intransigeant*, 25 May 1934, p. 4.

²³⁷ André Breton, 'La Crise de l'Objet,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1936, pp. 21-26.

²³⁸ Helena Lewis, 'Surrealists, Stalinists, and Trotskyists: Theories of art and revolution in France between the wars,' *Art Journal* 52, *Political Journals and Art, 1910-1940*, 1993, pp. 61-68.

²³⁹ 'Nous ne nous solidarisons pas un instant, quelle que soit sa fortune actuelle, avec le mot d'ordre : 'Ni fascisme ni communisme,' qui répond à la nature du philistin conservateur et effrayé, s'accrochant aux vestiges du passé 'démocratique'. L'art véritable, c'est-à-dire celui qui ne se contente pas de variations sur des modèles tout faits mais s'efforce de donner une expression aux besoins intérieurs de l'homme et de l'humanité d'aujourd'hui, ne peut pas ne pas être révolutionnaire, c'est-à-dire ne pas aspirer à une reconstruction complète et radicale de la société.' André Breton, Léon Trotsky, Diego

The profile of surrealism was transformed in the 1930s. Laurent Jenny has shown that this transformation owed much to the reconsideration of the concept of automatism proposed by Dalí, who underlined the inconsistency of Breton's theoretical writings. Dalí and Jacques Lacan published two key essays in *Minotaure* questioning the 'passive' aspects of automatism that dominated Breton's writings on *automatisme et rêve* and Louis Aragon's *Traite du Style* (1928). Breton's radical declaration in the first surrealist manifesto (1924) *Nous sommes les modestes appareils enregistreurs* more or less defined the early orientation of the movement.²⁴⁰ It is true however that this passive reading of automatism pointed to an alternative form of realism. Dalí's contemplation of the active aspects of automatism aimed at 'derealisation,' at escaping *typification* (Lacan) and realist *banality*.²⁴¹ The article was in fact an early introduction to his 1938 text *Le mythe tragique d'Angélys de Millet* (1965) which shaped the theoretical foundations of his paranoiac-critical method. The stereotypical character of the passive aspects of automatism and dream became the opposite realm of the paranoiac-critical phenomenon. The paranoiac delirium, Dalí argued, far from being a passive element that favours representation like automatism and dream, constitutes in itself a form of representation.

The critical preoccupations of surrealism, Dalí added, are active in counterbalancing 'all the passive and automatic conditions at the level of action; to make them intervene *interprétativement* with reality, with life.' The *objets oniriques* were presented as the first surrealist step towards *realisation*, 'a means of faithful verification,' while the *objets délirants* proposed to intervene 'on a daily basis with life's other objects in the clear light of reality.'²⁴² Jordana Mendelson argued that Dalí's series of paintings based on Millet's *Angelus* together with the theoretical texts published in *Minotaure* raised issues of 'high and low, subject and object, politicised and non-partisan art.' Dalí's 'practices of reduplication and transformation' were telling of his interest in appropriating high art to 'engage the politics of mass culture,'

Rivera, Manifeste, *Pour un Art Révolutionnaire Indépendant*, Mexico, 25 July 1938. (http://melusine.univ-paris3.fr/Tracts_surr_2009/Tracts_I_2009.htm#par_103).

²⁴⁰ André Breton, *Manifestes du surréalisme*, Paris : Gallimard, 1970, p. 40.

²⁴¹ Laurent Jenny, 'Les Aventures de l'Automatisme,' *Littérature* 72, 1988, pp. 3-11 (trans. 'From Breton to Dalí: The Adventures of Automatism,' *October* 51, 1989, pp. 105-114.)

²⁴² Salvador Dalí, 'Interprétation paranoïaque – critique de l'image obsédante 'L'Angélys' de Millet. Prologue : Nouvelles considérations générales sur le mécanisme du phénomène paranoïaque du point de vue surréaliste,' *Minotaure* 1, 1933, p. 66 (65-67). The English translation is derived from *The Collected Writings of Salvador Dalí*, trans. Haim, Finkelstein, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 66. See also Jacques Lacan, 'Le problème du style et les formes paranoïaques de l'expérience,' *Minotaure* 1, 1933, pp. 68-69.

while his paranoiac-critical method was mobilised as a denunciation of totalitarianism through the appropriation of its own means of propaganda: mass culture images and realist imagery.²⁴³ In party-line discussions, the method was nonetheless identified as bourgeois realism.²⁴⁴

Breton attempted to revise his early positions in 1933, when he overtly admitted that ‘the history of automatic writing in surrealism has been one of continuing misfortune.’²⁴⁵ In ‘Le Message Automatique’ he offered a timely declaration of the concept of automatism maintaining that ‘it is to the credit of surrealism that it has proclaimed the total equality of all ordinary human beings before the subliminal message; that it has constantly insisted that this message is the heritage of all, too precious to remain the patrimony of a few and that nothing remains but for each to claim his share.’²⁴⁶ It was nonetheless impossible for surrealism to abort the impressions drawn out of the first manifesto. ‘Le peintre n’est pas seulement un appareil enregistreur (copying machine)’ proclaimed the communist artist Jean Lurçat in the debates held at the Maison de la Culture (published as *La Querelle du Réalisme* in 1936).²⁴⁷ The three debates were complementary to the survey ‘Où va la Peinture?’ published in *Commune*,²⁴⁸ amalgamating art and politics through a revival of the concept of realism that was apparently dominant issue in contemporary art production.

Most of the artists acting under the ‘patronage’ of the Maison de la Culture, run by the French Communist Party, were seeking a middle ground, as Tobby Norris has remarked, ‘a position somewhere between politically ineffectual formalism and

²⁴³ Jordana Mendelson, ‘Of politics, postcards and pornography: Salvador Dali’s Le Mythe tragique de l’Angéus de Millet,’ in Raymond Spiteri and Donald LaCoss (eds) *Surrealism, Politics and Culture*, Ashgate, 2003, pp. 169-170, 175.

²⁴⁴ In 1935, Paul Nizan published a commentary in the communist paper *L’Humanité*, in which he compared Aragon’s socialist realism with a distinct type of *critical realism* apparently referring to the surrealist directions exemplified in the work of Dali. (Paul Nizan, ‘Pour un réalisme socialiste par Aragon,’ *L’Humanité* (12 August 1935), cited in Nicole Racine, ‘La querelle du réalisme,’ *Sociétés & Représentations* 15, 2003, p. 122.

²⁴⁵ ‘L’histoire de l’écriture automatique dans le surréalisme serait...celle d’une infortune continue.’ André Breton, ‘Le Message Automatique,’ *Minotaure* 3-4, 1933, p. 57.

²⁴⁶ André Breton, ‘The Automatic Message,’ in Franklin Rosemont (ed.) *André Breton: What is Surrealism, selected writings*, London: Pluto Press, 1978, p. 106 (first published in *Minotaure* 3-4, 1933).

²⁴⁷ Serge Fauchereau (ed.), *La Querelle du Réalisme*, Paris: Cercle d’Art, 1987.

²⁴⁸ Among the artists who replied to the survey were A. Ozenfant, A. Derain, Chr. Bérard, F. Léger, M. Laurencin, A. Marchand, M. Ernst, A. Lhote, V. Hugo, J. Lurçat, Y. Tanguy, A. Giacometti, R. Dufy, P. Delaunay, E. Goerg, M. Nonetheless, *Commune* only published a selection of texts mainly by Gromaire, Lurçat, Goerg, Aragon, Léger, Le Corbusier, Labasque and Jean Cassou. Nicole Racine, ‘La querelle du réalisme,’ *Sociétés & Représentations* 15, 2003, p. 122.

ideologically subservient realism that would allow them to reconnect with a wider public on the terrain of topical and legible subject matter without entirely giving up the formal innovations pioneered by modern artists.²⁴⁹ Lurçat was progressively involved in ideologically nuanced debates that defined his future orientation. After a short passage through surrealism and a *Cahiers d'Art* monograph by Philippe Soupault in 1928,²⁵⁰ he received the Barnes Foundation prize in 1933 before visiting Moscow for an exhibition of his works at the Musée de l'Art Moderne Occidental in 1934.²⁵¹ The same year he participated in a panel discussion on 'The Place of the Artist in the Community' presented at the annual meeting of the American College Art Association. The artist addressed a pointed critique to the School of Paris.

The art of the École de Paris is not for the majority of the people [...] its *clientele* is rare, enclosed in an atmosphere of luxury. The feelings which the painting arouses are the elegant, the refined, the *useless* – hardly common to the people of large or small cities, hardly common to all classes [...] In art today the current slogan is: *Above all – individuality* [...] Painting has become mere merchandise. A stupid situation! [...] a true work of art must, like the cathedral, be the property of all. It should express the feeling of a whole people, and from it should be eliminated all national spirit.²⁵²

Cahiers d'Art published the same year a letter on behalf of the *Association des Ecrivains et Artistes Révolutionnaires* (A.E.A.R.) founded in 1932 by communist intellectuals and sympathisers – a section of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers founded in Moscow a few years earlier - on the occasion of the *Exposition des Artistes Révolutionnaires* at the Palais des Expositions. The letter was signed among others by Lurçat and Ozenfant.²⁵³ The latter had recently founded the association

²⁴⁹ Bobby Norris, 'The Querelle du Réalisme and the Politicization of French Artists during the Great Depression,' *PART: Journal of the CUNY* 12, 2012, n.p.

²⁵⁰ Philippe Soupault, *Jean Lurçat*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1928. The volume proposed to inaugurate a new series under the title *Les Peintres Nouveaux*. It was published in English and French. The French edition was printed in 535 numbered copies, 35 of which included original gouaches, engravings and eaux-fortes by the artist depending on the category of each edition.

²⁵¹ About the museum see the French catalogue *Musée de l'Art Occidental Moderne à Moscou*, Moscow: Editions d'Etat, 1938.

²⁵² Jean Lurçat, 'The place of the artist in the community,' *Parnassus* 4, 1934, p. 4.

²⁵³ 'Cher confrère et camarade, Les problèmes qui se posent actuellement au peintre, au sculpteur, sont si graves, qu'une révision des valeurs et notions s'impose impérieusement. Obsédés par les préoccupations intérieures à leur Art que les tendances formelles multipliées ne peuvent satisfaire, isolés de ce fait du monde extérieur, mais bousculés par une réalité sans cesse menaçante (instabilité matérielle et morale, crise, guerre), certains artistes persistent pourtant à s'enorgueillir de leur indifférence pour tout ce qui ne concerne pas leur art. Or, les conditions sociales déterminent la nature et influent sur la qualité de leurs œuvres. Le rôle socialement réduit imposé au plasticien, l'illusion d'une vie autonome, d'une *liberté de l'art* qui en découle et s'y accrédite, le mena naturellement sur le terrain de la rhétorique. Tirant sa substance de son propre fonds, s'épuisant en exercices d'éloquence,

L'Art Mural which organised its first Salon in 1934 under the patronage of Eugenio d'Ors. The association proposed to reunite works by artists, sculptors and architects in collaborative projects. The initiative was mainly born out of reaction against the 1929 regulation that increased taxes to 12% for objects classified as deluxe in reference to their nature (paintings, sculptures etc.) and reduced them to 6% for deluxe objects with reference to their price.²⁵⁴ The regulation was deemed unwarranted since works by commercially successful artists executed in a medium other than canvas or marble would equally reach extraordinary prices but their tax would be reduced to half due to their nature.²⁵⁵ On the other hand a canvas by an unsuccessful young painter sold at a low price would be double-taxed due to its classification as a deluxe object.

Ozenfant maintained that 'if the price of a canvas, deluxe object (and it is regrettable that it is considered that way), mainly depends on the notoriety of the artist, the price of a mural had to be reduced to cost price, since all the rest of the elements concern the fabrication of an edifice.'²⁵⁶ Zervos published the *L'Art Mural* manifesto signed by Ozenfant and supported the effort of the A.E.A.R. He nonetheless questioned the objectives of the exhibition at the Palais des Expositions arguing that true revolutionary art has to re-invent painterly expression without reducing its message to subject-matter narratives:

We are also convinced that art follows social evolution. We have discussed that here on many occasions taking the great periods of human history as an example. But if we agree with the authors of this letter, we do not agree with the revolutionary artists who do nothing but blindly follow the painting that they intend

l'art contemporain, malgré la qualité et l'apport culturel de quelques-uns, disperse ses efforts sous le signe de l'individualisme. La co-existence de tendances adverses, qui prolifèrent en raison inverse de la *demande sociale*, les problèmes que ces faits suscitent sur la raison d'être des arts, le désarroi qui en résulte et le sentiment pour chacun de vivre dans l'attente ne sont que les symptômes cliniques d'un nouvel art en gestation sociale. L'indifférence *sociale* des artistes n'exprime qu'un refus confus à composer avec une puissance inclinant vers la mort. Le vieux système économique et social s'écroule; il entraîne tout dans sa chute. Dans la mesure où il se trouve intégré à lui, l'art dégénère: il n'y aura pas de miracle pour lui. Il n'y a qu'un moyen de le soustraire à la décomposition; c'est de l'intégrer à la classe qui *monte*, elle seule peut lui restituer sa vraie fonction sociale. Afin de confronter les essais, recherches et réalisations orientées dans ce sens, l'A.E.A.R. organise en janvier et février prochain une Exposition. La prise de contact qui pourra en résulter permettra de dégager les seules directions valables contre le désarroi actuel. Nous vous invitons, cordialement à y prendre part. Recevez, cher confrère et camarade, nos salutations fraternelles. Signed: Adam, Eekman, Herbin, F. Jourdain, Laurens, J. Lurçat, Ozenfant, Rosianu, Zadkine, Zilzer.' 'Les Expositions à Paris et ailleurs,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, p. 129.

²⁵⁴ Chara Kolokytha Kolokytha, 'The Art Press and Visual Culture in Paris during the Great Depression: Cahiers d'Art, Minotaure and Verve,' *Visual Resources* 29, 2013, p. 199.

²⁵⁵ It would be interesting to see under which category Zervos' and later Tériade's deluxe editions were classified, but this information has not reached my attention so far.

²⁵⁶ Ozenfant, 'L'Art Mural,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9-10, 1934, p. 274.

to replace. In the exhibition that they organised last January and February, their works were painted in the manner of Léger, Ozenfant, Lurçat, Max Ernst, Dali. The workers, since there were also workers among the exhibitors, remained attached to current trends instead of reacting against the actual confusion [...] New painting will emerge when talented painters will be absorbed by a new social organisation that expresses, by the force of things, the spirit and the tendencies. Nothing else matters. What is urgent in present times is the organisation of all intellectual forces and their collaboration for the creation of a new social order. As far as art is concerned, it is better to let the present society lead its artistic experience to its peak.²⁵⁷

Another survey was launched in 1935. It addressed issues relating to the young generation with Zervos signing a polemical text that served as an introduction. Most responses concerned the confrontation of artists with society. It is surprising that among its illustrations one could find Matisse's studies for the large scale mural *La Danse* commissioned by Barnes, which resumed in this context the magazine's position with regards to the technical and spiritual aspects of mural art. Rouault declared that art constitutes a choice, a selection. 'The artist does not have to be involved in right, left, or art politics of the centre – small chapels, schools, academies - ; politics, mainly in art, is abominable. The work of art, despite all the combinations of managers, merchants and certain critics, has a spiritual value, far from the currency of the stock market of painting.'²⁵⁸ Braque similarly explained the reasons of his distaste for the art for the masses maintaining that any art that 'solicits the approbation of the majority is a passive art, induced by external volition. It is official art!' The subject-matter he added does not draw its importance from the anecdote but from its pictorial conception.²⁵⁹ This was of course just the one side of the coin. The social contact, Ozenfant argued, is absolutely necessary for it gives us the impression that

²⁵⁷ Anon., 'Les Expositions à Paris et ailleurs,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, p. 129. 'Nous sommes aussi persuadés que l'art suit l'évolution sociale. Nous en avons parlé ici à plusieurs reprises en prenant pour exemple les grandes périodes de l'histoire humaine. Mais si nous sommes d'accord avec les rédacteurs de cette lettre, nous ne le sommes pas avec les artistes révolutionnaires qui ne font que suivre aveuglément la peinture qu'ils se proposent de remplacer. Dans l'exposition qu'ils ont organisée en janvier et février derniers, leurs toiles étaient peintes à la manière de Léger, d'Ozenfant, de Lurçat, de Max Ernst, de Dali. Les ouvriers, car il y avait parmi les exposants des ouvriers, restaient donc dans la rendance d'aujourd'hui au lieu de réagir contre le désarroi actuel [...] La nouvelle peinture fera son apparition lorsque des peintres de talent seront absorbés par une nouvelle organisation sociale dont ils exprimeront, par la force des choses, l'esprit et les tendances. Le reste ne sert à rien. Ce qui est urgent à l'heure actuelle, c'est d'organiser toutes les forces intellectuelles et les faire coopérer à la création d'un nouvel état social. Quant à l'art, il vaut mieux laisser la société actuelle faire son expérience artistique jusqu'au bout.'

²⁵⁸ Georges Rouault, 'Enquête,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1935, p. 14.

²⁵⁹ Georges Braque, 'Enquête,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1935, pp. 22, 24.

what we are doing is useful. Art will die if artists 'continue to work only for a single deceased class that is nourished by them, but shares no force with them.'²⁶⁰

The survey was perhaps the richest in responses that was ever published in *Cahiers d'Art* (Léger, Rosenberg, Loeb, Paalen, Grohmann, Hélion, Chagall, Lipchitz, Read, Jakovski). The issue of both social engagement and technical excellence at the expense of spiritualism was timelier than ever before. 'Even the isolated from the masses artist, proclaimed Fernandez, enclosed in the exiguous ivory tower is a social product, a reaction of the artist in front of certain elements of the milieu.'²⁶¹ Kandinsky declared his exclusive interest in the form, addressing his critique to the constructivists who declined the emotional responses to external phenomena and the artists of the mechanist aesthetic, the deprived of spirituality 'children of the century of the machine,' who in their effort to become *hommes de l'actualité* stressed the *l'art pour l'art* concept to its limits and beyond.²⁶² The survey more or less resumed the questions that the survey on abstract art and the second one on spiritual values brought forward a few years earlier furnishing evidence of the general crisis in the manners of judgement with regards to art's social and spiritual role. As a human manifestation, art cannot be conceived in its universal dimension, Paalen affirmed, since no epoch produced works of art that could be qualified as universal.²⁶³

It is interesting that the surrealists and the School of Paris artists progressively allied on the same front sharing in common the accusation of being bourgeois and elitist. Despite their common belief that art carried the potential for social transformation and the socialist and radical-leftist persuasion of their contributors, *Cahiers d'Art* and *Minotaure* were practically unconcerned with class struggle and proletarian revolution. It was obviously the nature of their publication that imposed that direction. Zervos published in 1934 Breton's *L'Air de l'Eau* in 345 copies, 45 of which included three original engravings by Giacometti.²⁶⁴ It is worth mentioning that

²⁶⁰ 'Alors, dilemme : ou bien ne peindre que pour soi : tour d'ivoire (stérilisant), ou pour quelques-uns : insuffisant. Pas drôle. Seule issue : s'entraîner à penser non comme individu solitaire, mais comme cellule sociale. Quelques-uns me comprendront. Déjà ainsi pouvons-nous échapper aux petits tableaux égoïstes [...] Pour le reste, pour créer le milieu où l'art respirera, c'est l'affaire de la Révolution.' Ozenfant, 'Enquête,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1935, p. 35, 38.

²⁶¹ Louis Fernandez, 'Enquête,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1935, p. 40.

²⁶² Kandinsky, 'Enquête,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1935, p. 54.

²⁶³ W. R. Paalen, 'Enquête,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1935, p. 62.

²⁶⁴ André Breton, *L'Air de l'Eau, Poèmes*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1934. 300 exemplaires sur vélin Frs 12. 40 exemplaires sur Montval avec trois gravures au burin par Giacometti Frs 100. 5 exemplaires sur Japon nacré avec trois gravures au burin par Giacometti et un poème autographe d'André Breton Frs 200 (copies destined for Jacqueline Breton, Breton, Giacometti, Christian and Yvonne Zervos). A

René Henriquez's surrealist bookstore in Brussels declared its overall disinterest in the deluxe edition explaining that its clients particularly interested in surrealism could not afford such expenses.²⁶⁵ However, Zervos must have secured an audience for his surrealist publications. About a year later he published Georges Hugnet's *Enfances* in 100 copies including three etchings by Miró.²⁶⁶ The progressive domination of the surrealists in the content of *Cahiers d'Art* did not necessarily mean Zervos' complete acceptance of the surrealist doctrine. Up to 1933 pointed criticism continued to appear in the magazine in the form of short notes and exhibition reviews.²⁶⁷ *Minotaure* certainly contributed to this change as was also the case earlier with *Documents* and Zervos' systematic reversal to primitive arts and ethnology. Picasso's involvement with surrealism was decisive for Zervos.²⁶⁸ The year 1935 was perhaps a turning point for the magazine following the inauguration of the Cahiers d'Art gallery in 1934. The special Picasso number was overwhelmed by texts and poems by the surrealists. Furthermore, the double 1935 number of *Cahiers d'Art* (5-6) published more than forty pages of surrealist content including the *Premier Manifeste Anglais du Surréalisme* signed by David Gascoyne and translated by Breton. It also included Breton's preface to the surrealist exhibitions in Copenhagen and Tenerife.

An early aspect of institutionalisation of surrealism was made evident, Kim Grant observed, in its inclusion in René Huyghe's *Histoire de l'art contemporain, La Peinture* as a significant style in the history of contemporary painting.²⁶⁹ In fact surrealism was paired with Dada, Chagall's *peinture onirique* and Ernst's

review of the book was published by Edmond Humeau, 'André Breton: L'Art de l'Eau,' *Esprit* 31, 1935, p. 104.

²⁶⁵ 'Voulez-vous bien m'envoyer par l'intermédiaire du Département Etranger de Hachette, une trentaine d'exemplaires du Breton, sur vélin à 10 frs. En ce qui concerne le tirage de luxe je ne vous serai certainement pas de bien grande utilité, la plupart de mes clients s'occupant tout particulièrement de surréalisme ne peuvent plus se permettre de grosses dépenses.' Librairie René Henriquez, Brussels, letter to C. Z., 5 December 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 5, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

²⁶⁶ Georges Hugnet, *Enfances. Poèmes*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1935. Ces exemplaires numérotés de 1 à 100, comportent trois eaux-fortes de Joan Miró et sont signés par l'auteur et l'illustrateur. 5 exemplaires sur Japon Impérial Frs 500. 95 exemplaires sur vélin d'Arches Frs 100.

²⁶⁷ On the occasion of the Surrealist exhibition at the Galerie Pierre Colle in 1933, Cahiers d'Art published the following note: 'les expositions d'ensemble des surréalistes sont généralement tristes. On est accablé d'une certaine morbidesse qui met le spectateur mal à l'aise. Celle qui vient de s'ouvrir à la Galerie Pierre Colle est gaie ; si elle ne fait pas penser elle fait du moins rire.' 'Exposition Surréaliste (Galerie Pierre Colle),' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-6, 1933, p. 250.

²⁶⁸ Elizabeth Cowling, 'Proudly we claim him as one of us': Breton, Picasso, and the surrealist movement, *Art History* 1, vol.8, March 1985, pp. 82-104.

²⁶⁹ Kim Grant, *Surrealism and the visual arts: Theory and reception*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 342.

expressionism under the general title *Nouvelle Subjectivité*.²⁷⁰ It was precisely this 'subjective reality' for which Picasso was praised in *Cahiers d'Art*. Zervos also contributed the text 'Les Derniers Aspects de l'Art Non-figuratif.' It is interesting that he cited no more than seven names, some involved with surrealism (Arp, Miró, Masson) and others with what represented for Tériade the neo-fauvism (Beaudin, Borès, Cossio, and Viñes) mainly a post-cubist style with emphasis on the colour aspects of the synthesis. Though Zervos admitted the solid position of the first group, he was sceptical towards the longevity of the second, revising almost an entire decade of struggle in support of the group in *Cahiers d'Art* particularly by Tériade.²⁷¹ It appears that his faith in the new generation progressively weakened.

About a year later surrealism met expansive recognition. The *International Surrealist Exhibition* at the New Burlington Galleries in London²⁷² gave way to the MoMA retrospective *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*.²⁷³ The MoMA catalogue was edited by Barr including essays by Hugnet that cast light on the origins and development of the movement. Furthermore it provided a bibliography that placed *Cahiers d'Art* in the list of the most important publications dealing with surrealist art. Breton however disagreed with the presentation of surrealism as *fantastic art*, refusing to collaborate with the museum. A marginalised surrealist, Tzara published in *Cahiers d'Art* the following year 'Le Fantastique comme Déformation du Temps' which was presented as a review of the show although there were no direct references to it.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ René Huyghe, 'La Nouvelle Subjectivité,' in R. Huyghe, G. Bazin (eds) *Histoire de l'Art Contemporaine : La Peinture*, Paris : Alcan, 1935, pp. 313-320.

²⁷¹ See Kim Grant, 'Cahiers d'Art and the Evolution of Modernist Painting,' *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 2, 2010, pp. 216-227.

²⁷² Zervos published the text of the conference given by Eluard on the occasion of the show organised by Roland Penrose. Paul Eluard, 'L'Evidence Poétique,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6-7, 1936, pp. 185-188.

²⁷³ More than fifty thousand people attended the New York show which was also moved to Philadelphia, Boston, Milwaukee, San Francisco, observes Eggener. 'A broader audience, meanwhile, encountered reams of print in popular magazines like *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek*, and the *American Weekly* detailing the movement's players and plots [...] Advertisers, too deeply moved by Surrealism's lure, were soon invoking its themes – dreams, desire, domination – to pitch such mundane items as cars and cardboard boxes.' Keith L. Eggener, 'An amusing lack of logic, Surrealism and popular entertainment,' *American Art* 4, vol.7, 1993, p. 31. The New York Zabriskie Gallery opened a show called *1936: Surrealism*. Commenting on the show John Russell observed that 'seen from just 50 years away, the summer of 1936 looks like the heyday of Surrealism.' John Russell, 'In 1936, Surrealism Ruled. The Creative Roost,' *The New York Times*, 30 March 1986, p. 25. Surrealism was also presented as a source of inspiration for women's fashion. Ethel Ehlen, 'French Art Movement Inspires Weird and Striking Color Effects: Bold Surrealist Touch to Spring Wardrobe will gibe Wearer Chic for Months to Come,' *The Washington Post*, 11 February 1937, p. 11. The movement also inspired decoration of shop windows. 'Fashion: Surrealism in New York Shops,' *Vogue* 91, 1 March 1938, pp. 108-109.

²⁷⁴ Tristan Tzara, 'Le Fantastique comme Déformation du Temps,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6-7, 1937, pp. 195-196.

Dalí was more enthusiastic about the surrealist propagation overseas.²⁷⁵ He also gave a lecture at the MoMA in January 1935 on 'Surrealist Paintings: Paranoiac Images' explaining that his works can only be understood through scientific analysis, namely psychoanalysis.²⁷⁶ The show opened only a few months after the conclusion of the *Cubism and Abstract Art* retrospective.²⁷⁷ What is important about the two shows is that the first demonstrated the distant influence of cubism classifying it as a historical style whose influence is still ongoing, while surrealism was proliferating so that Barr felt 'too close to it to evaluate it.'

Apparently the movement is growing: under the name of Surrealism it is now active in a dozen countries of Europe, in North and South America, in Japan; it is influencing artists outside the movement as well as designers of decorative and commercial art; it is serving as a link between psychology on one hand and poetry on the other; it is frankly concerned with symbolic, 'literary' or poetic subject matter and so finds itself in opposition to pure abstract art, realistic pictures of the social scene and ordinary studio painting of nudes or still-life.²⁷⁸

Barr focused on the pictorial aspects of the movement dividing surrealist painting into two distinct groups classified in terms of spontaneity. The first was concrete in its depiction of reality and included Dalí's hand-painted dream photographs which were mainly 'pictures of fantastic objects and scenes done with a technique as meticulously realistic as a Flemish primitive.' The images and the subject-matter in the works of Dalí and Magritte, Barr observed, demonstrate an 'extreme uncensored spontaneity; but their precise realistic technique is the opposite of spontaneous.' The second group 'suggests by contrast complete spontaneity of

²⁷⁵ Although Dali appeared as the exhibition's surrealist representative with his portrait on the first page of the commentary published in *Life* magazine ('Surrealism on parade,' *Life*, 14 December 1936, pp. 24-27), he informed Breton the same month: '[Ai] écrit à Barr, refusant toute participation à l'exposition en lui expliquant notre point de vue. Je lui dis qu'il confond tout et que s'il peut y avoir de la peinture surréaliste fantastique on ne peut pas dire que toute la peinture fantastique soit surréaliste.' Salvador Dali to André Breton, Décembre 1936 published in *André Breton, La beauté convulsive*, Paris : Musée National d'art moderne, Centres Pompidou, 1991, p. 230. Dali reported however with excitement the surrealist propagation overseas: 'L'influence surréaliste est énorme ; on fait les avantures de magazines les plus luxueuses avec du surréalisme [...] Je fais de mon mieux pour notre activité.' Letter 28 décembre 1936 (B.L.J.D.) published in *André Breton, La beauté convulsive*, Musée National d'art moderne, Centres Pompidou, 1991, p. 230.

²⁷⁶ The text is available on-line on the website of the MoMA, Archives 1934.

²⁷⁷ About the exhibition see Susan Noyes Platt, 'Modernism, Formalism and Politics: The Cubism and Abstract Art Exhibition of 1936 at the Museum of Modern Art,' *Art Journal* 17, Revising Cubism, 1988, pp. 284-295.

²⁷⁸ Alfred Barr, *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* (1936), New York: Museum of Modern Art, December 1936 - January 1937, Reprint. N.Y.: Arno Press, 1968, p. 13. On the impact of the show see Glen MacLeod, 'Stevens and Surrealism: The Genesis of The Man with the Blue Guitar,' *American Literature* 59, October 1987, pp. 359-377.

technique as well as of subject-matter.' Barr cited André Masson and Miró whose styles continue the tradition previously carried on by Kandinsky, Klee and Arp.²⁷⁹ It is evident that Dalí offered new perspectives to the surrealist pictorial development, while the plastic preoccupations of Miró, Klee and Picasso established the movement's painterly qualities.

In a second article published in *Parnassus* the same year, John Frey proposed a different classification of surrealist painting. The first group was labelled 'literary' and served the desire for complete objectivity (Dali, Roy). The paintings of this group are the product of 'concrete irrationality' depending entirely on representation while it superficially 'resembles that of the Neue Sachlichkeit group and it may be a heritage from the heroic days of Dadaism, when it was used successfully by Otto Dix and his German followers.' The second group was classified in terms of 'plastic lyricism' being preoccupied with the 'organic growth of a plastic conception.' Its exponents were Picasso and Miró representing the 'spontaneous creative flow of the imagination in the process of automatic painting.' The distinction between the two groups, he added, is the same with the distinction between the *poet-painters* and the *painter-poets*.²⁸⁰

Kim Grant has shown that the term automatism was progressively appropriated by formalist critics of the order of Tériade and Raynal since the late 1920s.²⁸¹ It is interesting that the concept was valued for its spontaneity and was also used in *Cahiers d'Art* to indicate the involuntary creative urge that was traced namely in – but not limited to – the works of Picasso and Matisse. In the first Surrealist Manifesto Breton introduced surrealism as *psychic automatism*.²⁸² However the formalist appropriation of the term was unconcerned with surrealist aesthetics. The 1936 *Cahiers d'Art* number dedicated to the reproduction of a series of Matisse's recent drawings included an introduction by Zervos and the poem 'À Henri Matisse'

²⁷⁹ Alfred Barr, *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* (1936), New York: Museum of Modern Art, December 1936 - January 1937, Reprint. N.Y.: Arno Press, 1968, pp. 11-12.

²⁸⁰ John G. Frey, 'Miró and the surrealists,' *Parnassus* 5, vol. 8, October 1936, pp. 13-15.

²⁸¹ Kim Grant, *Surrealism and the visual arts: Theory and reception*, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

²⁸² 'Automatisme psychique pur par lequel on se propose d'exprimer soit verbalement, soit de toute autre manière, le fonctionnement réel de la pensée. Dictée de la pensée, en l'absence de tout contrôle exercé par la raison, en dehors de toute préoccupation esthétique ou morale.' André Breton, *Manifestes du surréalisme*, Paris : Gallimard, 1970, p. 37. The first automatic book was published in 1919 by Breton and Soupault, titled *Les Champs Magnétiques*.

by Tristan Tzara.²⁸³ Zervos' text was titled 'Automatisme et Espace Illusoire' and its content is telling of the absurd way the term was adjusted to formalist analyses.

It is interesting that the following number included Ernst's 'Au delà de la Peinture' in which he explained his *conversion* to the technique. Together with Ernst, Masson was the precursor of automatism. Nonetheless Barr cited Kandinsky and Klee as the initiators of the technique with Zervos affirming now that 'anyone who nowadays validates the dream, who invokes oneiric activity, who advocates automatism and questions authority, must not forget how long ago it was that Matisse sought the utmost freedom for his mind and his work.'²⁸⁴ The text was overwhelmed by references to surrealist terms (delirium, automatism, dream, imagination) aiming to disassociate Matisse from purely technical preoccupations and aspects of realism and mathematical precision, in other words what he defined as obstacles to spontaneous plastic realisation: realism and abstraction.²⁸⁵ Zervos accepted surrealism but was highly selective in its inclusion in the magazine. *Cahiers d'Art* had always been sympathetic to Masson, Klee, and Miró, artists more or less involved with surrealism but subsequently opened its content to Ernst and partially to Marcel Duchamp whose *Coeurs Volantes* featured on the front cover of the magazine in 1936 (nos 1-2). In fact

²⁸³ Tristan Tzara, 'A Henri Matisse,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3-5, 1936, p. 76. See also André Lhote, 'Dessins de Matisse (Cahiers d'Art),' *NRF* 284, May 1937, pp. 811-812.

²⁸⁴ Christian Zervos, *Matisse, Drawings, 1936*, trans. Richard Howard, London: Thames and Hudson, 2005, n.p. Originally published as Christian Zervos, 'Automatisme et espace illusoire,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3-5, 1936, pp. 69-75. Of course Breton had declined a few years earlier the aspects of Matisse's art. He wrote: 'Those who [...] called themselves 'Les Fauves' no longer do anything but pace ridiculously up and down behind the bars of time [...] Two of those disheartened and disheartening old lions are named Matisse and Derain [...] So, will these men never stand on their feet again?' André Breton, *Surrealism and painting* (1928), trans. Simon Watson Taylor, London: MacDonald, 1972, p. 9.

²⁸⁵ It is important to consider the notes published by Matisse in the first number of *Verve* magazine, published by Tériade, in 1937. The artist contributed a series of recent drawings and a short note commenting on artists from the past that mastered drawing. His reference to Leonardo da Vinci is important since it arguably reveals a position-taking against surrealism and consequently a reaction against Zervos' pairing his technique with automatism. Matisse noted that 'Ingres affirmed that *le dessin est la probité de l'art*, though one might wonder whether these words, constantly repeated by pompous ignoramuses are to be linked with those contained in Leonardo de Vinci's manuscript recommending that lines of composition be sought in the fissures of old walls or indicating coarse tricks for giving expression to the likeness of young girls?' It is true that these words by da Vinci epitomised the intentions of Dada and surrealism, as Cassou earlier observed [Jean Cassou, 'Le Dadaïsme et le Surréalisme,' in René Huyghe, Germain Bazin (eds) *Histoire de l'Art Contemporain, La Peinture*, N. Y.: Arno, 1968 (reprint/ 1st ed. Paris: Alcan, 1936), p. 337.] In fact, Breton made a similar reference in the 'Message Automatique' published earlier in *Minotaure* (1933, p. 56). The rivalry between *Cahiers d'Art* and *Verve* was ongoing and culminated after the end of the war. Zervos published a lengthy article on Matisse's drawings again in 1939 which was accompanied by a specialist presentation of da Vinci's drawings by Kenneth Clark. Christian Zervos, 'Dessins Récentes de Henri Matisse,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1939, pp. 5-6. Kenneth Clark, 'Dessins de Leonard de Vinci, 1513-1515,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1939, pp. 41-46. See also David Lomas, 'Painting is Dead - Long Live Painting!: Notes on Dali and Leonardo,' Michael Taylor (ed.), *The Dali Renaissance*, Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2008, pp. 153-189.

Ernst, together with Kandinsky, Man Ray and Miró, were the first to be given solo shows in the newly established in 1934 Cahiers d'Art gallery. Victor Brauner, Picasso's close friend, would dominate the post war shows of Zervos' gallery.

Chapter Five: Histoire de l'Art Contemporaine

L'Art vivant is menaced, not by a new academic spirit, but by economic conditions which deny the artist a social function. Make the artist a link in the production and distribution of necessities of life, and then he will quickly lose his academism. It is the dilettante spirit in art, a legacy of capitalism and the system of patronage which is the cause of all modern malaises of contemporary art.¹ Herbert Read, 1935

The collaboration with the surrealists opened new perspectives to the target audience of *Cahiers d'Art* but was to a certain extent subject to Zervos' efforts to secure non-remunerated contributions to the magazine.² In fact *Minotaure* managed to subsist due to the surrealist backing, coming notably from the pocketbook of Eluard's mother.³ To the remarkable activities of the publishing house was added the costly opening of the homonymous art gallery in 1934. Although the outcome of the recent auction for the benefit of *Cahiers d'Art* was on all counts deemed successful, Zervos' financial status remained stressful. He in fact appeared to struggle in covering an overdraft at the Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie in 1934 for which Alfonse Bellier, the commissioner of the Hotel Drouot auction, acted as guarantor.⁴

¹ Herbert Read, 'Enquête,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1935, p. 70.

² In 1934 he wrote to Rivière: 'Mais Je suis vraiment navré de ne pouvoir payer les auteurs pour leurs articles comme je pensais le faire. J'ai fait une tournée auprès des librairies de Belgique, de Suisse et d'Italie pour faire entrer l'argent qu'ils me doivent. Résultat ma femme a été obligée de m'envoyer télégraphiquement de l'argent pour me rapatrier. J'arrive ici et je trouve 3 chèques sans provision. La situation devient de jour en jour critique. Excusez-moi donc auprès de vos collaborateurs, surtout faites leur comprendre que ce n'est pas de la mauvaise volonté de ma part mais une impossibilité que j'espère temporaire.' C. Z., letter to G.-H. Rivière, 10 October 1934. Fonds Breuil, Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris. A second letter a few months later informed Bellier about the new conditions of their legal commitment: 'Je tiens à vous faire savoir que les ouvrages appartenant aux Cahiers d'Art ont été transportés dans un magasin loué à mon nom et situé 19 rue du Dragon. Le droit de priorité que je vous ai déjà donné sur le stock des livres appartenant aux Cahiers d'art joue naturellement pour le nouveau local.' C. Z., letter to Alphonse Bellier, 25 January 1934. Archive Alphonse Bellier, Paris. I am indebted to Christian Derouet for communicating the content of this letter to me.

³ Chara Kolokytha, 'The Art Press and Visual Culture in Paris during the Great Depression: Cahiers d'Art, Minotaure and Verve,' *Visual Resources* 29, 2013, p. 188.

⁴ 'La B.N.C.I. m'informe à nouveau qu'il ne lui est plus possible de prolonger l'ouverture de crédit qui vous a été faite le 16 Novembre 1933. Le Contentieux me fait observer que cet arrangement avait été prévu pour six mois. Voulez-vous avoir l'obligeance d'aller voir M. Max Pellequer et de prendre avec lui les arrangements qui pourront vous être accordés, en le priant de me tenir au courant.' Alphonse Bellier, letter to C. Z., 10 July 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 4, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Lorsque j'ai reçu votre première lettre à ce sujet Mme Zervos était venue vous voir et vous dire que le seul moyen de nous acquitter de notre dette envers vous consistait à vous faire mensuellement de petits versements. Il était entendu entre vous et Mme Zervos que nous devrions nous voir à ce sujet et fixer ensemble la date à partir de laquelle nous effectuerions ces versements. C'est pourquoi avant mon départ pour Londres j'avais fait téléphoner à votre secrétaire que j'aimerais vous voir. Je me permets de vous dire à nouveau que le seul moyen de m'acquitter de cette dette c'est

Furthermore, Christian and Yvonne Zervos signed a paper in November 1933 which granted Bellier legal rights over the magazine's resources and stock.⁵ The affair continued throughout the 1930s and 1940s. That Zervos was progressively mobilising his acquaintances to expand his readership abroad, mainly overseas, was evident especially after the opening of the MoMA and his connections with Barr and Sweeney. The 1930s *Cahiers d'Art* numbers reveal Zervos' unprecedented effort to synchronise the content of the magazine with the activities of galleries and museums mainly abroad.

The Matisse retrospective at the MoMA in 1931 was accompanied by a special illustrated number including Henry McBride's 'Matisse in America' and Zervos' painstaking account of the formation and development of the artist's work.⁶ The publication more or less coincided with Skira's *livre d'artiste* illustrated by Matisse. As was the case with the special numbers on Picasso, Léger, Braque and Gris published on the occasion of their solo shows in Switzerland Zervos prepared a special volume for Miró's 1934 solo show at the Pierre Matisse Gallery. The new monograph format that *Cahiers d'Art* introduced was addressed to an international audience including texts published in French, English, German and Spanish. This was apparently a more profitable format, aiming to report on the international official recognition of the exponents of Parisian modernism on their way to institutionalisation. Zervos informed Sweeney:

de vous verser mensuellement de petites sommes et cela a partir du mois de juillet en attendant le moment que vous jugerez propice pour faire une vente de quelques tableaux. Vous connaissez mes difficultés pour vous rendre compte que le seul moyen actuellement pour être correct envers vous c'est de diminuer cette dette petit à petit sans être obligé pour cela de suspendre la parution de la revue. Je compte sur l'amitié que vous m'avez témoigné pour m'obtenir cette facilité qui me permettra à la fois de continuer la revue et de m'acquitter de mes obligations.' C. Z., letter to Alphonse Bellier, 11 July 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 4, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'En réponse à votre lettre du 5 courant et d'accord avec Maître Bellier qui a donné le cautionnement pour nous à votre établissement pour la somme de cinquante mille frs, je m'engage à liquider dans les six mois la facilité de caisse que vous m'avez consentie et qui s'élève d'après mon compte arrêté au 30 juin écoulé à frs. 51.525.96.' C. Z., letter to the Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie, 17 July 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 4, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁵ 'Nous soussignés CHRISTIAN ZERVOS, directeur-propriétaire de la revue CAHIERS D'ART et Madame YVONNE ZERVOS, née Marion, ma femme, que j'autorise de signer la présente, tous deux domiciliés 14 rue Nungesser et Coli, Paris, 16^e, déclarons ce qui suit : En couverture du cautionnement solidaire et indivisible de la somme de cinquante mille francs que Maître Bellier, commissaire-priseur, 30 Place de la Madeleine, Paris, a donné pour nous à La Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie nous lui offrons un droit de privilège et de priorité sur l'avoir de la revue CAHIERS D'ART dont nous sommes les propriétaires.' 16 November 1933. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 4, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁶ Henry McBride, 'Matisse in America,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-6, 1921, pp. 291-296. Christian Zervos, 'Notes sur la Formation et le Développement de l'Œuvre de Henri Matisse,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-6, 1921, pp. 229-252.

I have not replied earlier to your letter because I was busy with Miro, and the illustrations concerning his work for the forthcoming number and the public will be able to judge in full awareness the talent of this artist. I now come to your proposition about Mr Gallatin. Before receiving your advice for a project. Here it is: I thought that it would be good to continue *Cahiers d'Art* as I did last year, that is instead of publishing 10 numbers of 36 pages per year, or 360 pages per year, to publish four issues of 400 pages per year. The grouping of the numbers allows me to give important and much developed studies on a given topic instead of short notes as happens generally with art magazines. But I think that on the other hand my audience will be deprived of fresh news concerning the artistic movement. From there I came up with the idea to transform the review '14' into a bulletin of artistic information for all the countries where such a movement exists. I thought about asking you if you would like to take responsibility for artistic actuality in the United States. You would group all the important news and write criticism concerning the principal exhibitions, or commission other people according to your convenience, when you can not do it by yourself. I would like to do the same thing in England, in Germany, and in Switzerland. We will make thereby an international bulletin with great reach to the public. To cover the expenses of such a review of 16 pages in the format of *Cahiers d'Art* to be able to bind them at the end of the year with the *Cahiers* of the main magazine.⁷

The institutional collaborations that Zervos secured with regards to the distribution of his magazine were previously reduced to the Trocadéro in Paris and the Kunsthhaus in Zurich which accepted to promote the special numbers dedicated to their shows, often published as separate volumes with extra texts by Wilhelm Wartmann, Kunsthhaus' director. Zervos attempted – albeit unsuccessfully - on several occasions to influence the manner of judgement of French officials. In 1931, on the occasion of an exhibition of sculpture at the Kunsthhaus, he underlined the absolute necessity for a similar exhibition in the gardens of the Grand Palais, next to the Cours la Reine, the most appropriate place to present fountains and sculpted figures, a project to which

⁷ C. Z., letter to James Johnson Sweeney, 25 March 1934. Fonds *Cahiers d'Art* CAPROV 5, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Je n'ai pas répondu plus tôt à votre lettre parce que j'étais occupé avec Miró, et les illustrations concernant son œuvre pour le prochain numéro et que le public pourra juger en toute connaissance de cause le talent de cet artiste. Je viens à présent à votre proposition au sujet de M. Gallatin. Avant de recevoir votre conseil sur un projet. Le voici : j'ai pensé qu'il serait bon de continuer *Cahiers d'Art* comme je l'ai fait l'année dernière, c'est-à-dire au lieu de publier 10 numéros par un de 36 pages, soit 360 pages par an, de publier quatre fascicules de 400 pages par an. Le groupement des numéros me permettrait de donner des études importantes et très développées sur un sujet donné au lieu de petites notes comme cela se fait généralement avec les revues d'art. Mais j'ai pensé que d'autre part mon public serait privé de nouvelles fraîches concernant le mouvement artistique. De là l'idée m'est venue de transformer la revue '14' en bulletin d'information artistique et cela pour tous les pays où un tel mouvement existe. J'ai pensé vous demander si vous voudriez vous charger de l'actualité artistique des Etats-Unis. Vous grouperiez toutes les informations importantes et vous feriez la critique des principales expositions, ou vous chargeriez selon vos convenances d'autres personnes à faire cette critique, lorsque vous êtes empêché de la faire vous-même. Je voudrais en faire autant avec l'Angleterre, l'Allemagne et la Suisse. On ferait ainsi un bulletin international qui aurait une grande portée sur le public. Pour couvrir les frais d'une telle revue de 16 pages format *Cahiers d'Art* pour pouvoir être relié à la fin de l'année avec les *Cahiers* de la grande revue.'

the state never lent a favourable ear.⁸ Throughout these years *Cahiers d'Art* reported systematically on the international institutional and private interest in contemporary art. Zervos initially took the side of those who advocated the imperative need for collaboration between the French state and private collectors but paid close attention to the way in which modern art could be adjusted to museum narratives.

Cahiers d'Art not only adopted the monograph format but also became exclusively preoccupied with publications of art history and theory, gallery and museum exhibitions of modern and primitive art held internationally. In 1934 it published favourable reviews of Sweeney's *Plastic Redirections in 20th Century Painting*, and Gallatin's *Catalogue of the Gallery of Living Art* but was critical towards Edward F. Rothchild's *The Meaning of Unintelligibility in Modern Art*.⁹ Zervos had recounted his plans earlier to Sweeney:

I thought of asking you in respect of the United States if organisms such as the Museum of Living Art, the Museum of Modern Art, other amateurs and other museums could cover a part of the expenses of this review in a manner that would not be disadvantageous to them. They would subscribe for a thousand copies of the review which would be published at 7 Frs 50 per number, this would make 7.500 Frs per number or 75.000 Frs per year. Out of this amount I would make a discount of 30% or 22.500 Frs. They would therefore make a real commitment of 52.500 Frs. These 1.000 copies they would have the right to give them to a bookshop or a press agency to which they would accord the 30% that I would have granted them. So they recover their costs. The sale will be certain because I think that the articles concerning England, the United States, Germany have to be published in their language with abstracts in French for the public here. As for articles concerning Paris, they would be summarised in English and German. I would like to have your opinion on this topic. If you receive favourable opinions we could immediately set up such a review which, I repeat, would exert considerable influence over the world. I am thinking of removing from the next number the information concerning the book about the Gallatin collection and the review of the Museum of Modern Art in order to give them a more important place in the bulletin in question. I think I could start with the exhibition of Aztec art at the Museum of New York, the Gallatin exhibition and if possible the activity of the Chicago Museum. It would also be necessary for me to give all the new acquisitions of the museums, the methods of placing the paintings etc. I have a program in my head which I will share with you upon your reply.¹⁰

⁸ Anon., 'Les Expositions,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1931, p. 379.

⁹ Anon., 'Les Livres,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9-10, 1934, p. 270.

¹⁰ C. Z., letter to James Johnson Sweeney, 25 March 1934. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 5, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'J'ai pensé de vous demander en ce qui concerne les Etats-Unis si des organismes tels que le Musée of Living Art, le Museum of Modern Art, d'autres amateurs et d'autres musées ne pouvaient prendre à leurs frais une partie des dépenses de cette revue sous une forme qui ne serait pas désavantageuse pour eux. Ils souscriraient à mille exemplaires de la revue qui serait vendue 7 frs 50 le numéro, cela ferait 7.500 frs par numéro soit 75.000 frs par an. Sur cette somme je ferais une réduction de 30% soit frs 22.500. Ils prendraient donc un engagement réel de frs 52.500. Ces 1.000 exemplaires ils auraient le droit de les donner à une librairie ou à une agence de presse à laquelle ils accorderaient les 30% que je leur aurai consentis. Ils pourraient donc rentrer dans leurs frais. La vente sera certaine parce que je pense que les articles concernant l'Angleterre, les Etats-Unis, l'Allemagne doivent être publiés dans leur langue et résumés en français

The creation of two museums for modern art in Paris was announced in 1934 by means of an architectural competition calling for plan proposals for their construction.¹¹ The rejection of Le Corbusier and Jeanneret's submitted project to the competition intensified Zervos' disbelief in official support. To the disappointment of the exponents of the Modern Movement, the winning project was that of the academic architects André Aubert, Marcel Dastugue, Jean-Clause Dondel, and Paul Viard. Both museums proposed to be located at the quai de Tokio. The completion of the new buildings was envisaged for 1937 with the opening of the Parisian World's Fair.¹² The first would become the state's museum for modern art, the successor of the Luxembourg museum. The second museum, belonging to the City of Paris, would be attached to the Petit Palais.¹³ The Luxembourg's collection of foreign works, organised and enriched by Bénédictine, had been transferred since 1922 to the Jeu de Paume des Tuileries, originally functioning as an annex. Together with the Louvre and the Luxembourg, the Jeu de Paume also renovated its building and reorganised its collections. It re-opened in December 1932 now named Musée des Écoles Étrangères and progressively gained its autonomy and its own director, André Dezarrois (formerly adjunct-curator of the Luxembourg).¹⁴

pour le public ici. Quant aux articles concernant Paris, ils seraient résumés en Anglais et en Allemand. Je voudrais avoir votre opinion à ce sujet. Si vous receviez des avis favorables nous pourrions mettre immédiatement debout une telle revue qui, je le répète, aurait pu exercer une influence considérable sur tout le monde. Je pense retirer du numéro prochain les informations concernant le livre de la collection Gallatin et le compte-rendu du Muséum of Modern Art afin de pouvoir donner une place plus importante dans le bulletin en question. Je pense que je pourrais commencer avec l'exposition d'art aztèque du Musée de N. York, avec l'exposition Gallatin et si possible avec l'activité du Musée de Chicago. Il faudrait aussi que je puisse donner toutes les nouvelles acquisitions des Musées, les méthodes de placement des tableaux etc. j'ai tout un programme dans la tête dont je vous ferai part aussitôt votre réponse.' The idea was not materialised since Zervos continued seeking for other agents to distribute his magazine in the United States.

¹¹ The competition opened in 15 September and closed in 30 November 1934. Anon, 'La construction d'un musée d'art moderne,' *Le Madécasse*, 14 August 1934, n.p. Relative announcements appeared in the contemporary press since 1932 shortly after the election of the radicals.

¹² About the exhibition see Le Concours en vue de la Réalisation d'une Exposition Internationale d'Art Moderne à Paris,' *Urbanisme* 5, August 1932, pp. 144-145. Emily Genauer, 'All-Star Cast,' *Parnassus* 9, October 1937, pp. 9-12. Ihor Junyk, 'The Face of the Nation: State Fetishism and Métissage at the Exposition Internationale, Paris, 1937,' *Grey Room* 23, Spring 2006, pp. 96-120. Danilo Udovicki-Selb, 'Le Corbusier and the Paris Exhibition of 1937: The Temps Nouveaux Pavilion,' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, March 1997, pp. 42-63. Kate Lonie – Kangaslahti, *The Nation on Display: Re-presentations of French Art, Tradition and Identity in 1937*, PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2005.

¹³ A. Van der Steur, 'Les Plans des Nouveaux Musées d'Art Moderne à Paris,' *Museion : Revue Internationale de Muséographie*, 1934, pp. 7-54. See also C. Lawless, *Musée National d'Art Moderne. Historique et mode d'emploi*, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 1986.

¹⁴ Robert Rey, 'A Propos de la Réouverture du Jeu de Paume,' *L'Art Vivant* 51, 1927, pp. 107-109.

The re-opening of the museum was important for it now disposed of a collection of modern art that displayed the development of the School of Paris from 1905 to 1930. The ground floor continued presenting the ancient collection of foreign works grouped by nationalities of the Luxembourg. Its first floor displayed an important number of works by Picasso, Gris, Modigliani, Pascin, Kisling and other exponents of the modern 'foreign school.'¹⁵ In fact, the museum adopted the idea of long-term loans from private collections for public display which was appealing to the champions of contemporary art and an effective solution to the problem of limited state funding.¹⁶ The interesting point with the Jeu de Paume was its edifice deprived of 'parasitic ornamentation' a fact that was largely appreciated by the champions of the anti-decorative movement and the great majority of modern artists who identified in it an institutional refuge pertinent to the character of their works.¹⁷

Zervos' connection with Dezarrois started in 1936 when he participated in the committee for the organisation of the show *Origines et Développement de l'Art International Indépendant* at the Jeu de Paume. Up to the announcement of the eventual creation of a museum for modern art in Paris he was mainly preoccupied with demonstrating the dissemination of French art abroad and its incorporation in evolutionary narratives of art historical purview. With the prospect of a new museum for modern art another debate surfaced. It concerned the choice of the artists represented, but also the selection and disposition of works for display. And if the 20th century merited the title *le siècle des musées* as the editors of the special number 'Musées' of the *Cahiers de la République* argued in 1931,¹⁸ the 1930s was the golden decade of the museums witnessing important developments in museum and culturally-engaged practices as well as the culmination of a new chapter in the history of art, the one covering the developments in the artistic domain up to 1930. The new approaches

¹⁵ See Paul Fierens, 'Le Nouveau Musée du Jeu de Paume,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires* 9, 10 January 1933, p. 3. A. Marguillier, 'Musées et collections,' *Mercure de France*, 1 March 1933, pp. 448-450. Anon., 'La Nouvelle Présentation du Musée du Jeu de Paume,' *L'Art et les Artistes* 25, 1933, p. 137.

¹⁶ It displayed works from private collections including 5 Modiglianis, 2 Van Dongens, 3 Picassos, 2 Foujitas and 4 Pascins. Catherine Lawless, *Musée National d'Art Moderne. Historique et mode d'emploi*, Paris : Centre Georges Pompidou, 1986, p. 31. The Luxembourg also included since 1929 a limited number of works belonging to artists and collectors. It mainly counted on donations by the *Association des Amis des Artistes Vivants*.

¹⁷ See Paul Fierens, 'Le Nouveau Musée du Jeu de Paume,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires* 9, 10 January 1933, p.3. P. P., Cret, 'L'Architecture des Musées en tant que Plastique,' *Museion : Revue Internationale de Muséographie* 25-26, 1934, pp. 7-16.

¹⁸ Georges Hilaire, Pierre d'Espezel, 'Avant-Propos,' *Cahiers de la République des Lettres des Sciences et des Arts* 13, special issue MUSÉES, 1931, p. 5.

to and re-appreciations of the historical past, as epitomised in the debate over the origins of Gothic art and the discovery and re-appreciation of the Palaeolithic era, had set the foundations for an understanding of cultural development beyond national and spatio-temporal boundaries, in other words for a universal history of art. And whereas *Cahiers d'Art* was committed to underline the ruptures to historical evolution, museums were *a priori* committed to display its continuities.

La France devant le Monde

French art is neither cosmopolitan nor universal, nor international [...] it releases a perfume that betrays its birthplace. France engendered neither Michel Ange, nor Leonardo, nor Raphael, nor Rubens, nor Rembrandt. It gave the world less great artists, less complete geniuses [...] French art being a quintessence of European art, can play the role of an art of cadres [...] It constitutes the last [...] means of redemption of the individual man (*homme-individu*), opposed to the man of the crowd (*homme-foule*), who accepts the loss of the sentiment of human dignity and who obeys the ordering principle (*mot d'ordre*): merge into the mass. This *mot d'ordre* put in the same cadre with the gregarious instinct of the 20th century human does not conform to the French character.¹⁹ Waldemar George, 1931

The 1932 *Exposition d'Art Français* at the London Royal Academy Galleries spawned national interest. *Formes* anticipated the opening of the show dedicating a special number to French art accompanied by a rich in responses survey that questioned its principles of unity, its place in and contribution to European art production. George published in 1931 *L'Esprit Français et la Peinture Française, En Marge de l'Exposition à Londres*. The exhibition was significant for several reasons. One of them was that it demonstrated that the 1927 League of Nations initiative to promote collaboration and mutual exchange among museums proved in practice unrealisable. Bazin underlined that the show was the result of collaboration among several central and provincial museums in France and Britain, a communal effort coordinated by the Louvre. In spite of the Louvre's commitment to replace the works that would be sent out as short-term loans, the provincial museums of Aix, Nantes,

¹⁹ Waldemar George, 'La France devant le Monde: Défense et Illustration de l'Art Français,' *Formes* 20, December 1931, p. 162. 'L'art français n'est ni cosmopolite, ni universel, ni international. Quelles que soient ses racines, quelles que soient ses ramifications, il dégage un parfum qui trahit le lieu de sa naissance. La France n'a engendré ni Michel Ange, ni Léonard, ni Raphaël, ni Rubens, ni Rembrandt. Elle a donné au monde des artistes moins grand, des génies moins complets. L'apport de la France à l'art européen n'en est pas moins de première importance [...] L'art français qui est une quintessence de l'art européen, peut donc jouer le rôle d'un art de cadres [...] il constitue le dernier retranchement ou le dernier moyen de redemption de l'homme-individu, aux prises avec l'homme-foule, avec l'homme qui accepte de perdre le sentiment de dignité humaine, et qui obéit au mot d'ordre qui cadre en tous points avec l'instinct grégaire de l'homme du XX^e siècle ne convient pas au caractère français.'

Avignon, Valenciennes, Marseille and Saint-Lô refused to lend works from their collections.²⁰ The exhibition was in reality an early version of the 1937 Parisian retrospective *Chefs d'Oeuvre de l'Art Française* which was held at the newly constructed western wing of the Palais du Tokio – and proposed to become after the show the new state's museum for modern art – displaying more than a thousand works by French artists. The participation in the 1937 show of provincial museums and private collectors in France and abroad was unprecedented, accomplishing the objectives of the Popular Front's cultural agenda.

Another interesting point with regards to the London exhibition was that it was organised in a manner that rendered the question of the foreign influence - namely from Italy and Flanders - unchallengeable. Sweeney reported on the show in *Cahiers d'Art* following Zervos' evident attraction to the interrupted by stylistic ruptures narrative. His text was accompanied by an important number of illustrations published with the permission of the exhibition officials. The temporal gap that he suggested here was rather long. He maintained that French art had reached the pinnacle of its inspiration and originality only two times in the course of art history. These were separated from one another by six centuries of decadent naturalism and virtuosity. The first was the time when Fouquet painted the portrait of Charles VII. The second rupture was announced by the Douanier Rousseau at the end of the 19th century and developed in the first decade of the 20th. Both phases were subject to diverse international influences. Sweeney was in fact surprised that the organising committee had failed to spotlight these two particular periods of artistic prosperity on French soil.²¹ The *Formes* commentators sought to trace aspects of uninterrupted unity in the evolution of the French idiom. The two distinct positions defined as a matter of fact the manners of judgement as to the organisation of the new Parisian museums.

Zervos paid close attention to museum developments internationally. The dissemination of French art in public collections abroad was interpreted in terms of both cultural decay and an effective model for acquisition policies for France to adopt. That most public collections were organised with the support and the initiatives of private collectors was a historical reality. In 1932, Sweeney presented in *Cahiers d'Art* the collections of French painting of the Art Institute of Chicago, recounting the

²⁰ Germain Bazin, 'L'Exposition d'Art Français à Londres,' *Formes* 20, 20 December 1931, p. 163-164.

²¹ James Johnson Sweeney, 'Exposition d'Art Français, Académie Royale des Arts, Burlington House, London,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-2, 1932, pp. 29-30.

modernist liaisons that the city developed since the beginning of the century with the pioneers of architectural functionalism and organic construction Henry Richardson, Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright and the so-called Prairie School. The ‘scandalous success’ of the 1913 *Armory Show*, the Arts Club of Chicago and the ‘modernist propaganda’ of the *Chicago Evening Post Art World* progressively turned the attention of the American public to contemporary art. The contribution of private collectors to enriching the collections of the Institute was decisive. It is true that among its exhibits one could find works of paramount importance in the history of modern French painting, works that subsequently came to be regarded as masterpieces of the modernist era. It displayed among others Seurat’s *Un Dimanche à la Grande Jatte* and Rousseau’s *Jungle* from the Frederick Clay Barlett memorial collection. Picasso’s *Le Guitariste* from the Blue period came from the Quinn estate. A series of early career canvases by Kandinsky were part of the Arthur Jerome Eddy bequest. The Ryerson collection, including five Renoirs and Cézanne’s influential *L’Estaque*, was a long-term loan to the permanent collection of the museum.²² In keeping with the practices adopted by German museums, as discussed in an earlier chapter, it is evident that most public collections abroad followed similar methods for the organisation of their public collections of contemporary art – private donations and long-term loans - methods that most French museums deliberately set aside.

To the interest in acquisition policies was added a resumed concern about improving the conditions of display for works of art. The 1934 conference on *Museography, Architecture and Organisation of Art Museums* held in Madrid spawned international interest in the concept of museography which was presented here for the first time as a well-devised technique, an indispensable tool to museum curators.²³ For the reorganisation of the Louvre, specialists had earlier studied the prospect of applying the method called the *double repartition des oeuvres d’art*, adopted by Wilhelm von Bode and introduced to French museums by Solomon Reinach after the example of the Alte Pinakothek in Munich.²⁴ It was proposed to

²² James Johnson Sweeney, ‘La Peinture Française Moderne à L’Institut des Beaux-arts de Chicago,’ *Cahiers d’Art* 8-10, 1932, pp. 334-336.

²³ See *Actes: Muséographie. Architecture et aménagement des musées d’art*, 2 vols, Madrid : Académie des Beaux-Arts, 28 October – 4 November 1934. F. Poncelet, ‘Regards actuels sur la muséographie d’entre-deux-guerres,’ *CeROArt* 2. 2008.

[on-line publication URL : <http://ceroart.revues.org/565>.]

²⁴ Georges Hilaire, Pierre d’Espezel, ‘Avant-Propos,’ *Cahiers de la République des Lettres des Sciences et des Arts* 13, special issue MUSÉES, 1931, p. 6.

apply the method to other public collections. It concerned the organisation of the collections according to a scheme that was set in the service of two different objectives literally integrating the functions of two museums in one: the *Musée des chefs-d'oeuvre* which proposed to set out for public display works of great reputation for the general public, and the *Musée d'étude* which would present exclusively for study purposes works and objects of scholarly interest not on display on the walls of the museum. The method encased a transparent eclecticism while it contradicted modern artists' obstinate refusal to subscribe their works to the utopia of the masterpiece. Rivière questioned the idea in 1931 maintaining that the criteria for selection of a masterpiece can not render justice to all visitors' profiles. Furthermore, the method was in principle non-applicable to the Ethnographic Museum which was by definition a scientific museum. It nonetheless planned to apply a similar method to its exhibits (*repartition à deux séries de locaux*).²⁵

Dörner published a second report in *Cahiers d'Art* mainly discussing the works on display at the Hannover museum. The text, published without signature, was titled 'La Raison d'être Actuelle des Musées d'Art.' The magazine had previously presented the small collection of abstract art of the Hannover museum as a result of its pluralist approach to historical evolution. Dörner contested here the idea of a *musée historique* and its utopian doctrine of eternal values, but acknowledged that a museum uniquely reduced to the display of modern art production can be nothing more than an exhibition. 'An exhibition of this sort can persuade, but would not convince. That is because it is lacking the warrants that these new productions are a necessary and intelligible outcome of anterior historical evolution.' The museum takes its value, Dörner confirmed, from the display of the links of the achievements that abut from the past in the present times. This was in fact the synthetic model that Dörner had attempted to apply to the Hannover museum since 1923. Its collections included works dating from the year 1000 B.C. to the present times. To enrich the narrative, Dörner added in each room historical notes on the art and architecture of each period as well as facsimile reproductions of works that supplemented the narrative but were not on display in the museum.²⁶

²⁵ Georges-Henri Rivière, 'Musée de Beaux-arts ou Musée d'Ethnographie,' *Cahiers de la République des Lettres des Sciences et des Arts* 13, special issue MUSÉES, 1931, p. 278-282.

²⁶ Anon. (A. Dörner), 'La Raison d'être Actuelle des Musées d'Art,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-10, 1932, pp. 365-366.

Unlike the *double repartition* method, this system was addressed to both specialist and non-specialist audiences. It offered the possibility of an integral understanding of the history of civilisation and avoided the classification in terms of masterpieces. Zervos must have been impressed by the presentation which was practically the application of the scheme that *Cahiers d'Art* introduced in its pages, based on the idea of a universal history of art. Zervos' narrative was nonetheless subject to eclectic interruptions that he deliberately avoided explaining. He focused on periods the output of which was fecund and lively. The 1934 MoMA exhibition *American Sources of Modern Art (Aztec, Mayan, and Incan)* was praised for adopting the same formula. Its intention, Zervos remarked, was to 'persuade the public that modern art is not the product of a spontaneous generation exhibited as a piece of extravagant rag [...] or an ephemeral fashion launched by a powerful coterie, but the outcome of a normal development of anterior efforts to which it came to add [...] new horizons opened by a more profound cognisance and a more accurate appreciation of the works of the past.'²⁷

The *double repartition* method kept afloat an explicitly eclectic scheme with the objectivity of its criteria remaining debatable and equivocal. Other modernist champions pondered carefully and weighed the pros and cons of the method thinking indeed of the contemporary era as capable of furnishing the occasion for works of art to be classified in terms of masterpieces. Tériade stands out as an exponent of this idea. His promotional article for Skira's first volume of the illustrated album *Les Trésors de la Peinture Française* (1934) published in *Minotaure* was titled 'Réhabilitation du Chef-d'Œuvre.' Tériade observed that the modernist era was not only marked by a total unconcern with the idea of the masterpiece, but also by a reaction against its proper character. He furthermore acknowledged that some works surface from 'the anonymous mass and serial monotony, the works generally produced between 1905 and 1920. And who knows if the future will not choose among these the representative works of our times.' The rehabilitation of the masterpiece, he affirmed, will give new blood to painting suggesting that it was imperative to establish a hierarchy, to no longer accept uncritically the entire work of an artist, to choose anew.²⁸ As a matter of fact, *Les Trésors de la Peinture Française*

²⁷ Christian Zervos, 'Art Ancien & Art Contemporain. A Propos de l'Exposition organisée par le Museum of Modern Art de New York,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-8, 1934, p. 173.

²⁸ Tériade, 'La Réhabilitation du Chef-d'œuvre,' *Minotaure* 6, 1935, p. 60.

proposed an evolutionary model pertinent to the museum narrative for the French school.

Zervos acknowledged the historical role that galleries and collectors played in spreading the word of modernism in periods when its development was witnessed on the margins of official institutions. This was besides the role that the magazine intended to undertake in the first place. He initially subscribed to the idea of a centre for international contemporary art rather than a national *musée historique*. The materialisation of the idea was becoming a distant reality. With the announcement of the new museum in Paris, he was soon to question the place that contemporary art should take in it. Huyghe's *Histoire de l'Art Contemporain* provided an early plan for the new museum offering a concise methodology to the historical appreciation of contemporary art and a contextual analysis of the milieux and the conditions of its development by Raymond Cogniat. The volume is important for two reasons. The first was that it was prefaced by Jean Mistler, a radical ideologue and sous-secrétaire d'état des Beaux-Arts, published shortly before the announcement of the creation of the new museums. The second was that it proposed a scheme for institutionalisation of contemporary art which was divided in two parts, the École de Paris and the Écoles Étrangères, thereby treating contemporary art in its international tenor. The references to a 'French school' were reduced to the discussion of the Salon by Jacques-Emile Blanche. It furthermore included references to the latest 'aspects' in contemporary art as was the case with George's Neo-humanism and more importantly non-figurative painting which was treated by Zervos as a series of subjective researches unable to form an homogenous style. The number of artists cited was more or less a shorter version of the list that represented the new generation in *Cahiers d'Art*.²⁹

Zervos began progressively losing faith in the young generation despite the opening of his gallery at about the same period. The Spaniards were disappearing one after another from the content of *Cahiers d'Art*, especially after the departure of Tériade. La Serna married Suzanne Putois, Zervos' ex-girlfriend, and was the first

²⁹ Tériade, 'Les Peintres Nouveaux : Ismael de la Serna,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1927, pp. 55-58. Tériade, 'Les Peintres Nouveaux : Francisco Borès,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3, 1927, pp. 108-112. Tériade, 'Les Peintres Nouveaux : Kyriaco Ghika,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6, 1927, pp. 213-216. Tériade, 'Les Peintres Nouveaux : Cossio,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9, 1927, pp. 319-321. Roger Vitrac, 'Les Peintres Nouveaux : Gaston-Louis Roux,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4, 1931, pp. 209-214. Christian Zervos, 'La Nouvelle Génération: Arp, Beaudin, Borès, Cossio, Ghika, Ernst, Lurçat, Masson, Miró, Roux, Vines,' *Cahiers d'Art* 9-10, 1931, pp. 399-429.

from the group to disappear.³⁰ Beaudin and Roux followed. Zervos' intimate friend Ghika survived in the content. In 1934 Zervos announced the publication of his *Cent Ans de Peinture en France: De Corot à nos jours* to appear in two volumes of 200 pages each.³¹ The first was envisaged for December 1934, the second would follow after six months. The project was eventually accomplished in 1938 resumed in a single volume of 452 pages and 600 illustrations sold at 375 Frs under the title *Histoire de l'Art Contemporain: De Cézanne à nos jours*. That the point of departure shifted from Corot to Cézanne is telling, for he now sought to connect contemporary art directly to the primitive era, as was the case with the 1937 exhibition *Origines et Développement de l'Art International Indépendant*. Zervos would return to the idea of a comprehensive survey of modern art many years later in the 1960s, envisaging a revised ultimate history of contemporary art in three volumes. The project was interrupted by his death.³²

³⁰ See Kim Grant, 'Cahiers d'Art and the Evolution of Modernist Painting,' *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 2, 2010, p. 227.

³¹ Christian Derouet (ed.), *Cahiers d'Art : Musée Zervos à Vézelay*, Paris : Hazan, 2006, p. 73.

³² In 1949, Zervos informed Matisse that he was preparing a second version of the book *Histoire de l'Art Contemporain* including 2000 pages. He later wrote to Grohmann in 1955 that he was preparing a project of an Encyclopedia of Contemporary Art. He also appears to have applied for funding for the project of a history of contemporary art to an unidentified institution. An undated detailed report of the plan for the completion of the book was found in his papers mentioning the following: 'Cet ouvrage se propose de donner au lecteur une vue de l'ensemble des tendances esthétiques qui se sont partagé l'art de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle à nos jours. Il sera divisé en 3 volumes du format 25x32 cm correspondant à des époques données de l'art contemporain. Pour respecter précisément les époques successives des manifestations esthétiques d'un siècle le nombre de pages de chaque volume variera selon le sujet traité. Pour les 3 volumes le nombre des pages s'élèvera de 1.300 à 1.400. Texte. Le texte représentera environ 1/3 de chaque volume. Il comprendra : 1.) Une critique sur l'œuvre de chaque artiste et de chaque tendance esthétique sera composé en corps 12 ou 14 selon le caractère employé. Quoique approfondie cette critique doit être succincte car je juge inutile de se perdre en longs exposées lorsqu'on peut dire l'essentiel en bien moins de mots. 2.) Une biographie de l'artiste. 3.) Une bibliographie la plus complète possible, sur les volumes et artistes consacrés à chaque artiste. 4.) Une liste des expositions de chaque artiste. 5.) Une liste des Musées, des galeries privées et des principaux collectionneurs qui ont contribué à l'encouragement de l'art moderne. Tous ces textes seront composés en corps 8 ou 10. Illustration. 1.) Clichés en noir. Les 4/5 de chaque volume seront consacrés à la reproduction d'œuvres peintes ou sculptées. Le format des clichés pleine page correspond d'une manière générale à une superficie d'environ 475cm. Il en est à peu près de même par 2 ou 4 illustrations par page. Ces clichés sont exécutés en travail fin avec une trame généralement de 175. Ils ont été exécutés par les Clichés Union dont le travail est considéré même en Angleterre et aux Etats-Unis comme de première qualité. 2.) Clichés en couleurs. Chaque volume doit comporter 40 clichés en couleurs, c'est-à-dire en tout 120. Sur ce nombre je possède environ 40 clichés. Il resterait donc à faire environ 80 clichés en couleurs et peut-être une centaine en noir. Le planches en couleurs et celles en noir ainsi que le texte seront imprimés sur du papier couché. Papier de l'Ouvrage. Le papier utilisé par mes éditions est de première qualité très blanc, de format 65x100 et de 60 kilos à la rame. Il serait indispensable que nous employions un papier de même qualité. Encre. Nous nous servons d'habitude d'une encre de tonalite plutôt rouge que bleue ce qui rend le fond du cliché plus lumineux et plus chaud. Reliure. Cartonné assez fort enveloppé de toile ou de rayonne de bonne qualité, avec des fers pour le nom de l'auteur, le titre de l'ouvrage et le nom de la maison d'édition. Les clichés que je céderai pour l'édition de cet ouvrage me sont comptés : 25x19cm=N.F. 80,18. 13x19cm=N.F. 45,60. 9,5x13cm=N.F. 32,86. De ces prix il faudrait déduire 30%. Le choix des clichés en couleurs

Zervos explained that he excluded the artists of the young generation from the book since their contribution to modernist evolution remained by that time obscure, their idiom was subject to unpredictable transformations that prevented him from drawing definitive conclusions.³³ The overall analysis was founded on the aspect of grouping artists by tendencies. In his earlier contribution to the volume edited by Huyghe he underlined that Beaudin, Borès, Cossio and Viñes - artists developing alongside the best three of this generation Miró, Arp and Masson – do not represent a uniform tendency. They are grouped together by ‘the hazard of the exhibitions and the links of camaraderie.’ Their work is difficult to define since they have not yet managed to define themselves and to find their orientation ‘in the labyrinth into which Picasso pushed them without giving them his thread.’³⁴ This was in other words an indication that the concept of –isms was fading. Despite his earlier position that likened artistic evolution to a turbulent line, Zervos was now convinced that no matter how polyhedral it appears, the development of contemporary art is in principle linear. Its researches represent at the same time ‘the prolongation and the negation of immediately anterior researches.’³⁵ His intention was to comment on artists that elongated the chain initiated by prehistoric Man and continued by the *homme primitif suprême*. However he maintained that the book did not intend to be a *Somme de systèmes*. One is given pause to wonder if the reference was unconcerned with Barr’s diagram. Zervos insisted that it is impossible to inscribe art in a definitive circle, impossible to divide it by means of intelligence into categories, to classify it by means

nécessiterait vraisemblablement mon déplacements d’une part à Moscou et Leningrad où se trouvent les plus beaux tableaux à publier dans le premier volume, et d’autre part à New York, Chicago et Philadelphia. Le premier voyage demanderait un séjour de 10 jours au maximum, le second de 15 jours. Je ne saurais dire quel serait le prix de ces deux voyages, mais vous pouvez en faire un calcul approximatif et modeste. Pour mon travail il faudra calculer d’une part les droits d’auteur et de l’autre toute la préparation de la maquette qui vous sera présentée définitivement en page, ce qui demandera un temps très long, plus la surveillance typographique des 10 premières feuilles. Je pense que sur ces données vous pourrez établir le prix de revient du volume. Naturellement pour que l’édition de cet ouvrage soit d’un rapport intéressant pour vous et pour moi, il faudrait un premier tirage très important. Je pense que mon nom comme auteur de l’ouvrage assurera le succès de celui-ci. Vous pouvez demander des renseignements sur mon travail au directeur de Brera, à Monsieur Umbro Apollonio de la Biennale de Venise, aux directeurs du Musée de Bale, de Zurich et de Berne en Suisse, au directeur de la Tate Gallery à Londres, aux directeurs des Musées d’Art moderne de New York, de Chicago et de Philadelphia ainsi qu’à plusieurs librairies des Etats-Unis dont nous pourrions vous communiquer la liste et qui y diffusent mes livres depuis 39 ans.’ Fonds Cahiers d’Art CAPROV 10, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

³³ Christian Zervos, *Histoire de l’Art Contemporain*, Paris : Cahiers d’Art, 1938, p. 24. See also André Lhote, ‘Histoire de l’Art Contemporain par Christian Zervos,’ *NRF* 316, January 1940, pp. 129-131.

³⁴ Christian Zervos, ‘Les Derniers Aspects de l’Art Non-figuratif,’ in R. Huyghe, G. Bazin (eds) *Histoire de l’Art Contemporaine : La Peinture*, Paris : Alcan, 1935, p. 363.

³⁵ Christian Zervos, *Histoire de l’Art Contemporain*, Paris : Cahiers d’Art, 1938, p. 17.

of science into systems, to summarise it profoundly in a few thoughts.³⁶ The critique was addressed indeed to the MoMA catalogue *Cubism and Abstract Art*.

Zervos' *Histoire de l'Art Contemporain* is important for it was based on the narrative previously introduced in the show *Origines et Développement de l'Art International Indépendant* (30 July – 31 October 1937). Zervos was a member of the organising committee together with Braque, Cassou, Marie Cuttoli, Dezarrois, Eluard, Léger, Marcoussis, Picasso, Raynal, Rivière and Henri Laugier, professor of physiology at the Sorbonne who signed the preface of his book. The presentation had many similarities. Zervos introduced the discussion of the general tendencies with short notes on the precursors Renoir, Gauguin, Lautrec, Seurat, van Gogh, and Rousseau. Fauvism followed as the first coherent tendency. The selection was more or less identical to the one applied to the show. The introduction to the small exhibition catalogue was clear in its intention to reduce the French participation to artists who had exerted influence over international schools. The *Peintres du Dimanche* had no place in the narrative. Younger artists of the *Surindépendants* and the *Vrais Indépendants* were – with very few exceptions like Gonzalez – excluded from the presentation. Due to limited funding the Italian Futurists and the Russian Constructivists were poorly represented.³⁷ Dezarrois decided to present only a small number of works by Cézanne, Gauguin and van Gogh due to their extreme insurance costs. Among the living artists, the insurance cost for Matisse was equally elevated. Picasso followed.³⁸ The 'precursors' group was paired with African and Polynesian sculpture for the purposes of the 1937 show devising a general plan for the origins of contemporary art. These works, according to the catalogue, perform an extraordinary economy of instincts.³⁹ Zervos however clarified the distinct character of these influences. African sculpture was placed in the origins of cubism, and Polynesian sculpture presented under the title 'Art Magique' was paired with surrealism, although the movement was not named in the book. As a matter of fact, Zervos classified under

³⁶ Christian Zervos, *Histoire de l'Art Contemporain*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1938, p. 24

³⁷ Anon., 'Les Expositions,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4-5, 1937, pp. 162-163.

³⁸ The insurance cost for Gauguin's *La Danse du Feu* from the Perls collection reached 300.000 Frs, Cézanne's *Les Rochers à Bibémus* reached 250.000 Frs, and van Gogh's *La Grille* 200.000 Frs. The insurance cost for Matisse's *Luxe* reached 300.000 Frs and Picasso's *Nature Morte aux Instruments de Musique* from the Reber collection reached 200.000 Frs. The rest of the artists did not surpass the amount of 50.000 Frs. Document dated 25 October 1937, Archives du Musée du Louvre 2.H.H.1937. I am infinitely thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the document to me.

³⁹ *Origines et Développement de l'Art International Indépendant*, exhibition catalogue, 30 July – 31 October 1937, Paris : Jeu de Paume, 1937. See also André Lhote, 'Origines et Développement de l'Art International Indépendant,' *NRF* 288, September 1937, pp. 515-517.

the category 'le surnaturel' only Chagall and divided what was, by and large, considered as surrealist painting into three groups each one represented by one or more artists: 'la poésie de l'énigme' by de Chirico, 'le lyrisme des signes' by Klee, 'la poésie rebelle' by Ernst, Miró, Masson, Yves Tanguy and Man Ray.

Breton and the surrealists had protested earlier against the poor representation of the movement in the exhibition at the Jeu de Paume sending an open letter to its organisers.⁴⁰ Although listed among the principal tendencies, surrealism was reduced to approximately 20 works by Magritte, Miró, Klee, Penrose and Man Ray out of a total number of 177 works displayed in the show. Zervos did little to repair the injustice in his book selecting surreal tendencies namely in terms of their plastic aspects. He however attempted to do justice to the tendencies that were left out of the the Jeu de Paume show, namely Dada. He furthermore envisaged publishing the same year a volume on de Chirico with focus on his first surrealist works dating up to 1917.⁴¹ Contrary to his earlier appreciations in the *Cahiers d'Art* volume on Kandinsky, it is interesting that Zervos now identified him as the precursor of abstract art classified in terms of painting 'au-delà du concret.' The artist had striven to prove earlier to Dezarrois that his first abstract syntheses were completed prior to his contact with cubism.⁴² To his disappointment Zervos placed his work in the aftermath of cubism with his first non-figurative work dating back to 1913. Kandinsky's letter to Josef Albers brought out his disappointment about Zervos' book and the dominant place given to Picasso with regards to the evolution of cubism and abstract art. 'Picasso, he argued, was and remained the commencement, the continuation and the future of that modern art [...] strange way to write the history of art.' Kandinsky exaggerated, 'people here revolted against Zervos' book. Some even refuse to sell it.'⁴³

⁴⁰ 'Lettre Ouverte aux Organisateurs de l'Exposition d'Art International Indépendant,' 7 August 1937 cited in *André Breton : La Beauté Convulsive*, Paris: Musée National d'Art Moderne, 1991, p. 236.

⁴¹ In a letter to Giovanni Scheiwiller he wrote: 'J'ai l'intention de faire un album grand format avec 32 planches d'œuvres de Chirico jusqu'en 1917 inclus. Le prix de cet album serait Frs. 35. Dites moi franchement quel succès ce livre rencontrerait en Italie et combien d'exemplaires nous pourrions y vendre. De votre réponse dépendra ma décision.' C. Z., letter to Giovanni Scheiwiller, 10 July 1937. Fonds *Cahiers d'Art* CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁴² Christian Derouet, 'Kandinsky "Triumvir" de l'Exposition du Jeu de Paume en. 1937,' in Pontus Halten (ed.) *Paris 1937-Paris 1957*, Paris : MNAM, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1981, pp. 103-106.

⁴³ Christian Derouet (ed.), *Cahiers d'Art : Musée Zervos à Vézelay*, Paris : Hazan, 2006, p. 86.

Kandinsky, Derouet has observed, sought for a complete presentation of the development of his work,⁴⁴ something that Zervos' gallery and magazine had previously failed to accomplish in a way corresponding to the artist's expectations. It is interesting that in 1936 he supported Tériade for the project of an illustrated album of works from the Solomon Guggenheim collection, which contained a number of Kandinsky's works that gave a full impression of the artist's development. Tériade attempted, before Zervos, to author a history of contemporary art. An earlier project to sign the general volume *Art Plastiques* of the *Au Sans Pareil* series *Les Manifestations de l'Esprit Contemporain* subsided in 1929.⁴⁵ By 1936 he was left out of *Minotaure*, the collaboration with *L'Intransigeant* concluded and he was in search of funding for a new magazine, notably in the United States. His attention initially turned to Solomon Guggenheim who envisaged establishing a museum with his collection a few years later. With the intermediation of Kandinsky he approached Hila Rebay proposing the publication of an illustrated volume with works from the Guggenheim collection. The opinion of Rudolf Bauer was crucial.⁴⁶ Kandinsky wrote:

I sent your idea to Mrs Rebay, and today I received a letter from her. She believes that it would probably be better to ask you to go to Berlin and not to New York: she would like to hear the opinion of Bauer (I think I read: the impression that you will make on B.) and on the other hand less expensive. She would like apart from that to read a book written by you – to know *how he writes*. I repeat to you exactly the words of Mrs R. to inform you about the situation. As for myself, I always had the impression that the affair is interesting for her – see the intention to pay the travel costs! Mr Guggenheim is absent at the moment from N.Y. – vacation. She understands well the important role that a beautiful book could play in this case. Could you send one of your books to Mrs Reber? Do it as soon as possible!⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Christian Derouet, 'Kandinsky "Triumvir" de l'Exposition du Jeu de Paume en. 1937,' in Pontus Halten (ed.) *Paris 1937-Paris 1957*, Paris : MNAM, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1981, pp. 103-106.

⁴⁵ A relative advertisement was published in *Les Nouvelles Littéraires, Artistiques et Scientifiques* 8, 2 February 1929, p. 11.

⁴⁶ 'J'ai reçu la réponse de New York. Elle est assez favorable, mais on est contre la hâte. On pense aussi que vous connaissez trop peu l'œuvre de M. Bauer et que cette connaissance est tout-à-fait nécessaire. On voudrait vous parler personnellement. Si vous me donnez un coup de téléphone demain ou dimanche matin (à partir de 11h), je pourrais vous communiquer les détails.' Vassily Kandinsky, letter to Tériade, 27 November 1936. Archives Tériade, Musée Matisse, Le Cateau Cambrésis.

⁴⁷ Kandinsky, letter to Tériade, 16 December 1936. Archives Tériade, Musée Matisse, Le Cateau Cambrésis. 'J'ai envoyé [sic] votre *exposé* à Mme Rebay, et aujourd'hui j'ai reçu une lettre d'elle. Elle croit que ça serait peut-être mieux de vous prier d'aller à Berlin, et non à New York : elle voudrait bien entendre l'opinion de Bauer (Je pense à lire : l'impression que vous ferez [sic] sur B.) et d'autre part moins de frais. Elle voudrait outre cela lire quelque livre écrit par vous – pour savoir *comme il écrit* [sic]. Je vous répète exactement les paroles de Mme R. pour vous tenir au courant de la situation. Quant à moi j'ai toujours l'impression que l'affaire l'intéresse beaucoup – voir aussi l'intention de payer les frais du voyage ! M. Guggenheim est à l' instant absent de N. Y. – vacances. Mme de R. m'écrit cette fois très distinctement du projet d'organiser un musée à N. Y. Elle comprend bien quel rôle important

The project never came to fruition. Guggenheim announced two years later a prize of 5.000 Frs destined to an article or a series of articles in French language that contributed to the understanding of non-objective art.⁴⁸ It is indeed remarkable that Tériade became interested in the collection which demonstrated in reality the evolution of analytical cubism to a non-figurative idiom considering the earlier patronising tone of his polemic against this formal development in the 'Documentaire sur la Jeune Peinture' series. Kandinsky nonetheless appreciated, as we saw earlier, these texts which identified in his work an autonomous development little concerned with cubism. By the end of 1937 Tériade had assured the collaboration of David Smart, the American founder of *Esquire* magazine, for the publication of the luxurious quarterly *Verve*. The magazine published its first number after the conclusion of the 1937 Fair with its orientation serving as a link between the three official shows and the Jeu de Paume exhibition of abstract art. The links were nonetheless reduced to Kandinsky, Masson, and Klee.

As a matter of fact, Tériade espoused the national narrative covering in his richly illustrated quarterly aspects of continuity advocated, as we shall see, in three official shows which more or less linked modern and contemporary French art with its medieval past. *Verve* stands out as an example of the *rayonnement culturel* policies that became the hallmark of the Popular Front cultural agenda and were epitomised in the 1937 Fair and the smaller shows held simultaneously in the French capital. It paired modern art – an eclectic mingling of the most popular artists of the École Française and the École de Paris - with faithful reproductions of medieval manuscript illuminations from the Bibliothèque Nationale. The illustration of the magazine may be viewed as a concise presentation of a narrative for potential application to the new museum, the inauguration of which was postponed and eventually interrupted with the outbreak of the war.

It is clear that the Jeu de Paume show shaped the narrative for international independent art tracing its origins in primitive expression and not in medieval art as

pourrait jouer dans ce cas un beau livre. Pourriez-vous envoyer un de vos livres à Mme de R. ? Faites le le plus tôt possible en cas que vous le pouvez !'

⁴⁸ Anon., 'Art et Curiosité : Pour la Compréhension de l'Art Inobjectif,' *Le Temps*, 20 July 1938.

was the case with *Verve*.⁴⁹ The scheme was in stark contrast to the national evolution presented in the three retrospective shows organised on the margins of the 1937 *Exposition Internationale des Arts et des Techniques Appliqués à la Vie Moderne*. The closest chronologically to the Jeu de Paume show was *Les Maitres de l'Art Indépendant: 1895-1937* at the Petit Palais.⁵⁰ The presentation was essentially different. Whereas the first show welcomed its guests with two sculptures by Picasso and Gonzalez on display in the main entrance, the Petit Palais show received them with Bourdelle, Despiau, Rodin, Desbois and Pompon. The Jeu de Paume exhibition was indeed an international show of abstract art. The other focused on the evolution of national art, reducing the participation of foreign artists to 16 names out of an overall presentation of 118.⁵¹ Matisse showed 61 works, Picasso 32, including a study for *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* from the Georges Salles collection, and *Les Trois Masques* (1921) from the Paul Rosenberg collection. The artist was cited as the creator of cubism, together with Léger, while Braque was placed among the initiators of the movement. It is interesting that the Petit Palais, the Musée des Beaux-Arts of the City of Paris, would occupy one of the two new museums in the eastern wing of the Palais de Tokio. The presentation is telling of the attitude adopted by the City of Paris with regards to its content which was arguably friendlier to the representation of the École de Paris than the State Museum of Modern Art. The latter, proposing to replace the Luxembourg, opened in the western wing of the Palais de Tokio with the retrospective *Chefs d'oeuvre de l'Art Français*.⁵²

⁴⁹ *Verve*'s attempt to present the links between ancient and modern art are eloquently presented in a review of its first numbers by André Lhote, 'Verve,' *N.R.F.* 302, 1 November 1938, pp. 858-859.

⁵⁰ *Les Maitres de l'Art Indépendant, 1895-1937*, exhibition catalogue, June-October 1937, Petit Palais, Paris : Art et Métiers Graphiques, 1937. Bernadette Contensou, 'Autour de l'Exposition des Maitres de l'Art Indépendant en 1937,' *Paris 1937: L'Art Independent*, Paris: Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, 1987, pp. 11-18. Rima Drell Reck, 'Paris 1937: L'Art Indépendant,' *The French Review* 61, May 1988, pp. 998-999. The newly established review *Le Point*, edited by Pierre Betz, devoted an entire number to articles on each one of the artists on display in the show. *Les Maitres de l'Art Indépendant, 1895-1925, Portraits d'Artistes*, special number, *Le Point*, July 1937.

⁵¹ Picasso, Gris, Chagall, Modigliani, Soutine, Pascin, Kisling, Zadkine, Ernst, De Chirico, Severini, van Dongen, Gargallo, Manolo, Mateo Hernandez and Orloff. *Cahiers d'Art* commented on the show mentioning that 'l'importance de cette manifestation officielle saute aux yeux. C'était le moyen de rendre pour le public respectables ceux qu'on peut nommer les meneurs de l'art vivant [...] Nous ne savons ce qu'il sera de cet effort de propagation de l'art indépendant, mais nous voyons déjà des gens qui comptaient sur leur expérience du passé pour combattre l'art d'aujourd'hui, avouer qu'il retrouvent par un autre chemin, ce qui les avait intéressé dans les belles époques de l'art.' Anon., 'Les Expositions,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4-5, 1937, p. 162.

⁵² On the exhibition see Paul Fierens, 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre de l'Art Français I,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 17 July 1937, p. 2. Paul Fierens, 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre de l'Art Français II,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 28 July 1937, p. 2. Paul Fierens, 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre de l'Art Français III,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 11 August 1937, p. 2. Paul Fierens,

The show, mainly an initiative of Léon Blum, was praised in *Cahiers d'Art* for bringing together an extraordinary number of French masterpieces from private and public collections in France and abroad most of which reached the eyes of the wide public for the first time.⁵³ It presented painting in France throughout the centuries having the work of Jean Fouquet as a point of departure. The presentation concluded with works by Cézanne, van Gogh and Gauguin which served as its historical link – the Jeu de Paume show introduced them in terms of a total break with historical past – to the other two shows of contemporary art, namely the one at the Petit Palais.⁵⁴ The presentation was completed with the retrospective at the Bibliothèque Nationale which presented French illuminated manuscripts from the 8th to the 16th centuries. The show was important to contemporary artists, Emile van Moé observed, for they now had the chance to consult these manuscripts in order to draw inspiration for the themes that they were called upon to execute on the occasion of the general plan to re-decorate French churches by adjusting their edifices to the 12th and 13th century cathedrals.⁵⁵

Tériade found significant official support in his effort to produce for the first time in the history of art publishing facsimile reproductions of medieval miniatures. *Verve* undertook a missionary role especially after the outbreak of the war and the

'Les Chefs-d'œuvre de l'Art Français IV (1),' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 22 August 1937, p. 4. Paul Fierens, 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre de l'Art Français I,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 17 July 1937, p. 2. Paul Fierens, 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre de l'Art Français V (1),' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 8 September 1937, p. 4. Paul Fierens, 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre de l'Art Français VI (1),' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 19 September 1937, p. 4. Paul Fierens, 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre de l'Art Français VII,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 29 September 1937, p. 4. Paul Fierens, 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre de l'Art Français VIII,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 15 October 1937, p. 4.

⁵³ 'C'est un sujet de fierté pour M. Blum et ses collaborateurs d'avoir pu réunir à Paris cette collection de chefs-d'œuvre, qui représentent dix siècles de travail et qui sont venus à leur appel, de tous les coins du monde. On y trouve en effet réunies les plus belles pièces des trésors répandus dans toutes les provinces françaises ou dans les collections et les musées d'Europe et d'Amérique. En même temps cette exposition a fait le recensement de nos églises, de nos musées locaux, a exhumé les sculptures, les ivoires, les émaux, les trésors pour lesquels les touristes n'ont trop souvent qu'un regard rapide.' Anon., 'Les Expositions,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4-5, 1937, p. 162. See also Kate Kangaslahti, 'The Exhibition in Paris in 1937: Art and the Struggle for French Identity,' *CIHA Proceedings, Nation Style Modernism*, Munich: Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, 2006, pp. 275-288.

⁵⁴ 'Mais l'exposition du quai de Tokio ou du moins ses salles impressionnistes et cézanniennes servent encore de préface à l'Exposition du Petit Palais, où les Maîtres de l'Art Indépendant, ne se montrent pas toujours inférieurs à leurs aînés et nous sont présentés de façon généreuse, presque trop copieusement. Cette rétrospective de ce qu'on a appelé l'art vivant nous confirme dans l'opinion que la peinture et que la sculpture françaises ont atteint, durant le premier tiers du vingtième siècle, un niveau que nous avons pas surestimé.' Paul Fierens, 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre de l'Art Français VIII,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 15 October 1937, p. 4.

⁵⁵ Emile van Moé, 'Les Manuscrits à Peintures à la Bibliothèque Nationale,' *Archives et Bibliothèques* 3, 1937, p. 161.

danger of plunder that these works became subject to.⁵⁶ The general administrator of the Bibliothèque Nationale Julien Cain saluted with praise the effort of the magazine in 1937 to bring to the eyes of the general public a significant number of illuminations that were up to this date almost exclusively accessible to scholars.⁵⁷ The practice served the Popular Front 'art des masses' concept while it introduced at the same time a revised version of the *double repartition* method which brought to public view works belonging to the 'museum of masterpieces' and the 'museum for scholars.' The revised method was indeed effective in this context. Tériade aimed at offering a plan for a comprehensive illustrated history of French art and arguably - after the war - pictorial models for church decoration.⁵⁸

The 'Epitome of French Art from the earliest times to the future' by Raynal published in *Verve*'s inaugural issue resumes the narrative shaped for modern art. It kept afloat the aspect of continuity in French art production throughout the ages despite the omnipresence of *contaminating* Latinity.⁵⁹ The text was written in response to the *Chefs d'oeuvre de l'Art Français* exhibition and the one at the Petit Palais. However Raynal moved further to trace a coherent sensuality in French artistic expression since the prehistoric times starting his discussion with the cave paintings of the Font de Gaume, Laussel and La Madeleine. He continued with the triumph of the Gallic pastoral element over the 'warlike ideologies' and militarist art of the Franks, the Celts and the Ligurians. It is interesting that Zervos based his earlier observation of Mesopotamian art on the same anti-militarist aspect, although Raynal argued here that the Gallic element encompassed and survived over foreign influences due to the nature of its soil and 'the advantages of the land which they coveted.'⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Chara Kolokytha, 'L'Amour de l'Art en France est toujours aussi fécond: La Maison d'Éditions Verve et la Reproduction de Manuscrits à Peintures conservés dans les Bibliothèques de France pendant les années noires (1939-1944),' *French Cultural Studies* 25, 2014, pp. 121-139.

⁵⁷ Chara Kolokytha, 'The Art Press and Visual Culture in Paris during the Great Depression: Cahiers d'Art, Minotaure and Verve,' *Visual Resources* 29, 2013, pp. 184-215.

⁵⁸ Lundbaeck claims that *Guernica* was conceived after the illustrations of the Apocalypse of Saint Sever reproduced in *Verve* in December 1937, arguing that Picasso must have seen these images in Tériade's office while the number was under preparation. Dorrit Lundbaeck, 'Picasso's Sources,' *The Burlington Magazine* 112, June 1970, pp. 400-401. Scenes of the Apocalypse have also been reproduced earlier in *Documents* and *Cahiers d'Art*. It is more likely that Picasso had seen these reproductions which may well have served as his source for *Guernica*. The reproductions in *Cahiers d'Art* were derived in fact from the art of medieval Spain. See Georges Bataille, 'L'Apocalypse de Saint Sever,' *Documents* 2, 1929, pp. 74-84. Joaquim Folch i Torres, 'Les Miniatures des commentaires aux Apocalypses de Gerona et de Seu d'Urgell,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-8, 1931, pp. 331-334.

⁵⁹ Zervos as we shall see inscribed French art to the Latin tradition.

⁶⁰ Maurice Raynal, 'Epitome of French Art from the Earliest Times to the Future,' *Verve* 1, 1937, p. 107 (English edition).

The text is important for it reveals for the first time Raynal's views on this controversial topic regarding the origins of French art despite the overall simplistic presentation. It is true that Tériade espoused more or less the same views. Raynal maintained that 'in spite of the Roman yoke, the people continued to follow the pre-invasion tendencies [...] the Frank was to triumph' having 'already gone in for Orientalism.' Charlemagne pursued a return to antiquity although the aesthetic did not 'allow itself to be entirely circumscribed [...] It was that in the full bloom of Roman art appeared, with Saint-Denis and Chartres, the first symptoms of Gothic art' which became 'the summit of French art.' The subsequent contact with Italy overthrew 'the magnificent edifice.' The cult of Latinity imposed academic practices although the Le Nains, Poussin, La Tour and Lorrain 'retained their contact with humanity.' Napoleon revived the cult of antiquity. The Barbizon and Pont-Aven schools were the first to revolt against the Italian landscape replacing it with the French. The Impressionists and the art of Manet, Cézanne, Renoir, Monet, van Gogh and Seurat recaptured its sensibility, but art maintained its distrustfulness. Raynal identified in the system of –isms, despite its romantic persuasion, an inherent urge for unity among French artists which pointed to the survival of the guild system. 'The genuine French artist has always been an artisan.' Fauvism was viewed as a return to the pre-Roman period 'as much by its fidelity to nature as by its need to smash the conventional forms in order to reconstruct.' Raynal progressively turned the discussion to the ideological aspects of French art arguing that the system of –isms constitutes 'a safeguard against seizure by authority.' The argument was timely.

French art is menaced anew by current political tendencies. The autocracies would like to annex it for their own benefit [...] The –isms are disappearing [...] All individual endeavours, indeed, contain academic possibilities. The difficulties of the present result in the artist distrusting his neighbour [...] He must be reassured. The memory of harms which badly assimilated Latinity did to the art of France is long-lived, since it is on display today in the museums and shops. An academicism, either of the Left or of the Right, might come back into vogue by jeering at what it might perhaps contemptuously call, after the present mode, experiments [...] Since artistic Latinity has not been able to survive, can an academic dictatorship of a new form arise? Possibly. But it will endure such a short time.⁶¹

⁶¹ Maurice Raynal, 'Epitome of French Art from the Earliest Times to the Future,' *Verve* 1, 1937, pp. 107-108 (English edition).

The Spanish Front

The Parisian International Exhibition was of paramount importance to presenting national grandeur to its international audience in a period of political turmoil and economic frailty. Due to the widespread participation it eloquently resumed the turbulent socio-political climate of the epoch. Almost all 1937 *Cahiers d'Art* numbers commented on the show with the double 8-10 issue being exclusively devoted to its *Souvenirs*. It is pertinent to cite once again the opposing symbols on the top of Boris Iofan's Soviet⁶² and Albert Speer's German pavilions in front of the Eiffel tower and the imposing *Guernica* in the main entrance of the Spanish pavilion carrying the abhorrent memory of the Spanish Civil War started about a year earlier. Alexander Calder's *Mercury Fountain* commemorated the Loyalist victory in the Almaden mercury mines and Miró's (now lost) large scale mural *El Segador* (The Reaper) depicting a Catalan peasant holding a sickle completed the ideological message of the Republican pavilion proving that abstract art could indeed serve as a message carrier. Juan Larrea signed a text on Miró's mural while the entire number of *Cahiers d'Art* focused on *Guernica* in terms of both its spiritual conception and technical execution, with certain emphasis on the first.⁶³

The references to the political front dominated the content of *Cahiers d'Art* the same year. Zervos was indeed the first to 'interpret a modernist work of art from the perspective of contemporary political struggles, Jutta Held observed, with *Guernica* serving as a 'means whereby the politicisation of a bourgeois cultural elite was strengthened.'⁶⁴ Indeed the work encased a concrete political message employing a more or less abstracted pictorial idiom. In a lengthy polemical text Zervos furthermore denounced the aesthetic controlled by the Third Reich in terms of its affective attachment to the masses, the abrogation of faith in individual values, the immorality of modern art that it advocated, its sterile academicism, and the suppression of liberalism as the enemy of racial spirit.⁶⁵ *Cahiers d'Art* had presented the previous

⁶² The architect who designed the Palais des Soviets.

⁶³ Juan Larrea, 'Miroir d'Espagne, A Propos du *Faucheur* de Miró au Pavillon Espagnol de l'Exposition 1937,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4-5, 1937, pp. 157-158. Christian Zervos, 'Histoire d'un Tableau de Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4-5, 1937, pp. 105-111.

⁶⁴ Jutta Held, 'How do the Political Effects of Pictures come about ? The case of Picasso's *Guernica*,' *Oxford Art Journal* 11, 1988, pp. 33-39.

⁶⁵ Christian Zervos, 'Réflexions sur la Tentative d'Esthétique dirigée du IIIe Reich,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-3, 1937, pp. 51-61. See also Karen

year the administrative organs of the Nazi cultural propaganda slightly before the opening of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition in Munich.⁶⁶

The magazine treated with irony the exhibition of French art (*Ausstellung französischer Kunst der Gegenwart*) at the Prussian Art Academy the same year, a French diplomatic manifestation aiming to attract visitors to the forthcoming Parisian Fair. Zervos announced that the artists collaborating with the magazine refused to participate in the show out of solidarity with their, prosecuted by Nazism, German peers.⁶⁷ Two watercolours by Hitler produced during the Great War accompanied the text that commented with biting irony on his 'immanent' interest in art.⁶⁸ The developments on the Spanish front spawned international reproach.⁶⁹ Despite Léon Blum's non-intervention policy that cost him many of his erstwhile supporters and comrades, the unofficial French support to the Spanish Republicans was remarkable. The first triple number of *Cahiers d'Art* was overwhelmed with references to Spain and Picasso's anti-war outcry *Guernica*. The same number included 11 etchings of Picasso's *Songe et Mensonge de Franco*. Picasso was named honorary director in exile of the Prado museum although he last visited Spain in 1934.⁷⁰ Zervos published the same year *L'Art en Catalogne de la Seconde Moitié du Neuvième Siècle à la Fin du Quinzième Siècle* which coincided with the exhibition *L'Art Catalan du Xe au XVe Siècle* that opened at the Jeu de Paume in March 1937.

The volume included 300 reproductions of Catalan Romanesque and Gothic art that Zervos had obtained during his visit to Catalonia between October and December 1936. The volume was sold at 135 Frs. His interest in Catalan monuments has to be understood in terms of the political situation in Spain and was to a great

⁶⁶ Christian Zervos, 'Réflexions sur la Tentative d'Esthétique dirigée du IIIe Reich,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-10, 1936, pp. 209-212. Drawing conclusions from this text Karen Fiss has argued that 'by denying art any function beyond individual expression, Zervos effectively repudiates the political dimension of artistic production' adding that 'Zervos believed that artistic means could never be utilized to achieve legitimate political action by the masses, nor did he think that representations exhibiting a mass aesthetic could ever be considered valid art forms in their own right.' Karen Fiss, *Grand Illusion: The Third Reich, The Paris Exposition, and the Cultural Seduction of France*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010, pp. 120-121.

⁶⁷ Michele C. Cone, 'French Art of the Present in Hitler's Berlin,' *Art Bulletin* 80, 1998, pp. 555-567.

⁶⁸ Anon., 'Une Exposition d'Art Français à Berlin,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-3, 1937, p. 62.

⁶⁹ Tériade's *Verve* magazine evokes the passionless liberal critique that its American sponsors imposed on its content with regards to the developments in Spain. See Χαρά Κολοκυθά, *Το Περιοδικό Verve: Δεκεμβριος 1937-Ιούλιος 1939, διπλωματική εργασία*, Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης, 2011.

⁷⁰ Zervos wrote to Picasso: 'le directeur du musée du Prado a été mis à la porte et que vous avez été nommé à sa place. J'espère que vous me faciliterez le travail photographique dans votre musée. Demain se décide mon voyage à Barcelone, Valence, Madrid (à titre pacifique).' C. Z., letter to Pablo Picasso, 15 September 1936. Archives Picasso, Musée Picasso, Paris. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the letter to me.

extent ideologically motivated. The book and the exhibition aimed to refute the accusations of vandalism against the clergy addressed to the Spanish Republicans – and later to members of FAI, CNT, and POUM⁷¹ - proving that the monuments in the Catalan Republican territory remained intact.⁷² The initiative was important for it cited the new locations where the works were transferred after the outbreak of the civil war, namely to the Art Museum of Catalonia in Barcelona. Zervos espoused the early Republican propaganda – it is remarkable that the opposing fronts employed the same accusations in their propaganda against each other - attributing the atrocities to the enraged mob.⁷³ He furthermore estimated that the Catalan patrimony marked a diminution of the order of 2% out of vandalisms which concerned works of minor importance. At the same time the national patrimony marked an augmentation of the order of 40% with regards to previously unknown works, most of which had significant artistic value.

The nationalisation and conservation of this rich patrimonial wealth coming from ecclesiastical and other private collections was part of the agenda of the Conselleria de Cultura since the beginning of the war. Its action, Zervos argued, was significant since the works now belonged to the whole nation and were accessible without the prerequisite of papal authorisation.⁷⁴ It was a more radical approach to the socialist 'bringing art to the masses' concept that the French Popular Front also adopted. Zervos wrote to the director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts:

Having just spent 2 months in Catalonia to investigate the so-called destruction of works of art in that region, I have the pleasure of stating that not only was nothing of artistic importance been destroyed, but that on the contrary, Romanesque and Gothic objects of exceptional beauty have been discovered which before had been cast into cellars by the priests and the monks. We also found retables, which had previously

⁷¹ Federación Anarquista Iberica (FAI), Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM).

⁷² Penrose recounted: 'Les journaux que l'on recevait à Mougins parlaient d'actes de vandalisme et d'émeutes en Catalogne, dont on attribuait la responsabilité aux anarchistes. Zervos, qui publiait à Paris les Cahiers d'Art, décida d'aller vérifier sur place si tout cela était vrai ou n'était qu'un nouveau stratagème fasciste pour discréditer le gouvernement républicain et le présenter comme soumis aux extrémistes de gauche. Quand il quitta Mougins, je lui proposai d'aller le retrouver à Barcelone dans le but de rapporter à Londres le récit d'un témoin oculaire dans la situation.' Roland Penrose, *80 ans de Surréalisme: 1900-1981*, Paris: Circle d'Art, 1983, pp. 80-81. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for the reference.

⁷³ For a comprehensive discussion of the revolt against the clergy during the Spanish Civil War see Julio de la Cueva, 'Religious Persecution, Anticlerical Tradition and Revolution: On Atrocities against the Clergy during the Spanish Civil War,' *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, July 1998, pp. 355, 369, here p. 357.

⁷⁴ Christian Zervos, 'A l'Ombre de la Guerre Civile. L'Art Catalan du Xe au XVe Siècle au Musée du Jeu de Paume des Tuileries, mars-avril 1937,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-10, 1936, pp. 213-216, here 216.

served as dining tables for the monks. I took the opportunity during my stay in Catalonia to prepare a book on the Art of Catalonia of the 14th and 15th centuries, a volume of large format with more than four hundred reproductions. In this book I should especially like to reproduce a photograph of the head of the virgin from the altarpiece of Anglesola which forms part of your collection. It would be very kind of you if you would let me have a photograph of this head from a three-quarter angle or full face, according to whichever view may seem preferable to you, as well as one profile view of the head. I should be especially grateful if the photographer would take extra care to render the quality of matiere in the piece of sculpture, so that this reproduction might harmonize with all the others that I had made in Catalonia.⁷⁵

The book was published in French, German and English. It proposed to be published under the aegis of the Spanish Conselleria de Cultura.⁷⁶ The French version included an introduction by Zervos titled 'Les Prétendus Vandalismes en Catalogne,' his 'Considérations sur l'Art Médiéval de la Catalogne,' Ferran Soldevilla's 'La Catalogne, Histoire à vol d'Oiseau' and specialist analyses of Roman and Gothic art by Josef Gudiol.⁷⁷ The introduction of the English edition was signed by Zervos and Roland Penrose titled 'Art and the Present Crisis in Catalonia.'⁷⁸ The book aimed to 'dispel any further doubts as to the efficiency of the measures that have been taken' by the Conselleria de Cultura.⁷⁹ A smaller album was published by Dezarrois the

⁷⁵ C. Z., letter in English to the director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 17 December 1936. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 6, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁷⁶ 'Avez-vous terminé les textes que vous deviez me donner. Il est absolument indispensable que le livre paraisse vite tant qu'il est d'actualité. Miravittles m'a dit par téléphone de faire parler à quelqu'un au nouveau Conseiller de la Culture M. Sert. Je vais le faire. Mais comme tout cela est long. Si d'ici 15 jours au plus tard, je n'ai pas une réponse ferme, je ferai faire le livre à mes frais, et je le vendrai naturellement cher. En attendant je publierai dans la Revue quelques illustrations et mes notes sur les sauvetages des objets etc.' C. Z., letter to Josef Gudiol, 4 January 1937. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁷⁷ See Gertrud Richert, 'Feran Soldevilla, Joseph Gudiol, Christian Zervos: Die Kunst Kataloniens, Baukunst, plastic, malerei vom 10. bis zum 15. Jh.-Wien, Scroll & Co, 1937,' *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 7, 1938, pp. 76-77.

⁷⁸ Zervos wrote to Penrose: 'Ce volume sera édité en français et en allemand. J'aimerais avoir une édition en anglais et la maison qui me semble la plus indiquée est celles des Mrs. Faber & Faber. Voudriez-vous pressentir à ce sujet ladite maison et en parler à notre ami Herbert Read. Voici les conditions : Nous imprimerions 1000 exemplaires de 208 pages de similigravure avec légendes en anglais pour le prix global de frs. 50.000. Le texte serait imprimé en Angleterre. Ce texte comprendrait : 1° une préface de vous sur tout ce que vous avez vu en Catalogne, puisque nous avons fait tous les voyages ensemble. 2° mon texte dont je vous enverrai copie. 3° le texte de Josep Gudiol sur l'histoire de la Catalogne au Moyen Age par rapport à l'extension de l'art catalan, et le texte sera illustré de tous les décrets, actes officiels, etc. qui démontrent qu'en juillet 1936 toutes mesures avaient été prises officiellement pour sauvegarder les œuvres d'art. L'ensemble de textes et documents dans le texte environ 32 pages. Cette souscription à 1000 et plus exemplaires donnerait à Mrs Faber & Faber, l'exclusivité pour la Grande Bretagne et les Dominions.' C. Z., letter to Roland Penrose, 19 January 1937. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁷⁹ Christian Zervos and Roland Penrose, 'Art and the Present Crisis in Catalonia,' *Catalan Art from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, London and Toronto: W. Heinemann, 1937, p. 33. 'Sur l'invitation du gouvernement catalan, j'ai pu, d'octobre à décembre 1936, parcourir en toute liberté le pays entier, visiter tous les monuments de quelque valeur artistique, comparer avec les listes dressées avant la guerre civile, l'état actuel des monuments ainsi que des peintures et des sculptures médiévales. Après

same year including 52 reproductions. Picasso participated in the Parisian *comité d'action* for the organisation of the Jeu de Paume show. Zervos fervently espoused his positions. As a matter of fact, the artist wrote a text referring to these issues on the occasion of an exhibition of Spanish Republican posters in New York organised by the North American Committee and Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy. The text was written in June 1937 and was reprinted in Barr's *Picasso: Fifty Years of his Art* in 1946. The artist explained that 'the ridiculous story which the fascist propagandists have circulated throughout the world has been exposed completely many times by the great number of artists and intellectuals who have visited Spain lately. All have agreed on the great respect which the Spanish people in arms have displayed for its immense artistic treasures and the zeal which it had exhibited in saving the great store of pictures, religious paintings and tapestries from fascist incendiary bombs.'⁸⁰

A second book was under preparation dedicated to the works of El Greco in Spain.⁸¹ It was the second monograph dedicated to the 'old masters' after the one on Grünewald and before the volume on Cranach.⁸² The book series has to be understood in its timeliness since each volume appeared in periods when each one of these artists was receiving particular spotlight and Zervos took advantage of the occasions to comment on their *actualité*. Following the evacuation of the Prado after the 1936 bombardments, Zervos visited Spain again in March-April 1938, before the transfer of the works in February 1939 to Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations. Blum supervised the mission on its passage from France. The exhibition *Les Chefs-*

cet examen, je puis affirmer que l'accusation de vandalisme portée contre les Catalans sont sans fondement et que l'histoire des destructions artistiques est montée de toutes pièces. Je puis également affirmer, décrets en mains, que, dès le 20 Juillet, le gouvernement de la Catalogne, sur l'initiative de M. Ventura Gassol, conseiller de la Culture, a pris les mesures nécessaires pour sauver de l'exaspération populaire les édifices religieux que les rebelles avaient transformées en fortins.' Christian Zervos, 'L'Art de la Catalogne,' *Marianne*, 12 May 1937, p. 5. I am indebted to Christian Derouet for furnishing me this reference and the entire text published in *Marianne*.

⁸⁰ Alfred Barr Jr, *Picasso: Fifty Years of his Art*, N. Y.: MoMA, 1946, p. 264. The text was originally published by Elizabeth McCausland in the *Springfield Republican*, 18 July 1937, p. 21. I am indebted to Christian Derouet for the reference.

⁸¹ Christian Zervos, *Les Œuvres du Greco en Espagne*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1939. About the transfer of works from Spanish museums see Christian Zervos, 'Le Sort des Œuvres d'Art en Espagne Républicaine,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3-10, 1938, p. 212.

⁸² A volume on Lucas Cranach followed in 1950 giving way to a series of linocuts produced by Picasso after Cranach's works. Richardson claims that it was Kahnweiler who introduced Cranach to Picasso, claiming that he was an artist of more quality than Grünewald. John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso: The Triumphant Years: 1917-1932*, Knopf Doubleday, 2008, p. 486. Lieberman also claimed that it was Kahnweiler who sent Picasso a postcard reproducing Cranach's work. See William S. Lieberman (ed.) *Picasso Linoleum Cuts: The Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kramer Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, N.Y.: MET, 1985, p. 13.

d'oeuvre du Musée du Prado followed in June at the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire. Zervos started working on the El Greco volume in 1937, a year that marked significant focus on the artist's work.

The *Greco* exhibition in the Beaux-Arts gallery presented works from the Royal collection of Romania and that of August Mayer.⁸³ The catalogue included Raymond Cogniat's text 'Le Greco et la Peinture Moderne.' The show was a deception for Zervos. In a small note he estimated that the original Grecos on display were reduced to 4-5 works, while the rest were replicas. Zervos regretted that the political climate prevented the Louvre from eventually hosting an exhibition similar to the one organised in Zurich, which would give a full impression of the artist's authentic work.⁸⁴ The Greco album arguably attempted to replenish that gap. A series of publications followed, namely Raymond Escholier's *Greco*,⁸⁵ Eugène Dabit's *Les Maitres de la Peinture Espagnole: Le Greco-Velazquez*,⁸⁶ and the volume *El Greco* with texts by Maurice Legendre and more than 400 illustrated pages.⁸⁷ *Cahiers d'Art* reviewed Dabit's book maintaining that its quality owed much to the author's primary preoccupation with the plastic elements rather than the mystical and literary aspects of Greco's work, a remark that is telling of the intentions of his own book. 'Contrary to those who understand nothing in painting and explain the development of Greco's work in terms of craze and astigmatism,'⁸⁸ Dabit admitted his need to 'constantly invent inedited rhythms,'⁸⁹ one might add, just like Picasso. Indeed, the 3-10 number of *Cahiers d'Art* in 1938 carried on its front cover the title Picasso-Le Greco on a red ground, although its content did not make particular references to their connections.

There is little doubt that the interest in Greco and Spanish patrimony increased during the conflicts. Zervos' volume eventually appeared in 1939 coinciding with Franco's victory over the Republicans. Zervos linked Greco's eccentricities and constant urge for renewal to Picasso's pictorial exaggerations and stylistic variability. Furthermore, the late recognition of Greco's pictorial genius evoked the contemporary

⁸³ See Jean Cassou, 'Theotocopouli El Greco. Galerie des Beaux-arts,' *Marianne* 23, June 1937, p. 10.

⁸⁴ Anon., 'Greco,' *Cahiers d'Art* 4-5, 1937, p.164. Anon., 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre du Prado à Paris,' *Beaux-Arts* 240, 6 August 1937, p. 1, 6. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for the second reference.

⁸⁵ Raymond Escholier, *Greco*, Paris: Floury, 1937. See J. B., 'Bibliographie,' *Gazette des Beaux-arts* 1, 1938, p. 59-60.

⁸⁶ Eugène Dabit, *Les Maitres de la Peinture Espagnole: Le Greco-Velázquez*, Paris: Gallimard, 1937.

⁸⁷ See André Lhote, 'Livres et Revues : Le Greco par Legendre et Hartmann (Hypérion) – Guernica par Picasso (Cahiers d'Art),' *N.R.F.* 293, 1 February 1938, pp. 332-333.

⁸⁸ Zervos draw parallels with Jung's interpretation of Picasso. See Christian Zervos, *Les Œuvres du Greco en Espagne*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1939, p. LV.

⁸⁹ 'Les Livres d'Art Ancien and Moderne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1937, p. 104.

bemusement over Picasso's art. Tériade acknowledged many years later that the discovery of Greco was indeed a 20th century affair.⁹⁰ 'Between the art of El Greco and the art of a modern painter like Picasso there is an identity of essence; for transcendentalism is but another name for super-realism,' Read acknowledged in his review of the book adding that the super-realism in this context 'tends to be explained by psychology rather than supported by philosophy.' It is remarkable that the 1937 El Greco show at the Beaux-Arts gallery was followed by the *Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme* organised by Breton and Eluard in January 1938. From the perspective of Zervos, the material and spiritual synthesis, inherent to neo-Platonist thinkers, which Greco subsumed in his work was in keeping with the aesthetic output of the cubist synthesis.

Read added that 'El Greco has found his ideal expositor in one who has already devoted so much of his energy [...] to the appreciation of Picasso's genius.'⁹¹ Zervos connected Greco's conversion to Spanish mysticism to his earlier formation in Crete and the contact with the writings of Gemistus Pletho, a Neo-Platonist who was responsible 'for the introduction of Plato into the Aristotelian world of the Renaissance.' Although there is little evidence supporting the hypothesis of Greco's Neo-Platonist persuasion, Read thought that the hypothesis was indeed fair since the list of books in the artist's library at Toledo included works by the Neo-Platonist thinkers Pseudo-Denys the Areopagite and Francesco Patrizzi.⁹² Apart from the discussion of his early training and the presentation of the *actualité de Greco* Zervos' volume focused on a small number of works from Spanish collections whose authenticity was deemed unchallengeable. It is true that he had previously invited Mayer to present the credentials of authenticity for the works presented in the Wildenstein gallery, being convinced that his expertise was uncontested. The affair evokes the process followed for the editing of the Picasso catalogue. It is interesting that after the publication of the volume Zervos received works attributed to Greco for authentication. A counterfeit is on display even today at the Musée Zervos at Vézelay.

⁹⁰ See Tériade, 'Η Ανακάλυψη του Γκρέκο, Έργο του Εικοστού Αιώνα,' *Ζυγός* 103-104, 1964, pp. 21-32.

⁹¹ Herbert Read, 'The Literature of Art,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 76, April 1940, p. 136.

⁹² The fact was remarked by Zervos in the book. Herbert Read, 'The Literature of Art,' *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 76, April 1940, p. 136. See also Jean Guérin, 'Zervos Les Oeuvres Greco en Espagne (Cahiers d'Art),' *NRF* 317, February 1940, p. 287.

The focus on Greco was not Zervos' initial plan. As a matter of fact he first envisaged a special number of *Cahiers d'Art* on the theme Greco-Goya. In January 1937, he wrote to Gudiol:

I am preparing a *Cahiers d'Art* number with the Greco-Goya [...] rescued. I am in discussions with the Spanish Ambassador about this topic. Could you tell me if the Mas Archives contain most of the photographs from the Prado, the Escorial etc.? Do they have photographs of Goya's letters? Would it be possible for you to send your photographer to Valencia and accompany him if necessary. They would not let me take pictures of everything I want if I do not find all the photographs that I need. Please give me your reply because it is urgent [...] I already paid seven thousand francs of my debts. I will pay the rest in two or three weeks.⁹³

The material relating to Goya was published in the magazine in 1940 reproducing a series of portraits which were virtually enlarged details from large scale compositions. As a matter of fact, Zervos proposed to publish more reproductions of Goya's *Visages* in the following numbers of *Cahiers d'Art* announcing their eventual publication in a volume including inedited works. The publication of the magazine was nonetheless interrupted with this number being the one of two double issues that appeared before the armistice after which Zervos ceased his publishing activities until the liberation.⁹⁴ The Greco volume was published earlier in the same spirit including reproductions of details derived from larger works. Zervos counted on the help of Joan Prats, a Catalan artist and co-founder of the group A.D.L.A.N., and Gudiol for the illustration. He was notably interested in obtaining permission to reproduce works from the Prado and the Arxiu Mas, an inventory of photographs of Catalan patrimony established by Adolf Mas Ginestà. Zervos eventually published photographs taken directly from the works a fact that he re-affirmed in a post war letter to Matisse.⁹⁵

⁹³ C. Z., letter to Josef Gudiol, 4 January 1937. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Je prépare un numéro de *Cahiers d'Art* avec les Greco-Goya [...] sauvés. Je suis en pourparlers avec l'Ambassade d'Espagne à ce sujet. Pourriez-vous me dire si les Archives Mas possèdent la plupart des photos du Prado, Escorial etc. ? Possèdent-ils des photos des lettres de Goya ? Vous serait-il possible d'envoyer votre photographe à Valence et l'y accompagner si nécessaire. On ne me laisserait photographier tout ce que je veux si je ne trouve pas toutes les photos qui me sont nécessaires. Donnez-moi tout de suite s'il vous plaît votre réponse car c'est urgent [...] J'ai déjà payé sept mille francs sur mes dettes. Je paierai le reste dans deux ou trois semaines.'

⁹⁴ Anon., 'Goya Visages,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3-4, 1940, n. p.

⁹⁵ 'Ces dernières années m'ont donné l'occasion de vivre avec un grand nombre de vos tableaux c.a.d. de pénétrer un peu mieux dans votre art. C'est ce qui m'était arrivé en Espagne pendant la révolution. Les républicains m'avaient donné toute possibilité de vivre longtemps avec les tableaux du Gréco, des les prendre en mains (ce qui est beaucoup pour moi) de les voir au grand jour. J'ai idée que personne ne peut avoir [eu] le contact que j'ai eu avec cet homme extraordinaire.' C. Z., letter to Henri Matisse, 28 January 1945. Archives Matisse. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the letter to me.

In a letter to Gudiol Zervos declared that his intention was to propagandize Spain, expecting that his request for unpaid authorisation would be positively received.⁹⁶ Prats send him a list of Greco's works from the Arxiu Mas. Together with Gudiol they marked the *vrais Greco* in red, the *faux* in blue. The authenticity of the rest was undecided.⁹⁷ It is regrettable that the list is not saved. The Greco volume included 250 full page illustrations and 40 pages of text which discussed aspects of Greco's intellectual formation, his Cretan years, his mysticism and his portraits that constitute 'rare manifestations of his plastic genius.'⁹⁸ The book was announced as being in principle concerned with identifying the original Grecos from the replicas. Zervos also published two unpublished works at the end of the volume. As was also the case with the rest of his publications on primitive arts, the book on Greco proposed to become a precious study aid for those who sought to deepen their knowledge on his art. The photographs, Zervos affirmed, were produced under his direction in exceptionally advantageous conditions, in lighted halls or under natural light in exterior places, unlike all other reproductions produced under unfortunate conditions of lighting. He furthermore explained to Jean Larrea that his book intended to present the principal works of Greco in Spain and to discuss the actions taken by the Spanish government to safeguard, together with Greco's works, all the paintings of the national treasury.⁹⁹ A relative note appeared in *Cahiers d'Art* in 1938

⁹⁶ 'Je viens à peine d'avoir le temps de vérifier les envois des photos Greco par les archives Mas. Ci-inclus une liste des objets non reçus. Il y en a qui sont très importants et dont j'ai absolument besoin. Il y en a aussi qui peut être ne présentent pas d'intérêt ou sont des répliques. Ce serait bon de me les faire parvenir. Comment pourrait-on avoir les photos Greco de l'Escorial et la liste du Prado ? Ne vous serait-il pas possible de me prêter des catalogues de l'Escorial et du Prado pour faire ma vérification. Je vous les retournerai aussitôt. Comment pourrais-je avoir un exemplaire du livre de Cossio sur le Greco pour quelques jours ? Voudriez-vous parler à Gudiol et lui dire que j'aimerais avoir une lettre me donnant exonération des droits de reproduction pour les photos Greco et Goya et ceci jusqu'à la fin de la guerre civile en Espagne. Comme je lui ai expliqué lors de son séjour à Paris il m'est impossible de payer des droits vu que le but de ces publications consiste à essayer de faire de la propagande pour l'Espagne.' C. Z., letter to Joan Prats, 15 May 1937. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁹⁷ 'Je vous accompagne la liste des fotos de Greco de l'Archive Mas. On l'a fait avec Gudiol le choix. Celles qui sont marquées avec du rouge ce sont de vrais Greco. Ceux qui sont marqués en bleu ne sont pas des vrais Greco. Ceux qui ne sont pas marqués ils sont douteux.' Joan Prats, letter to C. Z., 15 August 1937. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

⁹⁸ Broché: 200 Frs. Cartonné: 225 Frs. Note published in *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1939.

⁹⁹ 'Comme suite à notre conversation au sujet du volume *Greco*, je m'empresse de vous faire avoir que la fabrication des clichés est déjà commencée par la maison Llobet de Barcelone et que je viens de recevoir 30 épreuves. Mais vu les difficultés des paiements pour continuer le travail, serait-il possible de faire payer les clichés par la Direction des Beaux-arts, et contre la somme déboursée je donnerais des volumes de l'ouvrage. Il faudrait faire faire en moyenne 300 clichés pleine page d'environ 600 cm² le cliché à 22 cm. Le centimètre soit environ 39.600 pesetas. Pour cette somme je donnerais à la Direction des Beaux-arts ou tout autre organisme 125 exemplaires de l'ouvrage qui sera considérable

presenting in details the safeguard mission.¹⁰⁰ The books on Greco and Catalan art together with the activities that took place in Spain during the same period epitomise Zervos' modest involvement in the protection of cultural heritage and at the same time his ideological position-taking in the service of Republican propaganda.¹⁰¹

comme documentation et comme présentation. Le but de ce volume est de donner les principales pièces du Gréco se trouvant en Espagne, ce qui me permettrait de parler des soins que le Gouvernement Espagnol a pris pour sauvegarder les tableaux du Greco et, en général, tous les tableaux du trésor national.' C. Z., letter to Juan Larrea, 14 December 1937. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁰⁰ Christian Zervos, 'Le Sort des Œuvres d'Art en Espagne Républicaine,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3-10, 1938, p. 212.

¹⁰¹ 'En possession de votre lettre du 16 Mai 1938 concernant la préparation de l'ouvrage sur le *Greco*, je m'empresse de vous faire parvenir les quelques renseignements le concernant. Lorsque l'ex-directeur des Beaux-Arts, M. Jose Renau avait convenu avec moi la préparation de cet ouvrage, je lui avais proposé de remettre au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, cent exemplaires du volume en compensation du prix des clichés sur cuivre (toutes les photographies ayant été achetées par nous ou faites sous ma direction à nos frais). Mais lors de mon dernier séjour à Barcelone, M. Renau m'a dit qu'après conversation avec l'ex-ministre de l'Instruction Publique, M. Jesus Hernandez, celui-ci avait convenu que la collaboration de la Direction des Beaux-arts devait être sans compensation matérielle d'aucune sorte, d'autant qu'il nous fallait envoyer régulièrement des feuilles de cuivre, du nitrate d'argent, des pellicules, toutes choses extrêmement coûteuses. En me donnant sa collaboration pour l'édition de ce volume il était dans les intentions de la Direction des Beaux-arts de faire paraître un très bel ouvrage qui, par son texte, servirait la propagande républicaine. Je suis d'ailleurs persuadé qu'un tel ouvrage fera, dès sa parution, partie des bibliothèques des pays amis et des autres, car les libraires allemands m'ont promis leur collaboration. Je crois qu'il est nécessaire de faire achever la confection des clichés pour nous permettre de faire paraître le volume cet été. Si des empêchements se présentaient dans la fabrication des clichés, je vous prie de bien vouloir donner les instructions nécessaires pour l'envoi de toutes les photographies entre les mains de vos services, afin de me permettre de faire exécuter les clichés à Paris.' C. Z., letter to General Director of Fine Arts, Barcelona, Francisco Gali Fabra, 24 May 1938. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Another letter to the general secretary of Propaganda in Barcelona, Zervos wrote: '1° Dès la parution de l'ouvrage nous mettrons à votre disposition 100 exemplaires soit en français, soit en anglais ou en allemand ou encore en espagnol si les circonstances nous permettent de faire une édition en ces langues. 30 exemplaires sur papier spécial pour les institutions nationales de votre pays. 20 exemplaires destinés à toutes les personnes qui nous ont aidés en Espagne pour mener à bien notre tâche. D'autre part vous aurez le droit d'acheter chez nous des exemplaires avec une remise de 40 % par exemplaire pour l'édition française et 25 % pour l'édition anglaise étant donné les frais supplémentaire que nécessitera cette édition, ainsi que l'édition en allemand ou en espagnol. L'achat de l'édition anglaise vous donnera le droit de vente dans le pavillon espagnol pendant l'exposition internationale de New York. 2° les clichés resteraient chez nous pour une durée de 8 mois après la mise en vente du volume. Cette date expirée nous remettrons les clichés au bureau espagnol de Propagande à Paris, entre les mains de M. Larrea ou de toute autre personne que vous nous indiqueriez. Si entre temps les nécessités de votre propagande exigeaient le tirage de quelques planches, nous nous ferons un devoir de vous les procurer à condition que le nombre des clichés demandés ne dépassent pas le 1/5 des publiés dans l'ouvrage. Une autre édition de l'ouvrage ne pourra être faite par vos soins que 16 mois après la mise en vente de l'ouvrage et cela après m'avoir prévenu. Au cas où la première édition serait épuisée avant l'expiration du délai de 18 mois et que nous envisagerions une deuxième édition de l'ouvrage, il est entendu que vous nous donneriez la préférence.' C. Z., letter to M. Baamonde, 4 November 1938. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating this letter to me from the archive of the Cahiers d'Art gallery.

The Gallery and the Suppression of -isms

I would like very much to talk about the works of the artist who offered so much to the art of these days [...] but that is impossible because of the architects and all those responsible for the arrangement of the rooms of the exhibition. As for the architecture of the new museum I will say nothing, since the ugliness of forms and poverty of the plan are the worst that we ever had in architecture. But I will say how surprised I am with the curators who were in charge of the works of art of the museum without forcing the architect to study an appropriate lighting.¹⁰² Christian Zervos, 1937

The new museums did not open in 1937. Most works of contemporary art presented in the retrospectives of the Jeu de Paume and the Petit Palais belonged to dealers, collectors and the artists' themselves. The limited state funding to the Jeu de Paume for the exhibition rendered problematic the presentation leaving many artists disgruntled over the decisions of the organising committee.¹⁰³ Private involvement in the function of the new museums was deemed inescapable. Nonetheless the smaller exhibition *Musée d'Art Vivant* at the Maison de la Culture passed unnoticed commented on almost exclusively by Georges Besson.¹⁰⁴ The show was part of a project initiated by Marie Cuttoli and Jeanne Bucher aiming to reunite a corpus of contemporary works of art, donated by artists and dealers, which proposed to be bequeathed to national museums.¹⁰⁵ The works presented in the small show came from the collections of Cuttoli, Bignou, Laugier, André Lefevre, Felix Fenéon, and Charles de Noailles. Besson thought the initiative offered an effective solution to the enrichment of the Luxembourg collections observing that the *Musée d'Art Vivant*

¹⁰² Christian Zervos, 'Exposition van Gogh (Nouveau Musée d'Art Moderne),' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-3, 1937, pp. 98-99. 'J'aurais beaucoup aimé vous parler des tableaux de l'artiste qui a tant fait pour l'art de nos jours, [...] mais cela m'est impossible par la faute des architectes et de tous les responsables de l'aménagement des salles de cette exposition. De l'architecture du nouveau musée je ne dirai rien, car la laideur des formes et la pauvreté du plan dépassent le pire que nous ayons eu en architecture. Mais je dirai combien je suis étonné que les conservateurs qui ont la charge des œuvres d'art du Musée n'aient pas forcé l'architecte à étudier un éclairage convenable. L'éclairage d'en haut.

¹⁰³ 'De tout cela il résulte que l'ensemble dégage un vague sentiment d'incertitude, alors qu'il eût fallu, pour imposer cet art, une affirmation absolument catégorique, une volonté de livrer abondamment au public un monde irréel, parfois inquiétant et provocateur, mais doué d'une sensibilité extrême. La traditionnelle présentation d'un musée ne pouvait convenir à quelque chose d'aussi exceptionnel. Il est à craindre que cette manifestation, contrairement à l'espoir des organisateurs, ait pour résultat d'aggraver les malentendus et de desservir une cause qu'ils voulaient défendre.' Raymond Cogniat, 'Au Musée du Jeu de Paume. L'Art International Indépendant, Un Titre trop Important, Une Exposition Insuffisante,' *Beaux-Arts* 240, 6 August 1937, p. 1-6. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for the reference.

¹⁰⁴ Georges Besson, 'Un Musée d'Art Vivant s'est ouvert à la Maison de la Culture,' *L'Humanité*, 30 October 1937, p.8.

¹⁰⁵ Georges Besson, 'Le Marchand de Couleurs: Le Musée d'Art Vivant,' *Ce Soir*, 5 October 1937, p. 2.

show may well serve as a reflection of a future room at the Louvre, around 1960.¹⁰⁶ The presentation was unbalanced but accomplished its role as a supplement to the museum collection. It included a few landscapes by Signac paired with early works by Matisse and Bonnard, the cubist era was represented by Picasso, Braque, Gris and Léger. The section of sculpture included works by Chauvin, Arp, Giacometti, Lipchitz and Laurens – the recipient of the Prix Helena Rubenstein the same year.¹⁰⁷ Single works by Lurçat, Goery and Gromaire completed the show.¹⁰⁸ The project collapsed the following year without further evidence of the institutional support it received.

The interest in museums and cultural heritage increased as the war approached affecting substantially Zervos' criticism. To his formalist preoccupations, inventorial and curatorial interests, was added a paramount concern about technical aspects of display for works of art. Commenting on a smaller van Gogh exhibition at the Palais de Tokio in 1937, Zervos remarked that the lighting of the rooms was inappropriate resulting in a poor presentation of the works. As a matter of fact the show was generally praised for its presentation as an exemplar of applied museography.¹⁰⁹ Similar issues were raised by Fierens who thought it was unacceptable that the architects were not aware of the proceedings of the Madrid conference on museography.¹¹⁰ Zervos seemed to have preferred the effective methods of lighting applied by Alvar Aalto to the Viipuri library in Finland.¹¹¹ He was furthermore critical towards the new constructions at the quai de Tokio that proposed to host the new museums virtually expressing his disappointment over the rejection of the Le Corbusier-Jeanneret project, an early version of which was presented in his magazine.

¹⁰⁶ Georges Besson, 'Un Musée d'Art Vivant s'est ouvert à la Maison de la Culture,' *L'Humanité*, 30 October 1937, p.8.

¹⁰⁷ Zervos was member of the committee. Anon., 'Prix Helena Rubenstein,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-3, 1937, pp. 91-94.

¹⁰⁸ Georges Besson, 'Le Marchand de Couleurs au Musée d'Art Vivant,' *Ce Soir*, 21 October 1937, p. 6.

¹⁰⁹ J. R., 'Une Exposition Modèle,' *L'Humanité*, 2 October 1937, p. 8.

¹¹⁰ 'La critique la plus grave qu'on puisse formuler contre le musée du quai de Tokio réside dans la constatation suivante qui a, on en conviendra, tout pour ahurir même le profane: les appareils de chauffage sont disposés au long des murs, exactement sous les tableaux! Pauvres tableaux! Heureusement, les chefs-d'œuvre de l'art français auront quitté le musée de Paris le jour où l'on commencera d'y faire du feu! Ce seront les toiles modernes qui se craqueleront et qui vieilliront vite. Il est vraiment inconcevable qu'aucun des quatre architectes qui ont signé le musée du quai de Tokio n'ait pris la peine de parcourir les deux gros volumes publiés sous le titre de *Muséographie* par l'Office international des musées et la Commission de coopération intellectuelle à l'issue de la conférence de Madrid. La lecture de cet ouvrage et l'observation des principes qu'il codifie eussent permis d'éviter, à très peu frais, les erreurs que nous dénonçons.' Paul Fierens, 'Les Chefs-d'œuvre de l'Art Français I,' *Journal des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*, 17 July 1937, p. 2.

¹¹¹ Christian Derouet (ed.), *Zervos et les Cahiers d'Art*, *Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2011, p. 83, 90-93,

It was certainly not a coincidence that the Cahiers d'Art gallery opened at the same time as the announcement of the creation of the two Parisian museums in 1934. The gallery declared its non-commercial character, claiming that its mission was to serve the interests of the young. However most of the younger artists previously promoted in the magazine progressively disappeared, as we saw earlier, from both the publications and the exhibitions organised by Zervos. The list of his protégés subsequently transformed as were also his positions on the young generation. The capital invested in the project was significant despite his already encumbered financial position. It nonetheless gave Zervos' business an official foundation. The Société Cahiers d'Art was in fact officially registered about a year later with Zervos and Robert Marion sharing equal parts. This was a necessary step that added vexation to Zervos' stringency.¹¹²

The exhibition hall that opened at the location of the magazine's office functioned under the auspices of the *Centre International d'Architecture et d'Aménagement Intérieur*, founded by Zervos and his wife Yvonne. The Centre was an organism proposing to introduce to the Parisian audience, through its permanent and temporary shows, the 'materials concerning construction, the principal elements of a building, furniture, objects of interior design produced in every country.' Its formation was imperative, Zervos judged, since 'there are numerous art galleries' in Paris but not 'similar organisms in the domain of construction and interior design.' The initiative was not commercial, Zervos affirmed. Its detailed presentation pointed to an international centre for contemporary creation including conferences, projections spaces, exhibitions, publications etc.¹¹³ It was installed on the ground floor of the Cahiers d'Art office, which was transferred on the first floor.¹¹⁴ The project has to be understood in terms similar to those that gave birth to the association 'L'Art Mural' the same year being the result, as we saw earlier, of the unfortunate conditions imposed on art dealers and artists and the increased taxation for works of art in terms

¹¹² 'Comme je vous l'ai déjà écrit, j'ai dû liquider tout ce que j'avais appartement, meubles, et mettre Cahiers d'Art en Société. Aujourd'hui je ne dispose vraiment de rien. J'ai vécu tout ce temps sur les tableaux et les gravures que j'ai vendues au fur et à mesure. Néanmoins j'espère que si la situation pouvait s'améliorer, ce qui n'est pas le cas pour le moment, je commencerai à gagner quelque chose. Dans ce cas je m'entendrai avec vous pour réduire la dette que je réglerais par petites sommes.' C. Z., letter to the Imprimerie Union, 10 April 1936. Archives Imprimerie Union. I am indebted to Christian Derouet for communicating this letter to me.

¹¹³ Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 221, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. For the entire text see APPENDIX 1 E.

¹¹⁴ See Kandinsky's letter to Grohmann, cited in Christian Derouet, *Cahiers d'Art : Musée Zervos à Vézelay*, Paris : Hazan, 2006, p. 82.

of luxury products with reference to their nature and not their price. (Although it was impossible to retrieve information of this sort, it would be interesting to find out whether Zervos decided to give this character to the space that functioned apparently as an art gallery in order to go through more beneficial taxation schemes.)

The first exhibits of the gallery were a few architectural maquettes and photographs of works by Le Corbusier, Nelson and Maillard.¹¹⁵ A monograph presenting in fifty plates Nelson's floor plans and designs for the Cité Hospitalière de Lille was published the previous year by Cahiers d'Art with French, English and German texts.¹¹⁶ *Cahiers d'Art* announced in 1934 the publication of illustrated notes on individual artists aiming to 'reunite in a precise encyclopaedia the entire artistic movement from the beginning of the century to the present times.'¹¹⁷ Small notes accompanied in most cases the shows organised by Yvonne in the gallery, each lasting less than two weeks, and presented the stylistic development and more importantly the progression of the artists' commercial and institutional recognition throughout the years. The first exhibitions announced in 1934 included the names of Miró (3-19 May), Kandinsky (23 May – 9 June), and Ernst (14-30 June). The three artists resumed the orientation of the gallery towards certain aspects of surrealism, abstraction and individual expressions failing to coalesce in a uniform style.

The Miró show coincided with the preparation of an exhibition at the Pierre Matisse gallery in New York and two solo shows at the Galerie Pierre and the Galerie la Licorne.¹¹⁸ Zervos informed the artist in May that his show marked great success reaching 650 visitors, a record number for the gallery.¹¹⁹ *Cahiers d'Art* published two colour lithographs by the artist in three colours.¹²⁰ The texts were ambiguous in connecting Miró with surrealism. Whereas Sweeney thought that 'he cut himself off from a movement which had basically so much in common with his own ideals as Superrealism when he saw the political character it was taking that was eventually to

¹¹⁵ The only evidence about the exhibition is reduced to a few photographs. See Christian Derouet (ed.), *Cahiers d'Art : Musée Zervos à Vézelay*, Paris : Hazan, 2006.

¹¹⁶ Paul Nelson, *Cité Hospitalière de Lille*, introduction by Christian Zervos, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1933.

¹¹⁷ *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934.

¹¹⁸ It is evident that Miró did not consider himself as a surrealist. He wrote to Pierre Matisse in October 1934, apparently referring to the show in the Cahiers d'Art gallery: 'André Breton aimait beaucoup un pastel. Il m'a semblé de bonne politique d'être en bons termes avec lui, car les surréalistes sont devenus des personnalités officielles à Paris.' Joan Miró, *Ecrits et Entretiens*, Paris : Lelong, 1995, p. 134.

¹¹⁹ 'Jusqu'à aujourd'hui nous avons compté 650 visiteurs de votre exposition, il paraît que c'est un record. Tout le monde dit que c'est bien.' C. Z., letter to Joan Miró, 16 May 1934, Fondation Pilar I Joan Miró, Palma, Majorca. I am indebted to Christian Derouet for communicating the letter to me.

¹²⁰ *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934.

be its undoing,' Read referred to the artist as an *a priori* surrealist.¹²¹ Miró's plastic discipline, Zervos argued instead, prevented him from entirely accepting the surrealist formula that favoured poetry at the expense of plasticity, referring to his latest collages.¹²² The show was a deception for Edmond Humeau since it had focused on the 'destructive' part of Miró's art, his anachronistic Dadaist works, instead of showing his older still-lives and *arlequinades* that he painted while he studied with Severini.¹²³ Apparently the exhibition displayed his latest creations that epitomised the intention of the artist to 'assassinate painting,' although reproductions of works from earlier periods appeared in the magazine. The same number also published Hugnet's fourth part of the series of studies on Dada, examining its presence in Paris which has to be connected to the material published on Miró and Ernst in sequential numbers.¹²⁴ It was the same year that Miró started working on what he called 'savage paintings' marking a period of distress which was accentuated with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.

Zervos attempted to accomplish Kandinsky's desire to display the development of his style throughout the years. Although the two other shows focused on recent works by Miró and Ernst, the Kandinsky show was announced as a retrospective bringing together paintings, watercolours and drawings *de toutes les époques*. The retrieved list of works on display in the show included however 43 works dated between 1921 and 1934.¹²⁵ Zervos placed the artist's first effort to decompose the object in terms of forms and colours in 1911. The development, he noted, coincided with the emancipation of cubism in France but he did not make any direct reference to its potential influence over his work which he knew Kandinsky denied. Zervos maintained his earlier positions arguing that Kandinsky's art is not abstract, although he revised his appreciation in his 1938 *Histoire de l'Art Contemporain*. What is interesting about the notes on the artist is that their illustration was reduced to works produced between 1933 and 1934, with the references to earlier works found exclusively in the text.¹²⁶ A second exhibition the following year was

¹²¹ James Johnson Sweeney, 'Miró,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, p. 48. H. R., 'Miró,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, p. 52.

¹²² Christian Zervos, 'La Jeune Peinture: Joan Miró,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, p. 18.

¹²³ Edmond Humeau, 'Gromaire et Miró,' *Esprit* 21, 1934, pp. 507-508.

¹²⁴ Georges Hugnet, 'Dada à Paris,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, pp. 1099-1114.

¹²⁵ The list was published in Christian Derouet, *Wassily Kandinsky: Correspondances avec Zervos et Kojève*, Paris: Centre Pompidou, 1992, pp. 129-130.

¹²⁶ Christian Zervos, 'Notes sur Kandinsky. A propos de sa Récente Exposition à la Galerie Cahiers d'Art,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-8, 1934, pp. 149-157.

closer to accomplishing Kandinsky's aspiration. It included a few drawings, the earliest dated in 1910, highlighting the evolution of the artist's personal style.

With the opening of the gallery Zervos sought to promote artists independent from movements. The group exhibition of works by Arp, Ghika, Héliou, and Taeuber-Arp organised in 1934 confirmed that the aspect of unity represented by the -isms, as Raynal remarked a few years later in *Verve* magazine, was disappearing from contemporary expression. The show was titled simply *Les Quatre Noms*. Jan Brzekowski affirmed that contemporary painting no longer corresponded to the general line of the years 1918-1930, when artists were grouped by movements. Painters situated themselves in the art of the epoch and avoided acting as followers or mixing with each other. This was the case with the four artists presented in the show. The example was epitomised in the case of Arp. The artist, he observed, was neither a Dadaist, nor a surrealist, nor abstract, though he was all of these at the same time. Arp could be linked to surrealism by means of the technique of automatism but he was far from pictorial surrealism. At the same time, being far from abstraction, he invented some sort of a-geometric sculpture without following the geometrical quests of cubism and neoplasticism.¹²⁷

It is true that this 'independence' in contemporary expression was an aspect that Zervos accepted, parting ways with the post-cubist faction that the magazine earlier promoted. Of course this vicissitude has to be understood in terms of the ideological climate of the period which contrasted with the very idea of unity earlier advocated by modernist champions. Gonzalez completed the annual exhibitions with a solo show that closed in December. With the exception of Giacometti, Zervos presented all the artists involved in the show at the Zurich Kunsthau but not the ones he initially suggested to Wartmann. Ghika was given his first Parisian solo show after the war in Zervos' gallery in 1954 and later again in 1958. Arp reappeared in a group show at the gallery M.A.I. in 1940.

The second year of the gallery's life began with a group exhibition of *Jeunes Architectes* that opened in February. Their projects were reproduced in the magazine and their selection was decided in collaboration with Jean Bossu.¹²⁸ Zervos praised

¹²⁷ Jan Brzekowski, 'Les Quatre Noms: Hans Arp – Ghika – Jean Héliou – S. H. Taeuber-Arp : A propos de leur Exposition à la Galerie des Cahiers d'Art,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-8, 1934, p. 197.

¹²⁸ 'Comme suite a notre conversation du 19 courant je m'empresse de vous faire savoir que j'accepte votre proposition au sujet de l'exposition des jeunes architectes aux locaux des Cahiers d'Art qui aura lieu le 5 février de disposer de l'emplacement des locaux de la manière suivante: Panneau de droite en

the influence that Le Corbusier exerted over younger architects but maintained that his lesson should not be reduced to utilitarian interpretations. 'By realizing a utilitarian construction, the architect has always to care about creating pure lines and harmonic volumes, to combine the marvellous game of dimensions which are the aristocracy of spirit.'¹²⁹ It is true that Zervos' struggle to advance the aspect of spirituality over utility – not functionalism - unavoidably turned him into an elitist impresario of individualism, an aspect that he previously for different reasons renounced.

Héliion's lengthy essay on Nelson's study for a surgery pavilion at Ismailia for the Suez Canal explained that functionalism and plasticity have to be conjoined in the service of modern architecture. The article was illustrated with photographs by Man Ray. Héliion did not lend a sympathetic eye to Zervos' gallery activities as his letters to Gallatin reveal.¹³⁰ The artist nonetheless accepted to write a lengthy essay on Nelson for the magazine praising the architect for having accomplished in one study a synthesis of the social, functional, plastic and poetic role of an architectural entity found in a constant state of progress. A modern building, he maintained, should be conceived in terms of both life and space, as an organic entity.¹³¹ Nelson wrote later that 'what Jean underlined was the art of responding to Man's needs at the same time as leading him, in other words this continuous evolution in which one follows Man at the moment of analysis so as to lead him at the moment of synthesis.'¹³² In 1940, the architect presented his project for the Palais de la Découverte which was mainly a

entrant: J. Bossu, Roux, Ricolaois. Panneau du font: Sert et son groupe. Panneau de gauche en entrant: Neldhoudt. 1^{er} étage: 1^{er} salle Seri et son groupe. 2^{me} salle: groupe TECTON et Weissmann.' J. Bossu, letters to C. Z., 21, 23, 24, January, 1, 2 February 1935. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹²⁹ Christian Zervos, 'Jeunes Architectes. A propos de leur Exposition à la Galerie des Cahiers d'Art Février-Mars 1935,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1935, p. 75.

¹³⁰ '[Zervos] has transformed his office rue du Dragon into a two-floors gallery very good-looking indeed. The first show opened last week is devoted to modern architecture. The following will be for the new Mirós. Third one might be for the young abstract painting.' Jean Héliion, letter to Albert Gallatin, 26 mars 1934 cited in Christian Derouet, *Kandinsky in Paris: 1934-1944*, N. Y.: Solomon Guggenheim Foundation, 1985, p. 57. In a second letter he noted: 'The Cahiers d'Art have a mediocre show of young architects and modern furniture [...] Never a season so poor in shows. Cahiers d'Art [...] appear but twice a year. Zervos is now selling furnitures in his gallery, which gives an infortunate mercenary feeling to the visitor.' Jean Héliion, letter to Albert Gallatin, 22 février 1935 citée dans Christian Derouet (ed.), *Kandinsky in Paris: 1934-1944*, N.Y.: Solomon Guggenheim Foundation, 1985, p. 57.

¹³¹ Jean Héliion, 'Termes de Vie – Termes d'Espace,' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-10, 1935, pp. 268-273.

¹³² Paul Nelson, undated letter to Bernard Schipper. Archives Paul Nelson, MNAM-CCI. I am indebted to Christian Derouet for communicating this letter to me.

positivist approach to a cultural-scientific institution the construction of which sought to combine aspects of functionalism and monumentality.¹³³

Yvonne had started in January 1935 collaborating with Marcel Michaud and the *Maison Stylclair* in Lyon becoming the Parisian agent of the company with an interest of 15% over sales.¹³⁴ A permanent exhibition was installed on the ground floor displaying furniture by Aalto, Breuer, Le Corbusier, and Charlotte Perriand.¹³⁵ The initiative coincided with the Brussels World's Fair where most of these architects presented new furniture designs.¹³⁶ For the incorporation of the installation to his space Zervos agreed to receive from the company 7.500 Frs and 2.000 Frs per month for ongoing expenses.¹³⁷ According to a relevant brochure, *Stylclair* mobilised

¹³³ The project never materialised. Paul Nelson, 'Projet d'un Palais de la Découverte,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3-4, 1940, pp. 77-83.

¹³⁴ Since 1936 and until the outbreak of the war, Michaud became actively involved with the group *Temoignage* which brought together architects, poets, artisans and artists of the so-called new School of Paris namely Jean Le Moal, Jean Bertholle, Etienne Martin and others. An exhibition was held in Paris in 1939 at the Galerie Matières et Formes. 'Comme suite à nos différents pourparlers, nous avons l'honneur de vous faire connaître que la Nouvelle Société STYLCLAIR, vous engage aux conditions suivantes: 1o) Vous aurez la représentation exclusive de notre société, pour Paris et les départements de: la Seine, Seine & Oise, Seine & Marne. 2o) Vous serez dépositaire des meubles dont vous aurez l'entière responsabilité. 3o) Vous recevrez comme rémunération: a) Deux mille francs par mois, au titre de remboursement de vos frais courants b) Quinze pour cent sur les affaires amenées par vous, prix du catalogue, étant bien expliqué que toute rémunération qui serait à donner à un intermédiaire ou toute réduction au client sur prix du catalogue, serait prélevée sur ces 15%. Cependant pour certaines affaires particulières que vous nous soumettez, des conditions autres pourront être définies entre nous. 4o) Les commissions ne seront dues que sur les factures effectivement encaissées et payables par trimestre échu. La facturation sera faite par le siège social. 5o) Pour les affaires que vous pourriez faire en dehors des trois départements concédés, vous devrez vous entendre préalablement avec notre siège social. 6o) Vous devrez consacrer toute votre activité à la société, étant expliqué cependant, que vous aurez le droit de vous occuper des CAHIERS D'ART et de votre profession d'architecte, en ce qui concerne seulement les affaires qui ne sont pas du ressort du mobilier et de l'ameublement. En ce qui concerne les expositions que vous ferez, vous aurez le libre choix des meubles que vous devrez exposer. Enfin, il est entendu qu'une collaboration s'établira entre vous et notre société pour les meubles que vous pourriez créer. 7o) Vous devrez travailler sous le nom de Nouvelle Société STYLCLAIR. 8o) Le présent accord est établi pour une durée d'un an à compter du premier janvier mil neuf cent trente cinq, pour expirer le trente et un Décembre de la même année, à moins que l'une des parties ne le dénonce à la fin de chaque période par un préavis de trois mois. Si nous décidons, d'un commun accord, de continuer le contrat après le trente et un Décembre mil neuf cent trente cinq, il sera envisagé votre entrée dans la société, sous forme d'apports en nature, ou de remise de parts, étant expliqué que vous ne pourrez posséder plus de six parts.' H. Chaumet, letter 3 January 1935. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹³⁵ 'Vous savez peut-être que j'ai groupé dans les locaux des Cahiers d'Art les meilleurs meubles de Aalto, Breuer, Corbusier, Perriand etc. dont la licence a été achetée par une maison de Lyon pour France et les colonies. Je suis donc représentant de cette Maison pour Paris et les départements ... A ce sujet j'aimerais vous demander quelques conseils. Vous serait-il possible de me recevoir chez vous le jour que vous voudrez. En attendant le plaisir de faire votre connaissance je vous prie, Monsieur, de croire à nos sentiments distingués. C. Z., letter to Francis Jourdain, 15 May 1935. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹³⁶ Cf. Charlotte Benton, 'Le Corbusier: Furniture and the Interior,' *Journal of Design History* 3, 1990, pp. 103-124.

¹³⁷ H. Chaumet, letter to Yvonne Zervos, 3 January 1935. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

modern architects to design furniture, a project initiated after the study of Zurich's *Wohnbedarf* founded by Giedion in 1931 as the Swiss equivalent of the German *Werkbund* reuniting several – but not limited to – former Bauhaus members.¹³⁸ Zervos' project aimed to familiarise the general public with modern furniture. The exhibits were frequently renewed.¹³⁹ The affair certainly affected the prestige of the gallery but disencumbered Zervos' burdensome financial status offering the opportunity to renovate his office and turn it into a standard exhibition space while sharing the cost with *Stylclair*.

The same year, Yvonne appears to have sent furniture entries to be displayed at the stand of the architect Maurice Barret at the Salon des Artistes Décorateurs at the Grand Palais.¹⁴⁰ In 1936, Alvar Aalto presented his furniture in the gallery. His work at the Viipuri library had impressed Zervos, who asked Aalto for a full technical explanation of the project in both English and French.¹⁴¹ The architect, working with the firm ARTEK in Finland, designed the Finnish pavilion for the 1937 Parisian Fair¹⁴² receiving an order from Zervos the same year concerning the re-equipment of his office before the opening of the international show.¹⁴³ The entries for the Barret stand included furniture by Aalto and Breuer and two paintings by Kandinsky and Mondrian apparently grouped as an ensemble. The style was abstract.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁸ See Richard Hollis, *Swiss Graphic Design: The Origins and Growth of an International Style 1920-1965*, London: Laurence King, 2006, p. 109. Asdis Olafsdottir, *Le Mobilier d'Alvar Aalto dans l'Espace et dans le Temps: La Diffusion Internationale du Design, 1920-1940*, Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998, pp. 96-100.

¹³⁹ 'En groupant l'élite des architectes modernes, dont l'œuvre a souvent été présentée par Cahiers d'Art, Stylclair de Lyon, réalise un projet, déjà étudié pour le *Wohnbedarf* de Zurich, projet que nous préconisons depuis plusieurs années : demander à la nouvelle architecture de créer ses meubles. Il est inutile de souligner les avantages fonctionnels et esthétiques d'une telle formule et d'une telle entreprise. Plutôt que de les démontrer nous vous invitons à venir en juger par vous-mêmes. Car, pour faire connaître les résultats remarquables déjà obtenus, Cahiers d'Art, d'accord avec Stylclair, expose depuis le 12 Février 1935, dans ses locaux, 14, rue du Dragon, Paris 6è, les meubles réalisés dans cet éprit. Cette exposition permanente sera souvent renouvelée, en vue de familiariser le public avec le meuble moderne, parvenu aujourd'hui, au maximum de qualité, de commodité et de luxe sobre.' *Cahiers d'Art* 7-10, 1935. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the content of the brochure to me.

¹⁴⁰ Maurice Barret, letter to STYLACLAIR (Yvonne Zervos), 26 April 1935. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁴¹ Yvonne Zervos, letter to Alvar Aalto, 28 May 1936. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁴² Anon., 'Le Pavillon de la Filande, Architecte: Alvar Aalto,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-10, 1937, pp. 269-270.

¹⁴³ Christian Zervos, letter to ARTEK, 23 and 27 April, 13 May 1937. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. See also Yvonne Zervos, 'Pourquoi Cherchons-nous un Meuble Moderne ?' *Le Point*, May 1937, pp. 58-61.

¹⁴⁴ Prix des meubles confiés à Mr Barret pour l'Exposition 1935 au Grand Palais. 2 May 1935. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

A second Ernst exhibition opened in May. About two years later, Zervos published an illustrated volume including Ernst's own comprehensive analysis of his work and 127 reproductions. The book, sold at a moderate price (50 Frs), was dedicated to Roland Penrose who funded the project. Penrose also sponsored Ernst's *Une Semaine de Bonté, ou les Sept Eléments Capitaux* published in 1934 – in five folders and a print-run of 828 copies – by Jeanne Bucher including a total number of 179 illustrations. A letter to Penrose revealed that Zervos' interest was reduced to 2% over sales, unlike Bucher who kept the 60% and shared the rest with Penrose and Ernst.¹⁴⁵ Penrose undertook actions to assure an English edition with Zervos expressing an unprecedented disinterest in ceding all legal rights to foreign publishers. This was certainly not the case with the other books published by Cahiers d'Art, a fact that is telling of his purely intermediary role in the affair.¹⁴⁶ It is equally interesting that Zervos refrained from commenting on Ernst, giving generous space to Tzara and the artist himself to reflect on his work.¹⁴⁷ Conceived in the form of a diary, the text by Ernst is important for it presents for the first time the artist's positions in reference

¹⁴⁵ 'Contrairement à toutes les mauvaises expériences que nous avons eues avec la mère Bucher, Zervos se révèle un ami vraiment dévoué et désintéressé. Chez la Bucher le partage des rentrées se fait comme ceci : 60% pour elle, 40% à partager entre nous deux. Elle prenait sur elle les frais de publicité : ce qu'elle a fait était nul. Les frais de transport, elle a essayé encore de les faire payer par toi, etc. je te répète tout cela que tu connais aussi bien que moi, pour mieux voir la différence avec Zervos, qui ne prend rien pour lui, 2% pour le [non lisible] (le chiffre d'affaires) 1% pour Mannassides qui fait le travail d'emballage et d'envoi ; cela fait en somme 1 fr 50 par exemplaire. Tout le reste est pour toi. Z. est trop soucieux que tu rentres dans tes frais, mais il lui serait difficile de déboursier encore pour la publicité. Maintenant si tu veux que, moi, je fasse les frais de la publicité, je ne pourrais que t'offrir encore un tableau comme échange contre ce que tu dépenseras. Mais j'ai l'impression que ce livre se vendra bien, car les conditions générales sont toutes autres qu'à l'époque de *la Semaine de Bonté*.' Max Ernst, letter to Roland Penrose published in Werner Spies, *Max Ernst, An Autobiographical Collage*, London: Thames&Hudson, 2005, p. 136. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for the reference. See also André Lhote, 'Max Ernst (Cahiers d'Art),' *NRF* 284, May 1937, pp. 811-812.

¹⁴⁶ 'Je vous ferai parvenir après demain un exemplaire de ce livre afin que vous puissiez le montrer à M. Herbert Reed et aux éditions Faber & Faber. Pour ce livre je vous laisse toute latitude, connaissant votre intérêt pour Max Ernst. Ou bien Mrs Faber & Faber feraient une édition anglaise et dans ce cas là je leur céderais tous droits sur les textes et les clichés qui deviendraient leur propriété, au prix global de : £ 150 exclusivité pour la grande Bretagne et les Dominions et £ 200 pour l'exclusivité en plus des Etats-Unis ou bien Mrs Faber & Faber souscriraient à 1000 exemplaires en français au prix de frs. 20 l'exemplaire, 750 Exemplaires au prix de frs 22, 500 exemplaire au prix de frs 25. Naturellement sur la couverture serait indiqué le nom des éditeurs anglais.' C. Z., letter to Roland Penrose, 19 January 1937. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁴⁷ Tristan Tzara, 'Max Ernst et les Images Réversibles. A propos de sa récente Exposition à la Galerie des Cahiers d'Art,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-8, 1934, pp. 165-170. Max Ernst, 'Au-delà de la Peinture: L'Histoire d'une Histoire Naturelle,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6-7, 1936, pp. 185-188. The text was reproduced in the Max Ernst volume.

to the technique of automatism notably with regards to his collages and *frottages*, a technique that he discovered on August 10th 1925.¹⁴⁸

Ernst, as Malcolm Gee has pointed out, attempted by this ‘self-presentation’ in *Cahiers d’Art* to ‘emphasize his position as a leader and indeed as a precursor of surrealist art’ a fact that is evident in the generous space given to reproductions of works dating between 1919 and 1924. Of course Ernst was one of the very few artists preoccupied with plastic aspects of painting to join first the *a priori* literary scope of the surrealist movement.¹⁴⁹ This serves albeit partially as an explanation of Zervos’ interest in his work. Though an apparent change of his position-takings marked Zervos’ mid-1930s activities, it is impossible to ignore his 1928 statements that Ernst failed where only Picasso’s genius could succeed.¹⁵⁰ The volume, on the other hand, was probably the outcome of Zervos’ close connections with Penrose following their common trip to Spain. In 1936, he published Eluard’s *La Barre d’Appui* with three etchings by Picasso. The Zervos together with Eluard, Penrose and Man Ray reunited in Mougins upon a visit to Picasso. The exhibition *Man Ray: Peintures et Objets* had opened in November 1935 in Zervos’ gallery accompanied by a catalogue. The orientation of the gallery left many artists disgruntled over Zervos. Following Héliou’s bitter report to Gallatin, the 1935 shows provoked the exasperation of Kandinsky who thought that the surrealists dominated Zervos’ magazine and gallery, though their ideology contradicted ‘their’ persuasion.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ *Max Ernst: Œuvres de 1919 à 1936*, Paris: Cahiers d’Art, 1937, n.p.

¹⁴⁹ Malcolm Gee, ‘Max Ernst and Surrealism’ in Silvano Levy (ed.) *Surrealism: Surrealist Visuality*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997, pp. 45-48, (45-54). See also Malcolm Gee, *Max Ernst/Pieta or Revolution by Night*, London: Tate Gallery, 1986.

¹⁵⁰ ‘Dans la précédente livraison de ces *Cahiers* j’avais écrit en tête d’un article sur Max Ernst une petite note jugée sévère pour la peinture surréaliste. Et aussitôt les ennemis du surréalisme de se réjouir qu’une revue dite d’avant-garde s’était enfin décidée de mettre à néant les prétentions surréalistes. D’autres de me reprocher de faire attention à une école qui ne se prenait pas elle-même au sérieux. Ces reproches et d’autres analogues m’ont autant plus surpris qu’il n’a jamais été dans mes intentions de ‘déboulonner’ ou de mépriser le surréalisme. Le phénomène surréaliste, pour tous ceux qui veulent le comprendre, est d’une importance incontestable, car il pourrait doter la vie actuelle d’une nouvelle inquiétude [...] André Breton me disait récemment que le surréalisme ne s’attarde guère aux questions de style et de construction [...] mais ce que l’on pourrait admettre à la rigueur pour un essai poétique, il serait impossible de le concevoir pour une œuvre peinte [...] Max Ernst a échoué là où seul le génie de Picasso pourrait réussir. Cet échec ne peut d’ailleurs lui faire que du bien en le remettant dans la voie de sa personnalité.’ Christian Zervos, ‘Du Phénomène Surréaliste,’ *Cahiers d’art* 3, 1928, pp. 113-114.

¹⁵¹ ‘Zervos a toujours rejeté les surréalistes [...] A ma grande surprise, il en a brusquement exposé trois – Max Ernst, Tanguy, Man Ray [...] Je suis ami avec lui [...] mais je n’aborde pas ce genre de sujet, parce que cela nous mènerait à la politique. Et politiquement, nous ne sommes pas d’accord du tout, car il tend vers le communisme, tout en refusant le matérialisme.’ Wassily Kandinsky, letter to Josef Albers, 19 December 1935 cited in Christian Derouet (ed.), *Cahiers d’Art, Musée Zervos à Vézelay*, Paris: Hazan, 2006, p. 82-3.

Yvonne organised a solo show on Héliion in 1936 and a group exhibition presenting recent sculptures and paintings by the new group of Spaniards that now Zervos supported including, apart from Picasso, Gonzalez, Fernandez and Miró. The exhibition opened in June following the Jeu de Paume show *L'Art Espagnol Contemporain* (February-March 1936). Gonzalez signed a short note on Picasso's sculptures on display in the show observing that the aspect of construction has been dominant in his paintings after the cubist era, with Picasso being a sculptor *par excellence*. Fernandez commented on his own work.¹⁵² In 1936 Zervos lent two works by Gonzalez and Héliion to the MoMA show *Cubism and Abstract Art*.¹⁵³ Its presentation of the development of abstraction affected decisively his appreciation of contemporary art a fact that is evident in his review of the Héliion show in his gallery which commented on the bad influence of his 'megalomania' on young artists. Zervos reproved of Héliion's abrupt appropriation of the abstract idiom noting that instead of working patiently to earn his spurs, he walked away from all the gradual steps in order to become a *maitre* on his own right.¹⁵⁴ It is true that Héliion was one of the few artists from the Abstraction-Création group to exhibit in the Cahiers d'Art gallery - together with Kandinsky, Mondrian and after the war Magnelli - but Zervos appreciated his views on and conversion of reality, as well as the organic synthesis of forms and colours in his compositions. Following his participation in the group exhibition at the gallery M.A.I., Héliion did not exhibit again at the Zervos gallery until 1956 when he had abandoned the abstract idiom and later again in 1961.

In 1938 *Cahiers d'Art* published only two volumes. The first was dedicated to contemporary art in Germany, Britain and the United States with texts by Grohmann,

¹⁵² J. Gonzalez, 'Picasso Sculpteur, Exposition de Sculptures Récentes de Picasso, Galerie Cahiers d'Art,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1936, n. p. 6-7. L. Fernandez, 'Exposition d'œuvres Récentes de Louis Fernandez, Cahiers d'Art,' *Cahiers d'Art* 6-7, 1936, n. p.

¹⁵³ Barr wrote: 'I wish to thank you on behalf of our Trustees for your generous loans to the exhibition of *Cubism and Abstract Art*. The interest in the exhibition is already widespread. In the two weeks since the opening, over eleven thousand people have visited the museum. We have received letters from several museums requesting that the exhibition be shown in their cities after the New York showing [...] a tour of this exhibition to the leading cities in the United States would substantially increase the knowledge and appreciation of the American public for abstract art. Few cities outside of New York have seen any important exhibition of this nature and there is naturally a great demand for a comprehensive exhibition illustrating the historical development of cubism and abstract art [...] The tour will be planned for one year, ending May 1937.' A. H. Barr Jr, letter to Christian Zervos, 17 January 1936. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 6, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁵⁴ Anon., 'Les Expositions,' *Cahiers d'Art* 8-10, 1936, p. 277.

Read and Sweeney.¹⁵⁵ Out of a total number of 72 artists presented, Zervos only exhibited three in his gallery, Calder from the American group, Klee and Theodor Werner from the German, artists also participating in the 1937 show at the Jeu de Paume. Zervos announced in 1939 *L'Usage de la Parole*, a small bimonthly 'literary scientific review' of 32 pages edited by Hugnet asking the friends of the magazine to participate in its effort 'to continue during the war.'¹⁵⁶ The project subsided about a year later. Robert Marion joined his sister Yvonne in the constitution of the society M.A.I. (Meuble – Architecture – Installation), which was originally an art gallery located at the rue Bonaparte with a capital of 50.000 Frs.

In September 1941 Marion and Zervos dissolved the Société Cahiers d'Art¹⁵⁷ with the former withdrawing his shares.¹⁵⁸ The M.A.I. gallery opened with a group exhibition titled *Art Représentatif de Notre Temps*. It displayed works by Matisse, Laurens, Picasso Léger, Miró, Masson, Arp, Gonzalez, Ernst, Gris, Klee, Héliou, Tanguy, Mondrian, Giacometti and Dali. The selection was rather conventional for the gallery but now Calder and Wifredo Lam gave fresh air to the *Cahiers d'Art* group. Indeed, the Perls Galleries now published full-page advertisements in *Cahiers d'Art*, presenting 'Modern French Painting for the Young Collector.' It announced a 1939 show pairing Picasso's drawings with Lam's gouaches. The Cuban artist moved to Spain with a scholarship from the Cuban state and took the side of the Republicans, meeting Picasso in 1938 upon his settlement in Paris. Picasso appreciated his work, an aspect that Zervos underlined in a brief note published in 1939 attempting to introduce Lam to the Parisian audience on the occasion of his exhibition in the Galerie Pierre.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ The volume coincided with the touring exhibition *Degenerate Art* in Germany and has to be understood in terms of support for the artists persecuted during that period, namely those active in Germany. The exhibition *Twentieth Century German Art* was held the same year in the Burlington galleries in London was a reaction to the infamous German show. Zervos was interested earlier in organising a show of modern British art, but the project never came to fruition. Read wrote: 'I understand from Ben Nicholson that you contemplate holding a small exhibition of modern English painting and sculpture, and that you would like me to co-operate in selecting the works and perhaps in writing a forward to get together a small collection of English work which would interest Paris; Nicholson himself and the sculptor Henry Moore certainly deserve to be better known on the continent, and there are others who promise well.' Herbert Read, letter to C. Z., 4 February 1936. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 6, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁵⁶ *Cahiers d'Art* 5-10, 1939.

¹⁵⁷ Established in 1935.

¹⁵⁸ 'Dissolutions de Sociétés, 16170 Cahiers d'Art Société à Responsabilité Limitée, Registre du Commerce de Seine 266.085,' *Petites-Affiches*, 18-19 September 1941, p. 23. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁵⁹ Anon., 'Wifredo Lam,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1939, 5-10, p.179.

Two solo exhibitions on Chagall and Léger were held respectively later in January and March 1940. The Chagall show may be viewed as a provocative initiative considering the ideological climate of the period. It is true that the artist's earlier illustrations for the Bible, commissioned by Vollard, had raised controversy due to his allegedly Jewish approach to Biblical narration. Jacques Maritain defended his illustrations earlier in 1934 in *Cahiers d'Art* proclaiming that in his etchings Chagall had no intention to be Jewish, but it was rather the 'poetry of the Bible that he listened to.' He argued instead that the artist, *plus juif que jamais*, reconnected with the 'naïf medieval inspiration' with which Rouault recaptured high tradition.¹⁶⁰ Zervos returned to Chagall in 1939. He highlighted the necessity for an exhibition of his works arguing that it is impossible to appraise the artist's colour qualities through reproductions, the primary means of presentation of his paintings until then.¹⁶¹ Tériade would exalt his colour in *Verve*'s reproductions after the war.

After the mysterious death of Vollard the same year,¹⁶² Chagall saw his illustrations for the *Bible*, *Les Fables de la Fontaine* and *Les Ames Mortes de Gogol* left unpublished with the prospect of finding a new publisher being farfetched on the eve of the war. The same number also included a short note by Tzara published next to a study on popular Andalusian songs and synagogue music accompanied by Chagall's recent drawings.¹⁶³ The show did not display more than twenty recent works. It was announced as the first of a series of solo exhibitions dealing with *l'art représentatif de notre temps*. It included his 1938 *Bride and Groom of the Eiffel Tower* (Centre Pompidou), his 1937 anti-war *Revolution* (private collection) presented here under the neutral title *Composition*,¹⁶⁴ and the large scale *White Crucifixion* (Art Institute of Chicago) of 1938. The latter carried a political message. It focused on the Jewish identity of Jesus connecting his martyrdom to the persecutions of Jewish people taking place at the time.¹⁶⁵ The show received significant attention but not for

¹⁶⁰ Jacques Maritain, 'Eaux-fortes de Chagall pour la Bible,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-4, 1934, p. 84.

¹⁶¹ Christian Zervos, 'De la Nécessité d'une Importante Exposition des Peintures de Chagall,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-10, 1939, p. 146.

¹⁶² A sculpture by Maillol fell over him but there were claims that Martin Fabiani was behind the accident. See Jonathan Petropoulos, *Artists under Hitler: Collaboration and Survival in Nazi Germany*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014, p. 318.

¹⁶³ Tristan Tzara, 'Marc Chagall,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-10, 1939, p. 148. José Maximo Kahn, 'Chant Populaire Andalou et Musique Synagogale,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-10, 1939, pp. 155-164.

¹⁶⁴ See Franz Meyer, *Marc Chagall*, Paris: Flammarion, 1995, p. 170. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for the reference.

¹⁶⁵ See Ziva Amishai-Maisels, 'Chagall's White Crucifixion,' *Museum Studies* (Art Institute of Chicago) 17, 1991, pp. 138-153. James C. Harris, 'White Crucifixion and Listening to the Cockerel,'

its political references.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, this was one of the very few Parisian exhibitions that opened in 1940.¹⁶⁷

About a hundred visitors attended the premier of the Léger show.¹⁶⁸ The artist supported Zervos' effort to open a gallery in the midst of the crisis asking Georges Huisman, a high-ranked French official, to buy one of his works in support of the gallery.¹⁶⁹ That the text signed by Jean Painlevé discussed the *Nouveau Réalisme* of Léger is important, for the exhibition *Réalités Nouvelles* at the Charpentier gallery had opened only a few months earlier reuniting a group of purely abstract artists. Painlevé nonetheless identified in the recent work of Léger a combination of plastic elements with forms derived from the close study of animals or vegetables contradicting the anti-naturalist character of the Charpentier group.¹⁷⁰ The absence of Kandinsky from the M.A.I. inaugural group show is striking. The artist progressively disappeared from the content of *Cahiers d'Art* joining with Rebay and Breuer the *Réalités Nouvelles* show the previous year. Kandinsky had earlier published his manifesto on Concrete Art in San Lazzaro's *XXe Siècle* distancing himself from the surrealist aspects

JAMA Psychiatry 71, 2014, pp. 1096-1097. Ariel Kravitz, 'Marc Chagall's White Crucifixion: An Enduring Work of Political Art,' *VURJ* 5, 2009, pp. 1-6.

¹⁶⁶ See *Cahiers d'Art* published in French translation a few passages from Alexandre Benois review of the show. The artist observed: 'Le tableau *Le Christ* représente quelque chose de hautement tragique, qui correspond entièrement à la vilenie de l'époque que nous vivons. C'est un document sur l'âme de notre temps, un certain cri, un certain appel.' 'Les Expositions,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1-2, 1940, n. p. The Chagall show received unprecedented critical attention, namely by French and Russian journals. Marcel Raval, 'L'Exposition Chagall à la Galerie Mai,' *Prométhée*, January 1940, pp. 298-300. Anon., 'Galerie Mai,' *Beaux-Arts*, 15 January 1940. Anon., 'Salons et Expositions,' *Le Petit Parisien*, 31 January 1940. Michel-Georges Michel, 'Expositions,' *Le Cri de Paris*, 4 February 1940. Anon., 'Marc Chagall Expose,' *Le Temps Présent*, 9 February 1940. Anon., 'Dans les Galeries d'Art,' *L'Intransigeant*, 10 February 1940. Coupures de Presse, Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁶⁷ Yvonne wrote to Ghika's wife: 'Je suis heureuse au possible de faire cette galerie maintenant, car toutes sont fermées et tu ne peux t'imaginer combien on est heureux à Paris, que j'ai ouvert cette galerie, il y a énormément de visiteurs, tous les jours, ils viennent pour se donner du courage, cela les oblige à oublier ce *néant* des temps actuels [...] Ma galerie est grande ! On peut y placer 40 tableaux assez grands.' Yvonne Zervos, letter to Tiggie Ghika, 18 January 1940 cited in Jean-Pierre de Rycke, 'La Correspondance Ghika-Zervos: Souvenirs d'une Amitié et Chronique de la Vie Artistique Parisienne Durant l'entre-deux-guerres (1933-1940),' *Museio Mpenaki* 1, 2001, p. 143.

¹⁶⁸ Note by Yvonne Zervos. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Yvonne thought that the number of attendants was small. A small review of the show was published in *Beaux Arts* 356, 15 March 1940, p. 66. The show nonetheless did not receive the critical attention of Chagall.

¹⁶⁹ Fernand Léger, letter to Georges Huisman, s.d. Archives Nationales. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating this letter to me. In his reply Huisman refrained from buying a work.

¹⁷⁰ Jean Painlevé, 'A propos d'un Nouveau Réalisme chez Fernand Léger,' *Cahiers d'Art* 3-4, 1940, p. 71.

promoted by Zervos' gallery and magazine.¹⁷¹ The last exhibition of the gallery opened in April presenting 24 drawings, gouaches and watercolours by Picasso. The prices ranged from 5.000 to 10.000 Frs.¹⁷² About a month later Zervos informed Picasso that most artists started fleeing Paris. Yvonne returned the drawings of his exhibition to Kahnweiler keeping on the walls single works by Miró, Léger, Chagall and two paintings by Lam.¹⁷³

Zervos continued working on the Picasso volume as his letters to the artist reveal.¹⁷⁴ Information about his early war-time activity is principally retrieved from his letters to the artist. Picasso's sculptures were transferred to the rue du Bac while Zervos checked frequently his atelier at the Grands-Augustins which together with his apartment at the Boétie were put under the protection of the Spanish ambassador. He informed him in August that Carl Einstein had committed suicide and Ernst had been sent to a camp.¹⁷⁵ It is interesting that Zervos discussed in 1941 the project of a book on *L'Art de la Gaule* with Michaud, but it never went to print.¹⁷⁶ The second Picasso volume was published in 1942 together with the second part of Eluard's *Livre Ouvert*.¹⁷⁷ Zervos moved between Paris and Vézelay. He furthermore lost his French nationality which he recovered in 1949.¹⁷⁸ Deeply discouraged, he started keeping notes in Greek, filling 28 pages of a small textbook with 164 handwritten quotes,

¹⁷¹ Kandinsky, 'L'Art Concret,' *XXe Siècle*, 1 March 1938, pp. 9-16. See also Christian Derouet, 'Kandinsky and the Cahiers d'Art: 1927-1944,' in Helmut Friedel (ed.), *Kandinsky – Absolut. Abstrakt*, Munich: Prestel, 2008, pp. 270-271.

¹⁷² The show received significant attention by the press. See Anon., 'Dans les Galeries,' *Marianne*, 24 April 1940. R. C., 'Dessins de Picasso,' *La Liberté*, 24 April 1940. Monsieur de la Palette, 'Le Luxe de Picasso,' *Marianne* 393, 1 May 1940. W. G., 'Dessins de Picasso,' *Beaux-Arts* 360, 15 May 1940.

¹⁷³ C. Z., letter to Pablo Picasso, 25 May 1940 cited in Christian Derouet (ed), *Zervos et Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 2011, p. 161. The show *Artists in Exile* opened in the Pierre Matisse gallery in New York in March 1942.

¹⁷⁴ 'Je crois que vous m'avez dit que toutes vos œuvres avaient été transportées [...] en lieu sûr. Le livre continue à augmenter de 24 pages [...] Nous avons eu un arrêt, car un récent bombardement de la région avait coupé la force motrice de l'imprimerie. Nous sommes à la page 164.' C. Z., letter to Pablo Picasso, 10 June 1940 cited in Christian Derouet (ed), *Zervos et Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 2011, p. 161.

¹⁷⁵ C. Z., letters to Pablo Picasso, 11 July 1940, 18 July 1940, 29 July 1940, 8 August 1940. Pablo Picasso, letter to C. Z., 19 July 1940. Zervos informed Picasso that he wished to include in the volume picture of all of his apartments in Paris from 1907 to 1916 (13 rue Ravignon, 11 bd Clichy, 242 bd Raspail, 5 bis rue Schoelcher, 22 rue Victor Hugo-Montrouge), C. Z., letter to Pablo Picasso, 16 August 1940, cited in Christian Derouet (ed), *Zervos et Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 2011, p. 162-164.

¹⁷⁶ The project was proposed by Michaud but Zervos agreed that he had the same idea a long time before. C. Z., letter to Marcel Michaud, s.d. Fonds Marcel Michaud, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the content of the letter to me.

¹⁷⁷ The first was published in 1941.

¹⁷⁸ Christian Derouet (ed), *Zervos et Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 2011, p. 167.

proverbs and ancient Greek sayings derived from Plato, Solon, Pindar, Euripides and many others.¹⁷⁹

Zervos' lengthy post war letters to Callery offer a lucid account of his activities during the occupation.¹⁸⁰ In 1945, he published the poems of the young poet and resistant Roger Bernard who was assassinated by the Gestapo in 1944. His *Ma Faime Noire Déjà* was prefaced by Char. The same year, *Cahiers d'Art* published the volume 1940-1944 which was announced to its contributors as containing 'degenerate art' produced during the wartime era.¹⁸¹ Zervos asked Martin Fabiani to furnish him drawings to illustrate literary texts – poems and philosophical texts – produced under oppressive conditions throughout the occupation in order to give a full impression of the literary and artistic movement in occupied France, as he admitted in his letter to Matisse.¹⁸² This was precisely the publishing model that *Verve* had adopted since 1937 reducing art criticism to the minimum. The volume included a considerable number of works by Picasso produced at Royan in 1940 and in Paris throughout the occupation including *Le Bacchanale* gouache painted after Poussin's *Le Triomphe de Pan*, as Zervos admitted many years later. It is true that Picasso went through an extremely creative period producing 1.473 works until the Liberation.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ By means of a prologue he wrote the following note: 'Many times I think why I should write all this? In what they can offer some benefit? Is it not a waste of time? Perhaps there is among these thoughts, wisdoms and comments that I cite a valid opinion that will please those who will read it (if they ever read it). And something that is valid is also useful. Something that pleases is exhilarative. Perhaps among all these notes there some that combine the pleasant with the useful (*το τερπνόν μετά του ωφελίμου*). Handwritten notes, February 1943. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 217. Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁸⁰ Cited in Christian Derouet (ed), *Zervos et Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 2011.

¹⁸¹ Cesar Domela, letter to C. Z., 12 February 1945. Vente publique Hôtel Drouot, M^c Buffetaud, Lettres et Manuscrits, dessins et gravures, Archives Zervos et divers. Ventes du 12 et 13 novembre 1998. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for the reference.

¹⁸² C. Z., letter to Mary Callery, 8 January 1945 cited in Christian Derouet (ed), *Zervos et Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 2011, p. 171. Zervos mentioned that he managed to find 21 pictures of works produced during the occupation provided by Fabiani and Yvonne, who was appointed by American collectors to buy works by Matisse and Picasso of her choice on their behalf. C. Z., letter to Henri Matisse, 23 December 1944. Archives Matisse. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the content of the letter to me. A significant part of works was purchased on behalf of Mary Callery. Zervos informed her in 1945: 'Le nombre de tableaux a augmenté considérablement. La collection s'enrichit de plusieurs magnifiques Picasso, de Matisse, de Braque, d'un très beau Delacroix, d'un petit Seurat très rare, d'un Corot. Mais ce sont surtout les Picasso qui sont nombreux, rares et magnifiques. Il y a aussi un grand Matisse ancien qui est une très belle oeuvre. Inutile de vous dire que les tableaux atteignent ici des prix inouïs, c' à d. ce sont les mêmes prix que vous avez connus, mais alors qu'ils étaient en 1939 basés sur la livre à 190F ils sont à présent basés sur la livre à 700 F. Et le dollar à 300. Aussi aucun étranger ne peut plus rien acheter ici, ni tableaux, ni livres.'

¹⁸³ Jonathan Petropoulos, *Artists under Hitler: Collaboration and Survival in Nazi Germany*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014, p. 317.

Jonathan Petropoulos has argued that cultural production did not diminish in occupied France citing the examples of Matisse, Cocteau and Le Corbusier. The latter was excluded from the Liberation volume due to evidence of collaboration with the Vichy regime but Zervos published the architect's account, apologetic and arrogant alike, of his activities in the service of the Resistance.¹⁸⁴ The same number included Zervos' polemical text against the suppression of individual values under the Third Reich turning against Vlamincck and his renowned dispute against Picasso in *Comoedia* in 1942.¹⁸⁵ Zervos himself was praised after the war for his service as a supervisor parachutist with the code-name Dragon but he reported to Callery that this

¹⁸⁴ C. Z., 'Notes,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1940-1944, p. 213. For the original letter to Zervos see Archives Fondation Le Corbusier, R.3.9.84.4. Le Corbusier explained: 1. Je fais chaque mois une page entière dans l'hebdomadaire Volontés (ceux de la Resistance). 2. Je fais une série de radio-France, ondes courtes, pour les trois Amériques et l'Est européen. 3. Comme suite à mon effort de Vichy, je suis leader de la Commission de Doctrine du F. N. A. (Front National des Architectes). 4. J'ai présidé salle Pleyel, le 9 décembre 1944, la grande réunion d'information convoquée sous le titre : La Bataille de la Reconstruction, par le F.N.A., l'Unité et la C.G.T. 5. J'ai été désigné, par le Ministre de l'Air, pour présider la Section Infrastructure du Congrès national de l'Aviation française, qui s'ouvre en avril. 6. Le Service des Œuvres des Affaires étrangères m'a chargé d'organiser, de faire le programme et de designer les membres d'une mission en U.S.A., sur le domaine bâti, ainsi que de partir moi-même à New York et Washington, pour conclure ces travaux, et ce, en compagnie de Claudius (Eugène Petit), chef des Francs-Tireurs de la zone sud, chef politique du M.L.N., délégué à L'Assemblée consultative et, par-dessus, admirateur enthousiaste de Le Corbusier. 7. Je viens d'être chargé, par le ministre de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme, de rédiger le Guide du Bâtiment, substance d'une charte française de l'Urbanisme. 8. Nommé l'un des sept membres du Comité supérieur de l'Architecture, appelé à juger en dernier ressort de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme en France. 9. Le 28 janvier 1945, invité par trois groupes de résistance à faire partie du patronage de l'Union nationale des Intellectuels français, j'ai été à la première séance au présidium avec Vercors, Eluard et six autres. 10. La revue Forum, de New York, m'a envoyé un écrivain pour faire une interview sur les quatre années de Le Corbusier, 1940-1945, car quelqu'un (est-ce vous ?) a fait imprimer en U.S.A. que je travaille pour l'Organisation Todt. 11. Le Mouvement pour l'Indépendance hongroise me demande d'entrer dans son comité d'honneur (d'une exposition projetée), à côté de MM. Picasso, Duffi (sic), Arago (sic), Eluard. 12. Le Ministère des Affaires étrangères m'écrit, qu'une exposition Le Corbusier est organisée en U.S.A., et circule avec un comité présidé par Léger, et ... Ozenfant (tout arrive) et sous le patronage du Gouvernement français. 13. Le capitaine Alamant, officier d'ordonnance du général de Gaulle, applique aux colonies mes propositions, me voit régulièrement tous les quinze jours. 14. Je reçois les visites incessantes d'officiers et de soldats américains et anglais, qui m'ont dit : 'Ce qui compte pour nous en France, c'est Picasso et Le Corbusier. Dans l'aventure de la guerre, Le Corbusier c'est un peu comme La Mecque.' C. Z., 'Notes,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1940-1944, p. 213. For the original letter to Zervos see Archives Fondation Le Corbusier, R.3.9.84.4.

¹⁸⁵ Press cuttings with Vlamincck's texts were kept in Zervos archive. Maurice de Vlamincck, '...Sur la Peinture,' *Comoedia*, 6 June 1942. 'C'est pour nous un vif regret de penser qu'un petit nombre d'artistes de valeur ne sut conserver intact le sens de la dignité. Venant de Vlamincck une telle attitude n'avait rien de surprenant. Les haines vigoureuses qui entrent dans son caractère, la jalousie qui s'échauffe chez lui sans répit contre els hommes épris de l'inconnu et s'en enflammant, l'ambition d'atteindre à la renommée de tous les hommes assez riches pour se permettre de lancer et même de perdre bien des flèches, éclairent suffisamment ses complaisances envers les conquérants. Mais comment expliquer que d'autres artistes fiers de leur pensée, de leur savoir, quelquefois même de leurs quartiers, se soient laissés gagner à leurs cajoleries, qu'ils aient même cherché avec ceux-ci sinon une jointure d'esprits, du moins des contacts et des degrés d'intimité qui finirent par donner lieu à des critiques très violentes.' Christian Zervos, 'Pour une Nouvelle Evaluation des Valeurs Esthétiques,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1940-1944, p. 9-19. See Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, *Art of the Defeat: France 1940-1944*, Getty Publications, 2008, p. 209.

was a story made up by the local people at Vézelay.¹⁸⁶ His Parisian apartment, rue du Bac, was turned however into a meeting point for Resistants issuing clandestine brochures throughout the occupation.¹⁸⁷

In 1945, Yvonne organised the travelling exhibition *Les Sacrifices de la Grèce pour la Liberté du Monde*. The show has to be understood in terms of Yvonne's involvement in the activities of the Communist Party¹⁸⁸ after the war and namely her participation in the efforts to revive the actions of the *Association Populaire des Amis des Musées* (A.P.A.M.) with Madeleine Rousseau and Fernandez.¹⁸⁹ The exhibition displayed photographs showing the tragic conditions of privation that the Greek people were subject to during the German occupation accompanied by poems by René Char and Eluard on the walls. The documents were the result of a mission headed by the Greek lawyer Aristotelis Koutsomaris aiming to present them abroad, namely to Red Cross officials in Geneva and Sweden, in order to mobilise humanitarian interest

¹⁸⁶ C. Z., letter to Mary Callery, 8 January 1945 cited in Christian Derouet (ed), *Zervos et Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 2011, p. 170. 'Naturellement notre vie à la Goulotte était chaque instant en danger [...] C'est un avion anglais qui faisait des parachutages avait pris notre maison pour point de repère et tous les après-midi pendant de mois il virait au-dessus de la maison cinq ou six fois avant de disparaître. Et le soir on entendait le bruit des objets parachutés et la forêt à côté de nous éclairée pour guider les avions parachutés. Inutile de vous dire que d'après les gens de la région, l'avion était en communication avec moi, moi j'étais devenu le grand chef de la Résistance que j'entretenais [...] entièrement à mes frais! Que la maison était le rendez-vous des chefs etc. Heureusement qu'il ne s'est trouvé personne pour me dénoncer sans quoi j'étais fusillé, d'autant plus que s'ils avaient fait une enquête sur moi à Paris, ils auraient découvert que mon bureau était devenu le dépôt général de plusieurs journaux clandestins, où venaient se ravitailler les distributeurs, et que mon appartement était le lieu de réunion des rédacteurs de quatre journaux clandestins.' C. Z., letter to Mary Callery, 8 January 1945 cited in Christian Derouet (ed), *Zervos et Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 2011, p. 170.

¹⁸⁷ 15 February 1945. Cachet Forces Françaises Combattantes. Section Atterrissage Parachutage. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Je soussigné Capitaine Alexandre. Commandant adjoint de la S.A.P R 2 ex-chef départemental pour les Basses-alpes de la S.A.P. R 2 en 1943-1944 certifie que Christian Zervos domicilié à Paris 40 rue du Bac, a eu de 1940 à la Libération une activité résistante se traduisant par de multiples formes telles que hébergement de patriotes poursuivis, boîte à lettres et lieu de rendez-vous à Paris et à Vézelay des responsables A.S. et m.v.r. de zone sud, courrier, relais des radios etc. La presse clandestine de Paris a été abritée par ses soins dans son local de la rue du Dragon Christian Zervos a fait preuve pendant toute l'occupation allemande d'un courage jamais défaillant et d'un désintéressement absolu. Il a bien mérité de la France libérée.' See also C. Z., letter to Bertel Kleyer, 14 October 1946 cited in Christian Derouet (ed.), *Zervos et les Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2011, p. 175.

¹⁸⁸ Manuscripts indicate Yvonne's adhesion to the Front National and the Parti Communiste Français in 1945. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁸⁹ The A.P.A.M. was born out of the socialist agenda of the Popular Front. It was originally founded by Rivet, Rivièrre and Jacques Soustelle, earlier by the Constitutive Assembly of 27 May 1937 having its offices provisionally installed at the Musée de l'Homme. See Madeleine Rousseau, 'L'A.P.A.M. et l'Education Ouvrière,' *Esprit*, November 1938, pp. 257-266. Danielle Maurice, 'Le Musée Vivant et le Centenaire de l'abolition de l'esclavage: Pour une Reconnaissance des Cultures Africaines,' *Conserveries Mémoires* 3, 2007 (on-line : <http://cm.revues.org/127?lang=en>). See also Declaration of the APAM. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. For the whole text see APPENDIX 1F.

in Greece during the war. The effort was crowned with success. The documents presented in numbers and through pictures children and adults dying from famine and other deceases as well as the percentage of ruins, deaths, and village burnings.¹⁹⁰ The Greek architect Panos Tzelepi, who participated in the mission, was the one to communicate the project to Zervos.

In 1946, Yvonne and Robert Marion sold their shares from the *M.A.I.* society to Marcel Michaud who was running since 1938 the gallery *Folklore* in Lyon (2 rue de Jussieu). Zervos became involved in affairs dealing with the retrieval of looted works, namely by Matisse and Picasso. In 1946 he addressed an open call to those who had information about ten lost works by the two artists underlining that their publication rendered any commercial transaction futile.¹⁹¹ The gallery *Cahiers d'Art* opened again in 1947 giving its first post war show dedicated to Brauner and Yves Tanguy. Brauner signed a contract with Julien Levy in 1946 and expressed his disappointment in his letter to Char about the place that Zervos was willing to give to his work in the magazine.¹⁹² The artist had his first solo show in Paris in the Galerie Pierre in 1934, where he exhibited again in 1946. Two more solos opened slightly afterwards in the new Parisian Iolas gallery and the Levy gallery in New York. Breton introduced the artist to *Cahiers d'Art* although he was expelled from the movement a couple of years later after refusing to sign for the exclusion of Roberto Matta.¹⁹³ Brauner joined later Picasso at Vallauris and started producing ceramics with him.

In 1945 the Musée National d'Art Moderne opened an exhibition presenting its collections. The travelling show moved to Limoges, Perpignan, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Amiens and Lille. It grouped artists by tendencies (Les Nabis et leurs Contemporains, Les Fauves et leurs Satellites, Le Cubisme et son Influence, Le Néo-

¹⁹⁰ Aristotelis Koutsomaris, letter in Greek to Panos Tzelepi, 11 July 1946. Emmanouel Tsouderos, letter in Greek to Aristotelis Koutsomaris, 1946. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 221, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁹¹ 'Les Tableaux de Picasso et celui d'Henri Matisse,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1945-1946, p. 428. Zervos played an intermediary role to the reinstatement of the ownership of a work by Matisse sold by Petrides during the occupation previously belonging to Alphonse Kann. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁹² 'C'est pour ça que je crains fort qu'un Zervos sur lequel je comptais beaucoup va finir par sortir encore un bien mauvais numéro où j'aurai une place insignifiante [...] Qu'il va publier très peu de choses, alors il aurait mieux valu ne rien publier, j'en ai l'habitude de l'inédit, mais les demi-mesures !' Victor Brauner, letter to René Char, n.d. Fonds René Char, Bibliothèque J. Doucet, Paris, cited in Camille Morando, Sylvie Patry (eds) *Victor Brauner : Ecrits et Correspondances 1938-1948*, Paris : Centre Pompidou, 2005, p. 387.

¹⁹³ André Breton, 'Victor Brauner,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1945-1946, pp. 307-311. See also Camille Morando, 'Victor Brauner's Writing in/at Work: Dada and Surrealist Inventions of a Picto-Poet,' *Dada/Surrealism* 20, 2015, 29p.

Réalisme, L'Expressionnisme). Surrealism was absent.¹⁹⁴ After the final opening of the Parisian museum of modern art in June 1947,¹⁹⁵ Zervos focused on individual shows giving spotlight to non-institutionalised artists and the younger generation namely those who followed the double path that cubism opened towards geometrical and lyrical abstraction which gained momentum in post war France with an evident preference for a middle-ground between naturalistic realism and geometrical non-figuration. Brauner became the standard value of the gallery representing the aesthetic of an abstract symbolism evocative of primitive expression carrying out the surrealist quests together with Magritte and Jacques Herold.¹⁹⁶ The most impressive part of

¹⁹⁴ Bernard Dorival, 'Les Expositions Itinérantes du Musée National d'Art Moderne,' *Bulletin des Musées de France* 1, January 1947, pp. 15-20. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for the reference.

¹⁹⁵ The opening of the Museum of Modern Art in 1947 was the result of an unprecedented number of acquisitions of modern artworks by the State and a significant amount of donations by artists, dealers and collectors. Picasso donated ten works, Braque one. Between 1941 and 1947, the State purchased four works by Bonnard, nine by Derain, seven by Friesz, seven by Matisse, five by Rouault, three by Vlaminck, five by Braque, three by Moreau, Laurens, and Lipchitz, two by Waroquier, Lhote, Gris, Fougerson, Pignon, Desnoyer, and single works by Dufy, Vallotton, Delaunay, Gleizes, Metzinger, Laurens, Gondouin, Hayden, Villon, Seginzac, Herbin, Le Fauconnier, Lurçat, Manessier, Singier, and Brancusi. Five works by Masson, four by Léger, two by Laurencin and single works by Braque, Blanchard, Bissière, Lhote and Picasso were donated by Paul Rosenberg.

¹⁹⁶ The 1947 solo show of Victor Brauner in Cahiers d'Art coincided with the international exhibition *Le Surrealisme en 1947* at the gallery Maeght (8 July – 5 October). See also Sarane Alexandrian, 'La Symbolique de Brauner,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1949, pp. 321-329. Alain Jouffroy, 'Suprématie Poétique de Victor Brauner,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1951, pp. 163-170. The 1955 Magritte show included many works from the Iolas collection. The latter accepted to cover the expenses for their transfer to Paris. Magritte wrote: 'Dans une communication par téléphone, Mr Iolas me fait savoir qu'il s'entend avec vous pour que vous exposiez rue du dragon les tableaux que je viens de terminer et quelques autres que Mr Iolas m'a achetés et qu'il met à votre disposition pendant son séjour à Paris. Si comme Mr. Iolas le propose, l'exposition s'ouvrirait déjà en décembre prochain, il est grand temps de mettre plusieurs choses au point : 1.- Je joins en annexe la liste des tableaux que je pourrais vous envoyer, qui m'ont été achetés par Mr Iolas et qui sont sa propriété. 2.- Les tableaux que je vous ferai parvenir, et qui ne seront pas vendus pendant l'exposition devront, je pense, être envoyés à la Galerie Iolas de New York – après l'exposition. 3.- M. Iolas me dit qu'il vous donne 300 dollars (soit 15.000 frs belges) qui doivent servir officiellement à payer les tableaux que je vous ferai parvenir. Ce paiement officiel permet que ces tableaux soient expédiés en France. L'expédition ne peut avoir lieu sans une licence d'exportation qui indique le prix d'achat, lequel doit passer par l'office des changes. Dans la liste des tableaux en annexe, j'indique le prix de chacun d'eux comme il sera indiqué sur les documents douaniers. 4.- Dois-je l'occuper déjà des formalités douanières – qui prennent un certain temps ? 5.- Pouvez-vous m'indiquer la date à laquelle vous devriez recevoir les tableaux ? Ceux-ci sont des peintures à l'huile sur toiles avec leurs châssis. La question des cadres est à envisager à Paris. 6.- Prévoyez-vous un catalogue assez important ? J'ai 4 photos des tableaux. Désirez-vous des photos de tous les tableaux ? J'ai écrit un texte récemment qui pourrait servir de préface au catalogue. Voulez-vous que je vous le communique ? 7.- En plus des tableaux, il me sera possible de vous envoyer (sans formalités de douane) sous enveloppe recommandée quelques petites gouaches, dont la liste est en annexe. Jusqu'à nouvel ordre, ces gouaches m'appartiennent encore et je serais enchanté que vous en acceptiez une qui vous plairait particulièrement [...] P.S. Les frais d'expédition pour Mr Iolas sont d'habitude réglés par ses soins. Je suppose que l'envoi que je vous ferais doit se faire aux mêmes conditions ?' René Magritte, letter to C. Z., 30 October 1955. The exhibition displayed 20 works. Paintings : *Souvenirs de Voyage* (Iolas, 750.000 Frs), *Promenades d'Euclide* (Iolas, 750.000 Frs), *La Leçon des Ténèbres* (Iolas, 500.000 Frs), *Le Maître de l'École* (Iolas, 500.000 Frs), *Le Lieu Dit* (Iolas, 500.000 Frs), *Le Chef-d'Oeuvre* (Iolas, 300.000), *La Lampe d'Aladin* (Iolas, 300.000 Frs), *Le Chef d'Orchestre* (300.000 Frs), *La Boîte de Pandore* (500.000 Frs), *Le Carrousel d'Esclarmonde* (200.000 Frs). Gouaches : *Le Fée Ignorante*

Zervos' post war activities is his unprecedented interest in Italian artists, but more importantly the Futurists to which the magazine gave particular spotlight considering the movement's total absence from the pre-war numbers of *Cahiers d'Art*.¹⁹⁷

Ideological Encounters

It is marvellous to learn that you are not only in good health but also you are thinking about continuing your editorial activity; needless to say that you can count on me for multiple subscriptions, the *Cahiers d'Art* was one of the things that we missed a lot. Here all the friends are more or less fine; Sweeney became director of the Museum of Modern Art, Léger's pictures are selling like hotcakes, Nitzchke continues his architectural-sentimental preoccupations, Buñuel produces films in Hollywood and me I got the blues. I see from time to time Segredakis the hermit. I do not know if I should continue telling gossip, but Hélión got married to the daughter of Peggy Guggenheim and he paints gents with hats and ties in true de la Fresnay, and Calder makes sculptures in gilded bronze; Giedion has been writing a book for three years.¹⁹⁸
Stamos Papadakis, 1945

The immediate period after the Liberation was a period of meditation and assessment. In a letter to Callery, Zervos appears distrustful and pessimistic about the prospects of novel achievements in art and literature.¹⁹⁹ To this was added a highly politicised climate that sought to discriminate artists and intellectuals on the basis of their activities during the occupation. Zervos played a role in it as we saw earlier with Le Corbusier but he was furthermore concerned about the dimensions of Picasso's heroization as a resistant which was epitomised in his adhesion to the Communist

(100.000 Frs), *L'Empire des Lumières I* (100.000 Frs.), *L'Empire des Lumières II* (100.000 Frs.). *Le Grand Style* (100.000 Frs), *La Folie Almayer* (100.000 Frs), *L'Usage de la Parole* (130.000 Frs), *L'Art de la Conservation* (130.000 Frs), *Golconde* (130.000 Frs), *La Légende des Siècles* (140.000 Frs), *Les Travaux d'Alexandre* (140.000 Frs). Fonds *Cahiers d'Art* CAPROV 10, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

¹⁹⁷ An entire number was dedicated to Futurism in 1950. See *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1950.

¹⁹⁸ Stamos Papadakis, letter to C. Z., 10 February 1945. Archives Stamos Papadakis, Princeton University. 'C'est merveilleux d'apprendre que non seulement vous êtes en bonne santé mais que vous contemplez de continuer votre activité d'éditeur; inutile de dire que vous pouvez compter sur moi pour plusieurs souscriptions, les *Cahiers d'Art* ont été une des choses qui nous avons beaucoup manqué. Ici tous les amis vont plus ou moins bien; Sweeney est devenu directeur du Muséum of Modern Art, Léger vend des tableaux comme des petits pains, Nitzchke continue ses occupations architecturosentimentales, Buñuel dirige des films à Hollywood et moi j'ai le cafard. Je vois de temps à temps Segredakis l'Hermite. Je ne sais pas si je dois continuer à raconter des potins, mais Hélión vient de se marier avec la fille de Peggy Guggenheim et il peint des messieurs en chapeaux et cravates en vrai de la Fresnay, et Calder fait des sculptures en bronze doré; Giedion est en train d'écrire un livre depuis trois ans.' Stamos Papadakis, letter to C. Z., 10 February 1945. Archives Stamos Papadakis, Princeton University.

¹⁹⁹ C. Z., letter to Mary Callery, 8 January 1945. Christian Derouet (ed.), *Zervos et les Cahiers d'Art*, *Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris: Georges Pompidou, 2011, p. 170. 'Il y a naturellement une petite vie artistique et littéraire mais tout cela petit restreint étrié. Pas un jeune à l'horizon que ce soit dans les arts ou dans les lettres. Retour à la banalité, à l'impersonnalité, à la plus grande facilité. C'est encore les anciens qui tiennent mieux le coup et qui donnent encore des promesses.'

Party in 1944 and exalted in the contemporary press.²⁰⁰ Zervos was deeply disappointed with the heroic claims addressed to people who had contributed nothing to the liberation as he informed Callery.²⁰¹ Picasso was obviously one of them. In his report on the artist's wartime activities for his museum bulletin,²⁰² Barr stressed the aspect of Picasso's participation in the resistance, a fact that annoyed Zervos who informed him that the 'anecdotes are false' and the result of 'bad journalism.'²⁰³ Preparing the revised volume *Picasso: Fifty Years of his Art*, Barr was deeply concerned about Zervos' warnings but unable to obtain accurate reports from the artist himself. In July, he wrote:

I greatly appreciate your words of caution about the journalistic reports of Picasso and the resistance movement. I still do not entirely understand the situation, for although some of the anecdotes may be false, it seems to me that beyond question Picasso has been greatly admired and praised as a resistance hero by such men as Aragon and Eluard. The stories about his studio having been used for meetings of resistance intellectuals impressed me as authentic, though perhaps I have been misled. I am glad to hear a denial of the portraits of resistance boys. This did not seem to me convincing. In any case, I shall weigh my words carefully in discussing Picasso's part in the resistance. It is most kind of you to have written me. Turning to your letter of July 7th, I appreciate how busy Picasso is, and how difficult it is to secure accurate information from him even when he is not busy! Perhaps, as in the case of Le

²⁰⁰ Press cuttings referring to Picasso's adhesion to the party were kept in Zervos' archive. See Pol Gaillard, 'Pourquoi J'ai adhéré au Parti Communiste. Une interview de Picasso à la revue Américaine New Masses,' *Humanité*, 29 October 1944. 'Le Plus Grand des Peintres Aujourd'hui Vivants, Picasso, a apporté son adhésion au Parti de la Renaissance Française,' *Humanité*, 5 October, 1944.

²⁰¹ 'J'étais triste de voir tout autour de moi la réclame que se faisaient nos amis qui n'avaient pas fait grand chose. Réclame dans les journaux du pays, réclame auprès des reporters américains. Chacun est devenu un héros. Vous ne pouvez penser combien cela peut chagriner quelqu'un qui a vécu pendant quatre ans au milieu de vrais héros anonymes, qui a partagé les risques dont ils ne parlaient jamais et dont ils ne tiraient aucun avantage personnel [...] Mais ce n'est pas encore là le mal, c'est surtout qu'il n'y a pas d'idéal, de confiance aux hommes, d'espoir d'un progrès social, d'une amélioration du sort des hommes. Tout est moralement au même point qu'avant 1939.' C. Z., letter to Mary Callery, 8 January 1945. Christian Derouet (ed.), *Zervos et les Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris: Georges Pompidou, 2011, p. 170.

²⁰² Alfred Barr, 'Picasso 1940-1944: A Digest with Notes,' *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin* 12, January 1945. Zervos wrote to Callery: 'Je viens de lire le Bulletin du Musée. Si vous voyez M. Barr donnez-lui mes amitiés et dites-lui que sauf de rares exceptions toutes les anecdotes sur Picasso de son étude ne sont pas vraies mais très journalisme américain. En tout cas, il ne faudrait pas s'en servir pour une étude sérieuse. Quant à ce qu'il dit des peintres ayant vécu tranquillement à la campagne, ce sont les seuls qui ont vraiment travaillé dans la Résistance et risqué leur vie à chaque jour.' Christian Derouet, *Zervos et les Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 2011, p. 174.

²⁰³ 'Everything that has been recounted is bad journalism and for the most part false. The anecdotes are false. Picasso simply preserved his dignity during the Occupation, as millions of people here did. But he never got involved in the Resistance. Consider that his work in itself is the greatest form of resistance, not only against an enemy but against millions of pretentious imbeciles [...] Do not let yourself be influenced by nonexistent heroics. There were heroes in France, but they either paid with their lives or ask that there be silence for their actions.' Steven A. Nash, 'Picasso, War, and Art,' in Steven A. Nash and Robert Rosenblum (eds), *Picasso and the War Years, 1937-1945*, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, 1998, p. 28.

Demoiselles d'Avignon, I shall have to publish certain errors and speculations so that Picasso may be aroused to deny or clarify. It is indeed harder to discover the truth about Picasso's early work than about the work of Manet, Poussin or Velazquez. Now I must tell you again how overwhelmed I am by admiration for your own work, for the two magnificent volumes of the Picasso catalog and for the last issue of *Cahiers d'Art*. We have for so long starved for news of Paris. In the amplification of my catalog Picasso: Forty Years of His Art I would like to reproduce a few works published by you in your catalog or in *Cahiers d'Art*. I hope I may have your permission with the understanding that I will give full credit accompanying each illustration. I have a great many photographs, even of recent work, but in some cases pictures which you reproduce are of special importance.²⁰⁴

The period stands out for its ideological frenzy. *Cahiers d'Art* published in 1946 a note including extracts from the writings of Lenin and two short quotes by Stalin – one of which taken from *Pravda* – in defence of art and literature that the Soviet states were accused of suppressing. The texts were retrieved from the censored during the occupation *La Littérature et l'Art* by Jean Fréville, with the magazine asking its re-edition.²⁰⁵ The selection of the extracts was criticised in 1947 by Laurent Casanova, France's Andrei Zhdanov according to Caute,²⁰⁶ at the XI Congress of the P.C.F. held in Strasbourg, attacking Zervos for isolating certain aspects from Marxist texts and having them published in a fraudulent context that distorted the intended message of their authors. Zervos reported a similar denunciation by Elsa Triolet in the conference celebrating the seventeenth anniversary of Vladimir Maiakowski's death. *Cahiers d'Art* published his lengthy response to Casanova which was literally a denunciation of socialist realism.²⁰⁷ He argued instead that the 'anecdotic' character of modern art was better able to stimulate the sensibility and imagination of the labouring masses.

Zervos admitted that his intention was to persuade the intellectuals of the left and the extreme-left to distinguish the creative process from their political convictions. This was a position that he maintained throughout his career and was

²⁰⁴ Alfred Barr, letter to C. Z., 17 July 1945. Fonds *Cahiers d'Art* CAPROV 7, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

²⁰⁵ 'Des Problèmes de la Création Littéraire et Artistique d'après quelques textes de Lénine et de Staline,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1945-1946, pp. 341-342. The texts were also reproduced in the *Musée Vivant* 1, February 1947 and the *Il Politecnico* 35, January-March 1947. Madeleine Rousseau was involved in the former and Elio Vittorini published the latter, both involved in the Communist Party.

²⁰⁶ David Caute, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 569. The chapter 'Picasso and Communist Art in France' (pp. 568-588) gives a thorough account of the party-line attack against formalism and Picasso's ambiguous, if not addle, position-takings.

²⁰⁷ On the French Communist Party and its painters see Jeannine Verdès-Leroux, 'L'Art de Parti. Le Parti Communiste Français et ses Peintres (1947-1954),' *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 28, June 1979, pp. 33-55.

resumed in this text which eloquently brings forward his objection to Zhdanov's – deceased a year earlier – party-line non-cosmopolitan and propagandist doctrine and his positions over the role that independent art could play in social transformation. These positions were closer to the ideological orientation of surrealism.²⁰⁸ Zervos declared:

The liberty that proclaims the creator has in the eyes of Zhdanov the error of sanctioning the preferred doctrine of the bourgeoisie: awareness of free will. This is what explains his disdain towards the intellectuals and the artists that hustle without reprieve to hazards [...] without fear of peril. No liberty of engagement is left to the talents that can not tolerate constraint. All the birds that fly high are likewise restrained by the string of a liberty settled and reduced by Zhdanov, a very short string that retires and inhibits flying.²⁰⁹

Zervos underlined that socialist realism was a post-Leninist Marxist doctrine that he rejected, clarifying his liberal position-taking on the political map. Commenting on Picasso's exhibition of 149 ceramics and the sculpture *L'Homme au Mouton* (1943)²¹⁰ at the Maison de la Pensée in 1949, he defended Picasso against the claims of his Italian comrades that he abandoned abstraction for the benefit of socialist realism.²¹¹ It is evident that Zervos, less overtly than Breton, disapproved of Picasso's communist engagement but the artist was informed about his text's

²⁰⁸ It is true that upon his return from America, Breton interrupted his contacts with Picasso due to his adhesion to the P.C.F.

²⁰⁹ Christian Zervos, 'Réponse à Laurent Casanova,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1949, p. 75, 77 (pp. 73-80). 'Les écrits de Lénine échelonnés sur un grand nombre d'années, loin de circonscrire la liberté du créateur dans les limites de systèmes rigides et d'y faire entrer en bloc l'invention et même l'avenir, lui accordent toute latitude de rentrer dans ses instincts, de réagir sur lui-même, de creuser les nombreuses couches qui sont dans les profondeurs de la personnalité. Il le stimule à courir toutes les aventures, à se diriger où son élan le peut porter, l'engage, s'il est soutenu par une verve et une fécondité naturelles, à recommencer son expérience aussi souvent qu'il en aura le désir et à laisser son esprit dans toutes les voies de l'invention. A maintes reprises, il a donné à entendre que le sujet à perspective très limitée ne lui importait guère et il a souvent incité le créateur à faire monter à la surface les sous-entendus puisés dans les déterminations obscures de l'être, si profondément actives. Or, il devient chaque jour plus évident, que les hommes du Parti chargés de l'impulsion à donner aux lettres et aux arts, sont en contradiction avec tout ce qui fait comme l'essence et la fleur de la pensée de Lénine [...] La liberté dont se réclame le créateur a le tort aux yeux de Zhdanov de sanctionner la doctrine préférée de la bourgeoisie: reconnaissance du libre arbitre. C'est ce qui explique son dédain envers les intellectuels et les artistes qui courent sans trêve des hasards et se jettent à corps perdu dans l'aventure, sans crainte du péril. Nulle liberté d'engagement n'est laissée aux talents qui ne souffrent pas la contrainte. Tous les oiseaux de haut vol sont ainsi retenus par le fil d'une liberté réglée et réduite par Zhdanov, un fil très court qui retient et brise l'essor.'

²¹⁰ See also Christian Zervos, 'L'Homme à l'Agneau, de Picasso, juillet 1942-octobre 1943,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1945-1946, pp. 84-87.

²¹¹ *Cahiers d'Art* published the catalogue of the exhibition *Picasso, Dernières Toiles*, exhibition at the Maison de la Pensée, July-September 1949. On the ideological debates over socialist realism in France see Lucie Fougerson, 'Un Exemple de mise en Images : Le Réalisme Socialiste dans les Arts Plastiques en France (1947-1954), *Sociétés et Représentations* 15, 2003, pp. 195-214.

content.²¹² The formal aspects of Picasso's art had little to do with the party-line aesthetic.²¹³ The newly appointed president of the USSR Academy of Fine Arts, the socialist realist Aleksandr Gerasimov, condemned a few months earlier both Picasso and Matisse in a polemical text against the School of Paris in *Pravda* which was also reproduced in *Les Lettres Françaises*.²¹⁴ That Zervos published two volumes with Picasso's drawings in 1947 and in 1949 is telling for he stressed the formalist and spiritual aspects of his work which was in stark contrast to André Fougeron's drawings presented in 1947 in a volume prefaced by Aragon.²¹⁵ Zervos' text was literally a denunciation of the P.C.F. for making use of Picasso's reputation to strengthen the impact of its program, accusing the 'communists' of a deliberate myopic attitude towards the artist's will to defend the interests of art imposed by destiny and the obligation to follow the creative spirit. Picasso's revolution, he declared, is unconcerned with 'vengeful expression in the service of a party and with the forgery of the real.'²¹⁶ *Cahiers d'Art* also published the same year two opinions on the work of Fougeron. The one laudatory signed by the Resistant and party member Georges Mounin, the other reproachful signed by Zervos. The latter was as a matter of fact a second part of his response to Casanova in the previous number, developing his

²¹² 'Je parle un peu dans le prochain cahier des appréciations portées sur vous par les camarades peintres romains, à propos du texte que je consacre à vos peintures de la Maison de la Pensée. Voulez-vous, après avoir vu les photos ci-inclus, de les donner à Marcel pour me les renvoyer, car j'en ai besoin. Vous voyez que vous n'êtes pas seul à faire des Picasso.' C. Z., letter to Pablo Picasso, 13 December 1949. Archives Picasso, Musée Picasso, Paris. Zervos refers to photographs of works sent for verification by the artist to be published in the catalogue.

²¹³ Picasso and Léger participated in the 1948 Wrocław Congress of Intellectuals in Defense of Peace. See Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius, 'Modernism between Peace and Freedom: Picasso and others at the Congress of Intellectuals in Wrocław,' in David Crowley and Jane Pavitt (eds), *Cold War Modern: Design 1945-1970*, London: V&A Publishing, 2008, pp. 33-41.

²¹⁴ Françoise Levaillant, 'Sur l'Affaire de la Pravda dans la Presse Parisienne d'août à octobre 1947,' *Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne* 9, 1982, pp. 147-149. David Cauter, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 574. Russian art carried the influence of Parisian modernism throughout the inter war years. See Cécile Pichon-Bonin, 'French References in Soviet Painting of the 1920s and 1930s: The Example of the Creation of Members of The Society of Easel Painters,' in Graham H. Roberts (ed.), *Other Voices: Three Centuries of Cultural Dialogue Between Russia and Western Europe*, Cambridge Scholars Pub., 2011, pp. 110-137. About Gerasimov and the Academy of Arts see Matthew Cullene Bown and Brandon Taylor, *Art of the Soviets: Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in a One-party State, 1917-1992*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.

²¹⁵ Christian Zervos, *Picasso. Carnet Royan 1940*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1947. Christian Zervos, *Picasso Dessins 1892-1948*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1949. He also contributed to the catalogue of the exhibition at the Maison de la Pensée. See also Christian Zervos, 'Introduction aux Dessins de Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1948, pp. 7-10. Louis Aragon, *Dessins de Fougeron*, Paris : Les 13 Epis, 1947.

²¹⁶ Christian Zervos, 'Oeuvres Récentes de Picasso Exposées à la Maison de la Pensée Française,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1949, pp. 237-240.

positions through his critique of Fougeron.²¹⁷ Zervos' text was highly polemical ending up taking the form of an anti-communist manifesto in defence of spirituality and freedom of expression.²¹⁸

On a more moderate tone, Zervos returned in 1950 to the Soviet artistic policies commenting on the Russian collections of French art which were stored with the outbreak of the war for protection but remained in the depots after the end of the war since their influence was deemed dangerous for young artists.²¹⁹ Zervos went about a diligent struggle to spread the aesthetic lesson of independent art beyond artistic circles. He aimed to 'awaken' the aesthetic perception of the masses. The 1947 exhibition of contemporary art at the Palais des Papes in Avignon, organised by Yvonne, was in keeping with the general educational aspirations of the A.P.A.M. but

²¹⁷ Fougeron provoked controversy with his *Parisiennes au marché* (1947) at the Salon d'Automne. He also positioned in the debate involving Zervos and overtly turned against abstraction. André Fougeron, 'Le Peintre à son Créneau,' *La Nouvelle Critique* 10, 1949, p. 96. Pierre Daix, 'Révolution et Contre-Révolution,' *La Nouvelle Critique* 9, 1949, pp. 85-86. See also Jean-Charles Gateau, *Eluard, Picasso et la Peinture (1936-1952)*, Paris: Droz, 1983, p. 273. About Fougeron's positions with regards to formalism see Denis Milhau, 'Présupposés théoriques et contradictions du Nouveau Réalisme Socialiste en France au lendemain de la Guerre Mondiale,' in *Art et Idéologies. L'Art en Occident, 1945-1949*, Université de Saint-Etienne, Travaux XX, 1978, pp. 108-132.

²¹⁸ 'Tous ceux qui connaissent le fond et la fin de la création esthétique conviendront avec nous que les sentiments de M. Fougeron, traduits en sensations visibles, ne provoquent en aucune occasion une tension quelconque. Il est impuissant à référer l'attention du spectateur à une donnée émotionnelle au point qu'il oublie que ce qui l'anime vivement le trouve, l'angoisse et l'indigne, est un phénomène pictural. Les signes dont M. Fougeron couvre son tableau ou son affiche ne se révèlent pas actifs. Son art est dénoué de toute vertu propre à lui faire trouver accès aux cœurs, à l'aider à gagner, par une obsession rongeuse, la conscience du spectateur, à lui imposer les représentations que d'habitude il s'ingénie à fuir.' Mounin compared Fougeron with Grunewald provoking Zervos' exasperation. See Christian Zervos, 'Insignifiance de l'Art de M. Fougeron,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1949, p. 347 (pp. 346-348). Georges Mounin, 'Les Femmes de M. Fougeron,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1949, pp. 245-246. On the reception of Fougeron's engaged art see Sarah Wilson, 'Regard d'une Historienne de l'Art,' *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de notre temps* 21, 1991 (L'Avenir dans l'Affiche Politique), pp. 109-116.

²¹⁹ 'Des œuvres importantes de Monet, de Gauguin, de van Gogh, de Cézanne, de Renoir, de Degas furent bientôt vendues par l'Etat à des étrangers, dommage impossible à réparer. Puis, la guerre survenue, les tableaux du Musée furent mis en lieu sûr. Depuis ils n'ont jamais quitté leurs caisses. Ils se trouvaient encore cet été dans un dépôt à Léninegrad. Nous espérons qu'un jour, les hommes du ressort de qui ces œuvres dépendent, jugeront qu'en réalité elles ne présentent aucun danger pour la formation artistique des jeunes et s'empresseront d'en libérer l'action en y faisant surtout accéder les neuves intelligences.' 'L'Art Moderne Française dans les Collections des Musées Etrangers. I. Musée d'Art Moderne Occidental à Moscou,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1950, pp. 335-336. In 1954, the Picasso show at the Maison de la Pensée displaying his works from the Leningrad museum and Moscow Occidental museum was interrupted since the daughter of Serge Stchoukine declared ownership of the 37 Picasso works that her father had purchased from Kahnweiler at the beginning of the century. The collection was nationalised after the Russian revolution and became part of the content of the Musée d'Art Moderne Occidental. See Maurice Raynal, 'Picasso à la Maison de Pensée Française,' *Les Lettres Françaises* 520, June 1954. 'Les 37 Picasso exposés par les Russes à Paris ont été volés à mon père, dit Mme Stchoukine de Keller, fille de réfugiés, qui attaque en justice le gouvernement soviétique,' *Paris-Press*, 8 July 1954. Christian Zervos, 'Picasso/Leningrad,' *Arts* 9-15 June 1954, pp. 1, 6. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for the references.

was deprived of ideological references.²²⁰ It rather served the ends of artistic decentralisation,²²¹ an initiative undertaken in France for the first time by the museum of Grenoble. The exhibition displayed 156 works. Zervos underlined that similar efforts to diffuse contemporary art to the provinces had been effectively applied in Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Britain and the United States hoping that France would follow their example. The effort was supported by artists of the order of Picasso and Matisse and was furthermore expanded by the initiatives of the Dominican friar Marie-Alain Couturier who undertook the modernisation of sacred art involving artists such as Rouault, Matisse, Léger, Matisse, Bazaine, Manessier and others in church stained-glass decoration.²²²

Unlike Skira who put his post war *Labyrinthe* in the service of Gaullist propaganda, *Cahiers d'Art* maintained a liberal character in terms of political engagement. Zervos' preserved close relations with Aimé Maeght, but his magazine increasingly developed a rivalry with the luxurious *Verve* which was made evident in Zervos' approaching of Matisse and Tériade's collaboration with Picasso who was absent from the pre-war numbers of his magazine. Zervos even started in 1949 cataloguing Matisse's works intending to publish a catalogue similar to Picasso's, a project that the artist declined.²²³ Following Bonnard's retrospective at the Orangerie

²²⁰ It is important that Madeleine Rousseau was an important collector of primitive art while her commentaries in Zervos' magazine discussed Paalen and Hans Hartung, artists of formalist qualities. See Madeleine Rousseau, 'Hans Hartung,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1949, pp. 317-319. Madeleine Rousseau, 'Paalen: Peintre d'un Monde Moderne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1952, pp. 47-52. However, Zervos published a negative critique of her book *Introduction à la Connaissance de l'Art Présent* (1953) which was part of the collection 'Le Musée Vivant' by Jean Laude in 1954. The book, he observed, was the result of a Spenglerian reflection and a Marxist methodology connecting class struggle with the decline of the West. The study, Laude observed, suffered from important generalisations and dogmatic judgments, it lacked bibliographical references, while its methodology led to unrepaired consequences notably with regards to the comments on the superiority of races that pointed to an overtly racist approach. Jean Laude, 'Livres d'Art,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1954, pp. 123-124. It appears that the Zervos had interrupted their contacts with Rousseau possibly for ideological differences.

²²¹ 'Vous savez à quel point je suis heureux de l'exposition que vous faites à Avignon car je tiens à une décentralisation et je crois que c'est la vérité. Cela m'a été montré par l'impuissance où j'étais de pouvoir aider les peintres modernes pendant l'occupation. Ils étaient connus à Rome, New York, Berlin ou Londres mais pas dans la province française, et ce fut bien dommage.' Marcel Michaud, letter to C. Z., 4 June 1947. Fonds Marcel Michaud, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the letter to me. See also Christian Zervos, 'Exposition d'Art Moderne au Palais des Papes à Avignon,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, pp. 294-296. Amédée Ozenfant, 'Exposition d'Art Moderne au Palais des Papes à Avignon,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, pp. 315-316.

²²² Antoine Lion, 'Art Sacré et Modernité en France: Le Rôle du P. Marie-Alain Couturier,' *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 1, 2010, pp. 109-126. See also Antoine Lion (ed.), *Marie-Alain Couturier, Un Combat pour l'Art Sacré*, Nice: Serre, 2005. Marcel Billot, 'Le Père Couturier et l'Art Sacré,' in *Paris-Paris 1937-1957 : Créations en France*, exhibition catalogue, Paris : MNAM, 1981, pp. 197-200.

²²³ Zervos created an inventory of Matisse's works at the Musée d'Art Moderne Occidental in Moscow. He subsequently announced a series of articles presenting French art in foreign museums. He eventually published only the first part presenting the collections of the Moscow museum. See 'L'Art

and *Verve's* special number *Couleur de Bonnard*, Zervos published in 1947 a polemical text, similar to the one on Manet a few years earlier, titled 'Pierre Bonnard est-il un Grand Peintre?'²²⁴ Zervos questioned the artist's detachment from Impressionism arguing that unlike other artists of the order of Matisse and the cubists who reacted violently against Impressionism, Bonnard lacked the strength to shape his own vision of the world restricting his imagination to mediocre originality.²²⁵ In the new museum his work was placed in the room displaying the Nabis. It is significant that Zervos' text coincided with the artist's death in January provoking the exasperation of Matisse who wrote on the first page of the article about a year later 'Oui! Je certifie que Bonnard est un grand peintre pour aujourd'hui, et sûrement pour l'avenir.'²²⁶

Moderne Français dans le Collections des Musées Etrangers: I. Musée d'Art Moderne Occidental à Moscou,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1950, pp. 335-336. 'Liste des Principales Œuvres Français du Musée d'Art Moderne Occidental à Moscou,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1950, pp. 337-348. Matisse wrote to Zervos in 1952 : 'J'apprends incidemment que [...] vous êtes en train d'entreprendre l'édition d'une sorte de catalogue de mon œuvre. Cette information me surprend beaucoup car je suppose que si le fait était exact j'aurais été le premier informé par vous. Toutefois pour qu'il ne puisse y avoir aucun malentendu à ce sujet, je vous signale que je ne puis vous autoriser de publier de recueil de cette sorte car j'ai des engagements très fermes pour l'édition du catalogue complet de mon œuvre.' Henri Matisse, letter to C. Z., 14 March 1952. Archives Galerie Cahiers d'Art, Paris. I am indebted to Christian Derouet for communicating the content of this letter to me.

²²⁴ It is interesting that Zervos attempted unsuccessfully to assure the presentation of works by Bonnard in the 1947 show of contemporary art at the Palais de Papes in Avignon. The artist however was absent from the show, a fact that arguably indicates Zervos' disappointment with the artist and those representing him after his death, namely Charles Terrasse who offered plentiful support to Tériade. In May 1947, Zervos wrote to Michaud's wife: 'Yvonne organise au Palais des Papes à Avignon une exposition sensationnelle de peintures et de sculptures contemporaine avec de nombreuses et très importantes toiles de Matisse, Picasso, Braque, Léger. Cette exposition qui durera de la fin Juin à la fin septembre, sera de l'avis même des artistes, la plus importante qui ait jamais eu lieu. Nous n'avons qu'une difficulté : trouver des toiles de Bonnard, car ses œuvres ont été mises à la disposition des expositions de Prague, de Copenhague et de Paris (Salon d'Automne). Pour présenter l'œuvre de Bonnard dignement, il nous faudrait plusieurs toiles. Vous qui connaissez plusieurs collections lyonnaise, ne pouvez-vous pas nous aider à trouver des Bonnard à Lyon ?' C. Z., letter to Madame Michaud, 23 May 1947, Fonds Marcel Michaud, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the letter to me. The organisers of the exhibition acknowledged however that the absence of Rouault, Bonnard and Maillol was due to 'exceptional circumstances.'

²²⁵ Christian Zervos, 'Pierre Bonnard est-il un Grand Peintre?' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, pp. 1-6.

²²⁶ Christian Derouet (ed.), *Cahiers d'Art: Musée Zervos à Vézelay*, Paris: Hazan, 2006, p. 98. See also Albert Kostenevitch, *Bonnard et les Nabis*, Parkstone International, 2012, p. 7. Zervos sent a copy of the magazine to Matisse who wrote a letter to Zervos on 9 January 1948 saying that the presentation of the works by Bonnard in the magazine was not sympathetic affirming that after observing Bonnard for 50 years he concludes that his painting is more profound than it appears to be. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the letter to me which was exhibited in the exhibition *Pierre Bonnard, l'Œuvre d'Art, un Arrêt du Temps*, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, 2 February – 7 May 2006. Zervos responded to Matisse maintaining his positions about Bonnard. 'Mon point de vue est qu'il n'a pas apporté grand chose à la peinture, que son rôle entre l'impressionnisme, vous et le cubisme est nul. Il a certainement fait des tableaux très honnêtes, mais encore une fois, qui n'ont pas apporté rien [sic] à la peinture, comme vous l'avez fait et comme l'a fait le cubisme.' C. Z., letter to Henri Matisse, 15 April 1948, Archives Matisse. I am indebted to Christian Derouet for communicating the content of the letter to me.

The rivalry between the two magazines continued until their cessation in 1960. Their objectives were essentially different but their editors shared in common their attachment to Picasso, Matisse, Léger and Braque. Zervos published in 1947 a text by Romuald de la Souchère who was asked to turn the Château Grimaldi into a Picasso museum.²²⁷ The same number, sold at 2.300 Frs (one must consider the significant devaluation of the franc during the same period), also presented drawings executed in Paris, the Golfe Juan, Mènebres, his 446 unpublished ceramics from Vallauris and a commentary by Madoura, the workshop run by Suzanne and Georges Ramié which was authorised by the artist to produce multiples out of his models.²²⁸ The volume *Dessins Inédits de Picasso* was announced the same year with its price reaching 3.200 Frs. In 1948 Tériade published the expensive volume *Le Chant des Morts* with handwritten texts by Reverdy and 124 colour lithographs by Picasso.

The special number *Couleur de Picasso* reproduced his latest works at Antibes²²⁹ and was followed a few years later by a second *Verve* number presenting Picasso's ceramics at Vallauris produced between 1949 and 1951. The volume included a text by Kahnweiler who had interrupted his contacts with Zervos when he applied at the Tribunal de Commerce de la Seine for an indemnity accusing Zervos for reproducing material in the second Picasso volume without his permission.²³⁰

²²⁷ Works by Picasso (23 paintings and 44 drawings) were on display in the museum while a studio was reserved on the second floor exclusively for the artist. A room dedicated to Picasso opened in September 1947. R. de la Souchère, 'Picasso au Musée d'Antibes,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, pp. 11-17.

²²⁸ 'Les Revues,' *Arts* 178, August 1948.

²²⁹ 'The fact that many of these cheerfully bucolic oils and drawings are undated and unsigned – for the first time in twenty years – may indicate a change in Picasso's attitude toward himself. It is as if he had stopped forcing himself in relation to the history of art, had stopped forcing himself to paint for the age and its historians, and had come once more to paint simply for the sake of his joy in it. It is possible that Picasso now has a gentle and elegiac phase in store for himself, such as other great artists before him have known in their old age.' Clement Greenberg, 'Picasso: Lighter Side,' *Verve* vol. V, Nos. 19-20, *New York Times*, 8 August 1948, p. 7. Françoise Caussé, *La Revue L'Art Sacré: Le Débat en France sur l'Art et la Religion (1945-1954)*, Paris : Cerf, 2010.

²³⁰ Their relations became stressful since the publication of the volume in 1942, affecting Zervos' connection with Michel Leiris who refused to write a text on Lam and to offer his help to Zervos as a conservator of the Musée de l'Homme. For Kahnweiler's tribunal see Pierre Assouline, *L'Homme de l'Art*, D.H.Kahnweiler, 1884-1979, Paris: Balland, 1988, p. 399. Zervos wrote to Leiris in 1952 : 'Il y a trois jours j'avais prié un ami, le jeune poète Jacques Dupin, de bien vouloir vous demander de ma part le service de me faire prêter par la Bibliothèque du Musée de l'Homme quatre livraisons du *Bulletino di Paletnologia Italiana*, qu'il me fallait consulter d'urgence. A mon grand étonnement vous lui avez refusé ce service sous prétexte que vous étiez fâché contre moi. Je ne vois vraiment pas les motifs de votre ressentiment envers moi. Je n'ai jamais proféré la moindre parole désobligeante à votre sujet. La preuve en est que récemment encore j'avais prié le peintre Lam de s'adresser à vous pour un article sur ses œuvres récentes à paraître dans les "Cahiers d'Art", article que vous lui avez refusé toujours à cause de moi. Je me demande sérieusement quelle pourrait être la raison de votre attitude hostile à mon égard, car il m'est absolument impossible de croire pour votre dignité que vous puissiez confondre vos fonctions de conservateur du Musée de l'Homme avec les affaires commerciales de M. Kahnweiler. Ne croyez-vous pas que nos rancunes, fondées ou non, doivent s'effacer lorsqu'il s'agit de travail ?' C. Z.,

Tériade was on better terms with the dealer. Both publications underlined the primitive character of Picasso's ceramics. Zervos underlined his influence by Sumerian monumentality, Egyptian bas-reliefs, Minoan anaglyphs and the Vaphio gems.²³¹ *Verve*'s interpretation focused entirely on his connections to Mediterranean primitivism.²³² Picasso's ceramics became subject to opposing interpretations. Aragon and Moussinac described the artist as a worker underlining the manual labour that he was subject to.²³³ Charles Estienne and Zervos rather thought that his creations could offer to the masses the impulsion to reach an aesthetic appreciation.²³⁴ Tériade would present in 1954 a special number with 180 drawings by Picasso produced between 28 November 1953 and 3 February 1954.²³⁵ The approach was different. Zervos was interested in the documentary nature of the works, Tériade in their collectible character.²³⁶ In contrast to Tériade and his expensive *livres d'artistes*,²³⁷ Zervos reduced the frequency of the magazine to less costly annual volumes, focusing on his publications and the exhibitions held in his gallery and elsewhere.

letter to Michel Leiris, 9 January 1952. Leiris responded : 'Il ne s'agit évidemment pas du litige commercial auquel vous faites allusion, mais de quelque chose qui s'est passé à l'occasion de ce litige : l'insinuation insultante que vous avez faite dans une lettre adressée à mon beau-frère quant à l'ouverture de la Galerie Louise Leiris pendant la période d'Occupation. J'estime que vous avez vous-même, par une insinuation pareille (au demeurant dénuée de tout fondement), mis fin à nos relations.' Michel Leiris, letter to C. Z., 14 January 1952. Vente Hotel Drouot, Lettres et Manuscrits, Dessins et Gravures, Archives Christian Zervos, 12-13 November 1998. I am indebted to Christian Derouet for communicating the letter to me. Léonce Rosenberg also accused Zervos of circulating stolen artworks during the occupation. See Yves Chevretil-Desbiolles, 'Compte Rendu,' *La Revue des Revues* 47, 2012, pp. 96-97.

²³¹ Christian Zervos, 'Céramiques de Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1948, p. 72. Madoura, 'Picasso Céramiste,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1948, pp. 74-76. Jaime Sabartes, 'Picasso à Vallauris,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1948, pp. 81-83.

²³² Odysseas Elytis, 'Equivalences chez Picasso,' *Verve* 25-26, 1951, n.p.

²³³ Louis Aragon, 'Picasso Céramiste,' *Les Lettres Françaises* 213, June 1948, p. 8. Léon Moussinac, 'Picasso, Ouvrier de la Terre et du Feu,' *Les Lettres Françaises* 238, December 1948, p. 7.

²³⁴ Christian Zervos, 'Céramiques de Picasso,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1948, p. 73. Charles Estienne, 'Quand Picasso délaisse la Peinture pour la Céramique,' *Combat* 7, 1948, p. 4.

²³⁵ Suite de 180 Dessins de Picasso, *Verve* 29-30, 1954. The volume strategically appeared before the great Picasso retrospective at the Pavillon Marsan and the exhibition of his engraved work at the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1955.

²³⁶ Zervos became obsessed with inedited material. In 1947 he published extracts from Braque's sketchbooks ('Extraits du Cahiers de Georges Braque,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1947, p. 8), in 1957 Léger's sketches for a portrait presented by Dora Vallier, 'Carnet Inédit de Fernand Léger, Esquisses pour un Portrait,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1956-1957, pp. 99-104. Braque was the recipient of the Grand Prix at the 25th Venise Biennale in 1948. Tériade dedicated an entire volume of *Verve* to Braque's sketchbooks in 1955 with an introduction by Grohmann and a text by Rebecca West. *Carnets Intimes de Braque*, *Verve* 31-32, 1955. Maeght however has published earlier than Tériade the *Cahiers de Braque* dating from 1916 to 1947.

²³⁷ Zervos also published in 1948 Tiggie Ghika's poem *Le Bleu de l'Aile* translated by Char and illustrated with three eaux-fortes by Laurens. The book was printed in 211 numbered copies. The first eleven were numbered A to E. The same year he published *Héraclite d'Éphèse*, translated by Yves Battistini and prefaced by René Char including an original engraving in three versions by Braque.

The post war activity of Zervos is marked by significant institutional involvement and a scholarly approach to primitive and progressively to contemporary art. In October 1949, he started planning a trip to Sardinia to photograph works of proto-sardinian art before the Carthaginian dominion to illustrate his book *La Civilisation de la Sardaigne du début du l'Enéolithique à la Fin de la Période Nuragique. Ile millénaire – Ve siècle avant notre ère* (1954) that was under preparation.²³⁸ This was in fact the first book to present site-specific and not museified archaeology. His stay in Italy needs to be linked to a renovated interest not only in primitive but also in Italian modern art. It is striking that Zervos started making references almost evoking Waldemar George's neo-humanism and attachment to Rome. A letter to Bertel Kleyer brought out his disappointment with regards to the development of art overseas: 'vous connaissez Rome pour qu'il soit inutile de vous en parler. C'est une ville qui me plaît beaucoup, ou plutôt qui convient à mon sens des proportions, proportions toutes humaines et qui m'éloignent des conceptions écrasantes de l'Amérique et de ses imitateurs européens.'²³⁹

When passing through Milan, Zervos entered into discussions with Italian collectors who envisaged an exhibition of modern Italian art in Brussels, Amsterdam, London and Berne, but were sceptical about transferring the show to Paris out of fear of negative reception. Zervos discussed the prospect with Jean Cassou and arranged an exhibition. The Parisian show opened in May before the 25th Venice Biennale which featured four important retrospectives dedicated to the most significant art movements of the century: Fauvism, Cubism, Futurism and the Blaue Reiter.²⁴⁰ Zervos published the same year a special number presenting the artists that signed the first futurist manifesto.²⁴¹ His contribution to the exhibition is little acknowledged. In a letter to Picasso Zervos mentioned that he managed to reunite during his stay in Italy

²³⁸ Zervos visited Sardinia in the autumn of 1949 for fifteen days but eventually stayed there for four weeks spending two weeks in Rome. He appears to have been fascinated with the island. He wrote to Kleyer: 'Les paysages ont de la grandeur et avec sévérité qui impose sa beauté. C'est un pays tout différent du reste de l'Italie et du point de vue de paysage, et de climat, et de races humaine et animale. C'est un pays de mœurs sévères, de chansons sévères, de couleurs décoratives sévères, d'architecture sévère. Et de toute cette sévérité se dégage quelque chose de mystérieux et de magique qui vous prend à la gorge et secoue votre sensibilité. Je suis très très satisfait d'avoir connu cette île, un peu ses habitants, ses chansons, entendu ses dialectes si nombreux.' C. Z., letter to Bertel Kleyer, 23 November 1949. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the letter to me.

²³⁹ C. Z., letter to Bertel Kleyer, 23 November 1949. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the letter to me.

²⁴⁰ The cubist show was organised by Douglas Cooper, the fauvism retrospective by Roberto Longhi. Cubism however was reduced to four masters: Picasso, Gris, Braque and Léger. See Adrian Duran, *Painting, Politics, and the New Front of Cold War Italy*, Ashgate, 2014, p. 135.

²⁴¹ Un demi-siècle d'Art Italien, *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1950.

70 works by contemporary Italian artists for the Parisian exhibition, 18 of which were by Boccioni.²⁴² He also asked Barr to send him reproductions of futurist works from the MoMA and played an intermediary role in the exhibition of Italian art at the Zurich Kunsthaus.²⁴³ A Severini show opened in the Cahiers d'Art gallery in May 1952 displaying the artist's recent mosaics, while a series of replicas of Ravenna mosaics were on display a few months earlier at the Musée des Monuments Français.²⁴⁴

²⁴² Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 8, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Mon cher Picasso, nous avons eu de vos nouvelles par Pierre et nous avons été si heureux d'apprendre que vous alliez très bien et que vous étiez en forme. Nous avons vu aussi les oiseaux que Pierre a rapportés et que vous ont beaucoup plu. Comme vous le savez sans doute j'étais en Italie pour mon travail. J'ai profité pour réunir 70 tableaux parmi les meilleurs dont 18 Boccioni. Ils seront exposés à la Galerie du Musée d'art Moderne à partir du 12 mai. J'aimerais que vous voyiez cette exposition, car je me suis donné du mal, mais j'ai pu réunir de beaux tableaux de Boccioni, de sculptures, de constructions. En même temps j'ai préparé en Italie un énorme numéro sur le demi-siècle d'art italien, de Boccioni aux très jeunes. J'ai réussi le tour de force de faire ce numéro de 280 pages en 22 jours. Mais j'ai cru que j'allais perdre ma santé. J'ai tenu le coup quand même en travaillant 18 heures par jour en écrivant des articles en corrigeant ceux des Italiens et en surveillant toute l'exposition. Le no sera prêt le 12 de ce mois. Je vous l'enverrai aussitôt que j'aurai reçu les premiers exemplaires. Je m'aperçois que la vieille garde tient le coup mieux sur les jeunes. Pierre nous a rapporté que vous croyez que Kootz m'a payé. C'est absolument faux. L'affaire est entrée les mains des avocats et Kootz trouve tous prétextes pour tirer la chose en longueur. Si vous venez à Paris faites-le moi savoir par Sabartes ; il y a si longtemps que nous ne sommes pas vus ! Je crois deux ans.' C. Z., letter to Pablo Picasso, 4 May 1950. Archives Picasso, Musée Picasso, Paris. The affair Kootz concerns the delay in the payment of a work by Picasso by Samuel Kootz.

²⁴³ Alfred Barr, letter to C. Z., 13 February 1950. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Cher Monsieur Barr, j'ai à vous demander un service pour mes amis suisses, italiens et pour moi. Mr Wehrli, conservateur du Kunsthaus de Zurich voudrait comme vous savez, faire une grande exposition intitulée 'Futurisme et art métaphasique'. Pour cette exposition il avait demandé les tableaux se trouvant chez vous : 1o – Les trois états d'âme, de Boccioni 2o-Les funérailles de l'anarchiste Galli, de Carra 3o – Hiéroglyphe dynamique du Bal Tabarin, de Severini. Malheureusement par suite d'engagements antérieurs pris par l'Association AMICI du BRERA l'exposition de Zurich ne pourra se faire qu'en Décembre. Voudriez-vous intervenir afin que ces tableaux restent à Zurich. Mr Wehrli s'engage à vous les faire parvenir à la fin de l'exposition, si cela est nécessaire par voie aérienne. Je sais que vous le ferrez si vous le pouvez, nous permettant aussi de voir en Europe ces tableaux peut-être pour la dernière fois ?' C. Z., letter to Alfred Barr, 25 September 1950. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

²⁴⁴ Zervos introduction to Gino Severini, 'Notes sur la Mosaïque,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1952, p. 54. 'Severini qui avait pris un brillant départ à l'époque du cubisme et connu depuis et durant de longues années une sorte de diminution de son potentiel plastique, vient de retrouver les qualités de ses débuts. Ses peintures récentes sont de beaucoup supérieure à une foule d'abstractions qui jouissent d'un certain renom, abstractions si automatiques et si arbitraires qu'il faut une insigne mauvaise foi pour ne pas reconnaître que par rapport aux dernières œuvres de Severini, les peintures de ces hommes dévoyés dans un académisme d'aspect moderne d'où l'imagination s'est enfuie à jamais, sont d'une extrême faiblesse dans le jeu des facultés spirituelles et des procédés plastiques. L'exposition des mosaïques de Severini aux Cahiers d'art a témoigné en plus de la qualité de sa vision picturale, sa maîtrise dans l'art de la mosaïque où je croirais volontiers que l'artiste trouvera des légitimes succès. Je tiens à constater une impression sentie par les visiteurs de son exposition. Cette impression vive tient à une composition dont toutes les licences trouvent leur légitimation, à une judicieuse distribution des masses colorées, à un dessin aigu et sûr de lui-même, à une technique qui apportera un appendice à l'histoire de la peinture contemporaine. Nous avons prié Severini de résumer pour nos lecteurs la technique de ses

The Grand Prix of the 25th Biennale was awarded to Matisse and Laurens. The former had presented 32 works in the retrospective of Fauvism and 39 works in the French pavilion. In July a Matisse show opened at the Maison de la Pensée presenting the artist's paintings, drawings, sculptures, paper cut-outs and maquettes for the decoration of the Dominican chapel of the Rosary in Vence.²⁴⁵ Although Tériade found challenging the reproduction of Matisse's cut-outs, Zervos overtly disapproved of their decorative quality in his commentary on the Matisse exhibition at the new Parisian museum in 1949. He nonetheless revised that position in 1954.²⁴⁶ Picasso gave several shows at the Maison de la Pensée, most of them dealing with his war-time productions. Another exhibition followed in November 1951 displaying 43 sculptures and 43 drawings dating between 1942 and 1943.²⁴⁷ Zervos became involved in institutional activities with remarkable frequency. His contribution to the 1949 exhibition *Les Grands Courants de la Peinture Contemporaine* at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon, the Fauvism and the Laurens retrospectives of 1951 at the Museum of Modern Art in Paris was reduced to lending works from his collection.²⁴⁸

mosaïques qui pourraient admirablement illustrer les murs des architectures publiques et, en attendant ceux du palais de l'O.N.U, à New York.'

²⁴⁵ Louis Aragon, 'Au Jardin de Matisse,' *Les Lettres Françaises* 319, July 1950.

²⁴⁶ Christian Zervos, 'A propos de l'Exposition Matisse au Musée d'Art Moderne de Paris,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1949, pp. 159-162. See also Romy Golan, 'L'Eternel Décoratif: French Art in the 1950s,' *Yale French Studies* 98, The French Fifties, 2000, p. 104 (pp. 98-118). Zervos nonetheless praised Matisse's mural paintings as the best decorations ever produced, referring to his 1934 Barnes commission and the murals produced for Nelson Rockefeller between 1938 and 1939. Unlike the *peinture de chevalet*, mural painting, he thought, is directly connected to the past, to primitive Egyptian and Roman art. Christian Zervos, '2 Décorations de Henri Matisse. Réflexions sur l'Art Mural,' *Cahiers d'Art* 5-10, 1939, pp. 165-178. In 1954 he appraised that 'les papiers découpés de Matisse conferment son goût raffiné et sûr.' Christian Zervos, 'Jeune Peinture et Critique. A propos du Xe Salon de Mai,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1954, p. 5. Zervos planned to publish Sweeney's *L'Art Primitif en Irlande* in 1950 but the project did not materialise. James Johnson Sweeney, letter to C. Z., 13 February 1950. C. Z., letter to Kurt Wolff, 13 February 1950. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

²⁴⁷ Christian Zervos, 'L'Amour et la Mort dans les Dessins de Picasso. A propos de l'Exposition de Dessins et Sculptures à la Maison de la Pensée Française,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1951, pp. 29-32. Louis Aragon, 'A la Maison de la Pensée Française, Picasso, Prix International de la Paix,' *Les Lettres Françaises* 339, November 1950. Guy Marester, 'Picasso à la Maison de la Pensée Française,' *Combat*, December 1950.

²⁴⁸ Zervos lent two works by Marcoussis (*Personnage devant la fenêtre*) and Arp (*L'infini des cieux*) to the exhibition *Les Grands Courants de la Peinture Contemporaine* (23 June-31 July 1949) at the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon. Receipt, 7 June 1949. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 8, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Zervos appears to have lent three works by Laurens (*Femme à la draperie* and two *papiers collés*) to the retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in Paris in 1951 which presented works from 1914 to 1951. Bernard Dorival, letter to C. Z., 14 October 1951. Dorival initially asked Zervos to lend six works (4 *papiers collés*, *Femme à la draperie* and 1 construction.) Bernard Dorival, letter to C. Z., 6 April 1951. One work by Matisse (*Vue d'Arcueil*) was lent to the Fauvism retrospective. Receipt, 21 June 1951. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. See also Christian Zervos, 'Exposition

He was also listed in the *comité de patronage* of the Picasso retrospective at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in 1955 displaying 135 works. Whereas Tériade published luxurious volumes on the artists that entered one after the other into the collection of the Museum of Modern Art in Paris, Zervos maintained his critical approach to their works which represented in his eyes the living art of his times whose influence was still ongoing. Tériade would stretch on the other hand the aspect of uninterrupted productivity in the work of the now aged modern masters who were called upon to undertake the role of the medieval manuscript illuminator, producing books commissioned by him.

Following Léger's 1949 retrospective, Zervos commented on *Les Constructeurs* on display at the Maison de la Pensée. What distinguished the work from his earlier creations, he thought, was the aspect of movement that the artist introduced which was the result of his direct observation of the labourers at the Cité Atomique as evinced in his drawings documenting their activities. Zervos thought that reality dominated Léger's work throughout the years but the *Constructeurs* had no social connotations in his eyes preferring to overlook the artist's ideological involvement.²⁴⁹ The artist himself declared later that when he 'built' the *Constructeurs* he did not make a plastic concession. A popularised volume on Léger

Henri Laurens au Musée National d'Art Moderne,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1951, pp. 157-161. Anon., 'A propos de l'Exposition du Fauvisme au Musée National d'Art Moderne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1952, p. 83.

²⁴⁹ Christian Zervos, 'A propos des Constructeurs de Fernand Léger. Exposition Organisée par la Maison de la Pensée Française,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1951, pp. 191-202. 'On sait que le dessin, art vif, est seul à saisir l'instant. Son domaine propre c'est l'immédiat, c'est-à-dire l'action de la figure et les mouvements qu'elle impose. Cela explique pourquoi les corps que Léger a dessinés ont le pli de leur travail quotidien. Ici il a pu s'offrir des modèles au naturel, les observer minutieusement et en jouer avec maîtrise [...] Mais si dans les dessins de Léger les exigences du métier sont bien visibles, par contre, dans ses tableaux, les signes de l'accidentel sont considérablement atténués.' Zervos started paying close attention to drawing which he thought was revealing of the veritable intentions of the artists. He conceived drawing as the direct transcription of the artist's vision which was subsequently polished in the final work. See Christian Zervos, 'La Situation faite au Dessin dans l'Art Contemporain,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1953, pp. 161-165. His increasing interest in drawing led him to re-appreciate the works of the artists of the Italian Renaissance. See 'Réflexions sur le Dessin,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1953, pp. 166-168. Christian Zervos, 'Notes sur les Portraits de la Renaissance Italienne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1950, pp. 365-370. Christian Zervos, 'Notes sur les Portraits et les Figures de la Renaissance Italienne,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1951, pp. 97-102. *Cahiers d'Art* also published Franco Russoli's presentation of the restoration of Leonardo's *Last Supper* in 1954 presenting several colour reproductions. See Franco Russoli, 'La Restauration de la Cène de Leonard,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1954, pp. 55-69. It is pertinent to compare Zervos' focus on drawing with the development of abstract expressionism overseas. It was about a year later when Jackson Pollock reported in the film *Pollock '51* directed by Hans Namuth and Paul Falkenberg 'I don't work from drawings or colour sketches. My painting is direct. I want to express my feelings rather than illustrate them. Technique is just a means of arriving at a statement.' The film was projected at the MoMA the same year.

appeared in 1952 with texts by Zervos.²⁵⁰ The same year he protested against the artist's insufficient presentation at the Venice Biennale.²⁵¹ Zervos' appreciations were considerably altered. He now overtly accepted Léger's attachment to Impressionism and totally disassociated him from the cubist idiom.²⁵² It was about a year later when the Cubism retrospective was held at the Parisian Museum of Modern Art when Dora Vallier criticised the brutal grouping of various tendencies developed in the years between 1907 and 1914 under the label 'cubism.' The inclusion of Léger, she thought, merely revealed the misconception of both cubism and the artist's work.²⁵³

Instead of resting on the institutional glory of the artists belonging to what came to be regarded as the old School of Paris, like Tériade did, Zervos now attempted to revise the history of modernism. Artistic actuality continued playing an important role in his analyses but he did little – with the exception of Brauner – to establish particular artists and was remarkably distant from the new School of Paris. It is true that Zervos' monograph on Chauvin, a pioneer of abstraction that he admired for his eclectic realism, was published on the occasion of his show at Alex Maguy's gallery but contributed little to the reputation of the artist.²⁵⁴ Together with a volume on Brancusi Zervos overtly declared his taste in sculpture which pointed to an abstract symbolism of primitive order.²⁵⁵ Evidently Zervos approved of particular aspects of abstraction that evolved at a certain distance from the *arbitrary mannerisms* of non-figurative artists. Kandinsky, he wrote in 1957, was original in representing the

²⁵⁰ Christian Zervos, *Fernand Léger, Oeuvres de 1905 à 1952*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1952. It appears that the volume (72 pages) was printed in only 60 numbered copies, 5 of which including a gouache and an eau-forte, another 5 including a drawing and an eau-forte, 40 including an eau-forte, and 10 hors commerce including an eau-forte numbered A to J.

²⁵¹ Christian Zervos, 'Coup d'œil sur la XXVI Biennale de Venise,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1952, pp. 273-287.

²⁵² His mechanist period, he noted, was succeeded by the return to human figure which was treated in the same manner as the object (1920-1924).

²⁵³ Dora Vallier, 'A propos de l'Exposition du Cubisme,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1953, pp. 83-86. 'L'exposition du Musée d'Art Moderne ne nous a pas mis en présence du cubisme; elle nous a simplement informés de ce qu'eût pu être l'aspect d'une suite de salons organisés entre 1907 et 1914 par les peintres d'avant-garde de l'époque. Elle s'est bornée à dresser un inventaire, sans en extraire l'essentiel et s'est enlisée dans une objectivité, voulue peut-être, et dans ce cas encore plus grave, car, on le sait trop bien, à l'inverse de l'histoire, l'art ne vit pas par la quantité des documents, mais par leur qualité. Et une reconstitution historique, voire une addition d'œuvres des années cubistes n'aura jamais pour résultat *le cubisme*.'

²⁵⁴ Christian Zervos, *Chauvin : Œuvres de 1913 à 1958*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1960. See Waldemar George, 'Chauvin ce Méconnu,' *Combat*, December 1960. Raymond Cogniat, '...', *Le Figaro*, 8 December 1960. Denys Chevalier, 'Chauvin : L'œuvre d'un Logicien Passionné,' *Arts* 799, December 1960. Jean-François Chabrun, 'Offensive de la Sculpture,' *L'Express*, 1 December 1960. Pierre Descargues, 'Chauvin,' *Les Lettres Françaises*, December 1960-January 1961. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for the references.

²⁵⁵ Christian Zervos, *Brancusi: Oeuvres de 1900 à 1943*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1957.

reverie, Mondrian in his precision.²⁵⁶ His support of Corpora was inscribed in the same spirit.²⁵⁷

Commenting on the 10th *Salon de Mai* in 1954, Zervos praised the originality of Lam, the lyricism of Manessier, but criticised the vague souvenirs of Signier, his detachment from life, the lack of emotion towards nature of Lapidus, the monotony of Hartung and Soulages, the commercial preoccupation of Buffet, the pictorial failure of Riopelle and the artifices of Mathieu. He nonetheless distinguished Poliakoff and Vieira da Silva from the non-figurative group for maintaining their contact with reality. A volume was published on the former by Vallier in 1959.²⁵⁸ Zervos sought for a synthetic middle-ground that was prominent in primitive art. Out of fear of ending up like Héliou, abandoned by dealers and amateurs, Nicolas de Staël, he remarked, placed himself with restraint on the threshold of reality and abstraction.²⁵⁹ His text concluded with an apology of the role of criticism in promoting and encouraging the researches of the young but also in distinguishing those who can stand by the precedent generations. The art critic, he affirmed, had to guide the inquietudes of the young.

Zervos' attitude towards the younger generation was overtly eclectic accompanied by an almost pessimist anticipation of new inventions. The development of Borès, he wrote on the occasion of his show in the Louis Carré gallery, was brief. The artist was unable to fulfil the promises of his early works and failed to mark noticeable progress.²⁶⁰ He was expectedly sympathetic to Ghika, whose show in the Cahiers d'Art gallery was a deception for his old friend Gindertael, who additionally

²⁵⁶ N.D.L.R., introduction to Pierre Volboudt, 'Vassily Kandinsky,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1957, p. 177 (pp. 177-209).

²⁵⁷ Christian Zervos, 'Antonio Corpora,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1952, p. 69 (pp. 69-73). 'Rien de plus éloigné de ma pensée que d'envisager l'abstraction comme le péché capital de notre époque et de chercher à en dénoncer l'esprit. Mais il m'est très difficile d'admettre que tant de jeunes artistes y aient succombé par un excès de suspicion à l'égard de la nature et de ses images essentielles. Il est impossible de tenir pour valable la propension du plus grand nombre des peintres non-figuratifs à se passer de la vie aux mille circonstances, pour lui substituer un système arbitraire où les abstractions prennent corps sans jamais cesser d'être des abstractions [...] De là mon attachement aux œuvres d'un petit nombre d'artistes non-figuratifs qui ont pour mérite d'échapper à l'arbitraire distinction entre la conscience réfléchie et les impulsions données dans l'immédiat par la sensation.' In 1957, Zervos published a monograph on the artist. Christian Zervos, *Corpora, Peintures de 1951 à 1957*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1957.

²⁵⁸ Dora Vallier, Poliakoff, *Œuvres de 1929 à 1959*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1959.

²⁵⁹ Christian Zervos, 'Jeune Peinture et Critique. A propos du Xe Salon de Mai,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1954, pp. 13-24. Roger van Gindertael, 'Devant un Tableau de Serge Poliakoff,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1954, pp. 203-208. Zervos was nonetheless more sympathetic to Héliou three years earlier and lent a favourable eye to his abrupt passage from abstraction to realism. See Christian Zervos, 'Position Actuelle de Jean Héliou,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1951, pp. 171-180. See also Natalie Adamson, *Painting, Politics and the Struggle for the École de Paris, 1944-1964*, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009, p. 140.

²⁶⁰ Christian Zervos, 'Borès (Galerie Louis Carré),' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1954, p. 118.

criticised Tériade's unrealistic defense of Borès.²⁶¹ It is evident that both Zervos and Tériade continued to support, mainly out of intimacy, particular artists whose stylistic development appeared to have stopped in the late 1930s. These artists observed from a distance the stylistic exaggerations of the times and followed with small variations the safe path that the now institutionalised modern masters had opened. Zervos' manner of judgement became unaffectedly personal in the 1950s. His pointed critique of the Le Corbusier exhibition of paintings at the new museum was published next to the flattering commentary discussing Ozenfant's show in the Galerie de Berri in 1954. Zervos became highly critical with regards to aspects of institutionalisation of contemporary art being aware of the benefits it entailed. The Le Corbusier show, he thought, was the result of ignorant glorification of a painter who fed the illusions of the uninformed. Tériade published his series of lithographs for the *Poème de l'Angle Droit* in 1955.²⁶² Zervos rejected all aspects of painterly expression in Le Corbusier, but his attack was rather personal:

Nobody else has profited more than him from the art of entangling the threads, nobody else pushed arrogance to the point of letting believe that the history of contemporary art is a series of roles the principal of which was taken by him, nobody else has celebrated himself, even on the tops of Parisian autobuses, nobody else has been so much applauded in an empty hall, nobody else has been so much ridiculed by the same people whom he obliged to celebrate his multiple talents [...] That he could get so much credit from some museum curators, who by inexplicable ignorance exhibited the pictorial work of Le Corbusier sacrificing other important manifestations, fills us with stupefaction.²⁶³

²⁶¹ 'Si E. Tériade a raison d'observer que les illustres et dévorants aînés se sont continués eux-mêmes, fermant ainsi les voies qu'ils semblaient ouvrir à leur début, on peut s'étonner qu'il lui ait échappé que *la qualité innée* de Borès est, autant que celles d'autres peintres de *la génération sacrifiée*, victime d'une référence formelle. Et il faut avoir perdu tout contact avec le présent pour *fortifier* Borès en lui opposant *l'atonie proliférante de la jeune peinture à Paris, qui s'est mise au pas et ressemble maintenant à toutes les jeunes peintures du monde*. Le retour à Paris de Ghika, qui fut aussi une des promesses de l'an trente, nous apporte une déception du même ordre, mais celle-ci sans aucune compensation, car l'exploitation mineure de quelques formules cubistes atteint tout juste une convention de bon ton.' Roger van Gindertael, 'Art passif et art actif,' *Cimaise* 8, 1954. p. 9. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for the reference.

²⁶² He was asked to illustrate the book since 1947. See Jean Jemger (ed.) *Le Corbusier: Choix de Lettres*, Birkhauser Verlag, 2002, p. 206. However Tériade continued collaborating closely with the artists signing several texts for the catalogues of his exhibitions. See APPENDIX 3.

²⁶³ Christian Zervos, 'Le Corbusier, Peintre (Musée National d'Art Moderne),' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1954, p. 116. 'Personne n'a tiré profit plus que lui de l'art de brouiller les écheveux, personne n'a surtout poussé l'orgueil au point de laisser croire que l'histoire de l'art contemporain est une suite de rôles dont le principal est tenu par lui, personne ne s'est tant célébré lui-même, jusque sur les capots des autobus parisiens, personne ne s'est tant applaudi dans une salle vide, personne n'a été autant berné par ceux mêmes qu'il obligea à célébrer ses multiples talents, personne n'a été plus jaloux de la gloire de tous ceux qui en ont acquis dans l'art ou en acquièrent. Qu'il ait pu obtenir de crédit auprès de quelques conservateurs de Musées, que ceux-ci, par ignorance inexplicable, aient exposé l'œuvre picturale de Le

The Publishing House

Zervos was determined more fervently than ever before to distribute his magazine in the Anglo-Saxon world after the war, seeking for support from American institutions, mainly from the MoMA through his connections with Barr. Following the worldwide fear of nuclear energy and atomic annihilation, which partly motivated the birth of American Abstract Expressionism, Zervos promised Barr in 1950 to publish in French translation a manifesto on the use of nuclear energy.²⁶⁴ It was in fact a text that presented the way atomic energy can be put in the service of art.²⁶⁵ In 1951, he proposed an exhibition in Avignon to celebrate Braque's 70th birthday presenting works from American collections, but he underlined that the financial backing from French institutions was negligible. Barr thought that the insurance cost was prohibitive and politely declined the idea.²⁶⁶ Zervos became almost entirely dependent on the sales of his publications abroad.

Corbusier en sacrifiant d'autres manifestations artistiques infiniment importantes, cela nous remplit de stupefaction.'

²⁶⁴ 'J'ai reçu votre manifeste. Des amis communs me l'avaient déjà envoyé il y a trois mois. Je l'avais fait traduire pour le faire paraître en tête du numéro des Cahiers d'Art en préparation. Je vous félicite ainsi que les autres signataires de son contenu. Tachez de réagir dans les Etats-Unis surtout les points où la haine peut s'emparer de l'esprit des hommes. Essayez par tous vos moyens, vous Américains sensibles, d'arrêter toute montée de haine. Imaginez-vous que lorsque celle-ci débordera et gagnera l'humanité entière, la bombe atomique ne sera plus qu'un petit jeu d'enfants. Je souffre horriblement à la pensée que d'un moment à l'autre les bas instincts de l'homme puissent prendre le dessus. Alors adieu pour toujours à nos idées, à notre amour des belles choses et des belles œuvres.' C. Z., letter to Alfred Barr, 25 September 1950. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

²⁶⁵ Notably, it referred to the method *carbone 14* which was used to evaluate the age of archaeological vestiges. 'La Science Nucléaire au Service de l'Art,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1952, p. 301.

²⁶⁶ 'En Mai 1952 Georges Braque aura 70 ans. Je sais que nous lui ferions la plus grande joie pour cet anniversaire, si nous pouvions organiser pendant l'été 1952 au Palais des Papes, une grande exposition de ses œuvres depuis les débuts jusqu'à ce jour. Je pense au Palais des Papes car c'est le seul endroit où il aimerait voir exposées ses œuvres. Ce magnifique projet il m'est impossible de le réaliser sans votre collaboration et celle des collectionneurs de votre pays. Je viens donc vous demander si vous croyez possible qu'à nous deux nous organisions la dite exposition, pour les mois de Juin à Septembre 1952. Les difficultés sont nombreuses : 1o le consentement des collectionneurs au prêt de leurs tableaux. Peut-être en leur exposant le but dans lequel nous ferions cette exposition ils consentiraient à ce prêt. 2o les frais qu'occasionnerait le transport de ces tableaux, plus les assurances. Et étant donné la lamentable situation des finances françaises, depuis que le gouvernement a décidé le réarmement du pays, je ne crois pas que nous puissions compter sur son aide.' C. Z., letter to Alfred Barr, 19 February 1951. 'Many thanks for your letter of February 19. I should like to cooperate with your proposal to celebrate the seventeenth birthday of Georges Braque, but I am afraid that you are right in supposing that there would be serious difficulties in securing loans for Avignon. Our collectors are at times willing to lend for exhibitions in Paris, but Avignon seems far removed to most of them. Furthermore, I doubt if any of them would pay the expenses considering the high cost of trans-oceanic freight and insurance. The insurance especially is prohibitive. I find that to send ten paintings of moderate size valued at \$100,000 from New York to Paris and back again would cost over \$1300. This would not

From 1947, when his debate with the Communist Party was still ongoing, his publications were met with indifference by both the Eastern and the Western blocks while the French market was still struggling for recovery. Zwemmer ordered only six copies of the *Dessins de Picasso* volume. Weyhe thought that the material on van Gogh published in 1947 on the occasion of a retrospective held at the Tate in Britain would not be of interest to American readers.²⁶⁷ He furthermore claimed that a drawing from the Picasso volume was too explicit in its erotic content supposing that the book would be banned at customs.²⁶⁸ Weyhe and Zwemmer started boycotting Zervos' publications. The latter was more enthusiastic about Tériade's luxurious volumes undertaking their English edition. Zervos explained to Barr that British subscriptions diminished due to the country's focus on armament. The Eastern European countries followed. Zervos reported that while he had 254 subscriptions from Czechoslovakia in 1950, these were reduced to two in 1951.²⁶⁹ And even these

include the cost of packing and shipping paintings from the rest of the United States to New York or from Paris to Avignon and back again, which would amount to \$200 or \$300 more. Of course if the paintings were larger and more valuable as many recent Braques are, the cost would rise in proportion. If the exhibition were to be held in Paris, it might be somewhat easier to raise some money in this country.' Alfred Barr, letter to C. Z., 7 March 1951. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

²⁶⁷ *Paintings and Drawings by van Gogh*, Tate Britain, 10 December 1947 – 14 January 1948. The same year Alain Resnais released the documentary Vincent van Gogh in collaboration with Gaston Diehl and Robert Hessens. It won the Academy Award in 1950. Resnais also released *Guernica* in 1950 with the contribution of Zervos. See Christian Zervos, 'Vincent van Gogh,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1947, 161-166 (the same number included the artist's letters to his brother and several reproductions of his works). The Zervos were particularly interested in film production. Yvonne spent extraordinary amounts in the production of a film in collaboration with Char in the late 1940s but the project subsided.

²⁶⁸ Zervos faced several difficulties with the authorities of the customhouse that hinder the expedition of his publications overseas. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

²⁶⁹ 'Je vous serais extrêmement obligé si vous voudriez recevoir le Dr Karl Heitz que j'ai prié de venir vous voir et vous demander un service pour les Cahiers d'Art. Par suite des événements j'ai perdu pour 1951 toute l'Europe orientale et spécialement la Tchécoslovaquie qui était pour nous un très grand appoint. Sur décision gouvernementale aucun de 250 abonnements que nous comptons dans ce pays n'a pas été renouvelé. D'autre part l'Angleterre, par suite de son effort en faveur de l'armement, a restreint ses importations et achète très peu en France. Il me faut rattraper cette perte d'abonnés par des souscriptions américaines. Le Dr Heitz a voulu très aimablement m'aider à surmonter ces nouvelles difficultés en faisant pour moi quelques démarches aux Etats-Unis. Je suis persuadé que vous voudrez bien le recevoir amicalement et l'encourager dans ses démarches.' C. Z., letter to Alfred Barr, 19 February 1951. 'Il est absolument urgent d'augmenter le nombre de mes abonnés aux Etats-Unis, car sur les 254 abonnés que j'avais en Tchécoslovaquie l'année dernière l'Office ORBIS n'a renouvelé cette année que...2 !' C. Z., letter to Karl Heitz, 19 February 1951. 'I understand the difficulties resulting from the tyrannical regulations imposed by the Czechoslovak Government and hope that we may be able to be of some help to you in the matter of finding subscribers for Cahiers d'Art. In any case, I shall be very happy to speak with Dr. Heitz and have already made an appointment with him for early next week.' Alfred Barr, letter to C. Z., 7 March 1951. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. Zervos subsequently exhibited the Czech artist Sima in his gallery while he also published commentaries dealing with archaeological findings in Czechoslovakia.

two, he added, were used to present to young painters the stylistic examples to be avoided.²⁷⁰

That Zervos situated his activity at the core of officialdom was self-evident for he now deliberately declared that his magazine was put in the service of French cultural diffusion and consequently it had to be supported by the French government. His letter to Barr is revealing of both his intentions and expectations.

As for me, it seems to me that *Cahiers d'Art*, which, in principle, is not a commercial enterprise, should receive a grant from the French government or the Minister of Public Instruction or Foreign Affairs because *Cahiers d'Art* is acting as an advertising agent for French products and prestige. It seems to me that with eminent people such as Jaujard, Georges Salles and Jean Cassou in positions of power, they can demonstrate the value of (a) subsidizing *Cahiers d'Art*, and (b) giving support without compromising the independence of the journal. Evidently, it is possible that even without any subvention you will be able to develop with Mr Wittenborn and Schultz a project to increase the revenue of the advertisements, which will be preferable to a government subvention. I regret that it is impossible for me to obtain funds from the friends of our Museum. Given the large annual deficit in our budget they will not understand why I ask them to contribute to other enterprises.²⁷¹

Zervos' interest in the Venice Biennale has to be understood in terms of both its sanctioning of artists that he approved of and the expansion of his affairs in Italy during the period. Calder was the recipient of the 1952 Prize. Pallucchini announced the 26th Biennale in 1952 as being dedicated to the generation of Italian artists that

²⁷⁰ 'Depuis ma dernière lettre la situation économique de la population a empiré par suite de la préparation intensive du pays à la guerre. Les autres activités du pays sont presque suspendues et personne ne fait plus de dépenses pour l'achat de livres. C'est pour quoi je compte beaucoup sur vous et sur les autres amis de la revue aux Etats-Unis pour faire un grand effort en sa faveur si vous croyez que sa continuation est nécessaire à l'art que nous soutenons, nous tous de tout notre enthousiasme. Braque va rentrer bientôt de Varangéville et je lui parlerai de vos suggestions. Vous me demandez les raisons pour lesquelles la Tchécoslovaquie a supprimé ses contacts avec la culture occidentale. C'est simplement parce qu'elle est obligée de suivre l'exemple soviétique en dépit de l'intérêt de la population pour l'art contemporain, intérêt qui s'était manifesté par les *Cahiers* l'année dernière par un nombre considérable de souscriptions dont il ne subsiste plus que ... deux. Ces deux exemplaires seront donnés hélas, aux jeunes tchécoslovaques, comme de mauvais exemples à ne pas suivre. C'est le problème crucial de la civilisation de notre temps.' C. Z., letter to Alfred Barr, 19 March 1951. Fonds *Cahiers d'Art* CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

²⁷¹ C. Z., letter to Alfred Barr, 2 May 1951. Fonds *Cahiers d'Art* CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. 'Quant à moi, il me semble que *Cahiers d'Art* qui, en principe, ne sont pas une entreprise commerciale, devraient recevoir une subvention du Gouvernement Français ou du Ministre de l'Instruction Publique ou des Affaires Etrangères parce que *Cahiers d'Art* agissent comme agent de publicité pour les produits et le prestige français. Il me semble qu'avec des hommes éminents comme Jaujard, Georges Salles et Jean Cassou en positions de pouvoir, ils puissent démontrer la valeur (a) de subventionner les *Cahiers d'Art*, et (b) donner appui sans compromettre la situation et l'indépendance du journal. Evidemment, il se pourrait que même sans aucune subvention vous serez à même de développer avec Messieurs Wittenborn et Schultz un projet pour augmenter les recettes des annonces, ce qui sera préférable à une subvention gouvernementale. Je regrette qu'il m'est impossible d'obtenir des fonds parmi les amis de notre Musée. Etant donné le grand déficit annuel de notre budget ils ne comprendront pas pourquoi je leur demande de contribuer à d'autres entreprises.'

opposed fascist aesthetics and developed on its margins.²⁷² The liberty of individual expression became the rallying cry of - what Guibaut called - liberal critique. The Biennale was the greatest and most respected international manifestation of contemporary art, Zervos admitted. He furthermore published a polemical text aimed against the hostility with which contemporary Italian art was met in the pages of the *Corriere della Sera* by the critic Leonardo Borghese who described it as bourgeois. A second commentary discussed the potentials for a more effective presentation of contemporary artists in the biennial shows.²⁷³ To enhance the interest in his magazine overseas Zervos asked Sweeney to select six American artists under the age of 45 to be presented in each one of the 1952 numbers.²⁷⁴ Similar actions were undertaken to assure the distribution of the magazine in Western Germany. Both Grohmann and Werner attempted to reconnect Zervos with German bookstores, but it appears that the elevated price of the magazine discouraged their efforts.²⁷⁵ The former signed several texts which reveal his need to report on the unfortunate conditions in his country. Not all of them were approved for publication in *Cahiers d'Art*. Grohmann reported that artistic life in Germany was now reduced to the activities of the *Kunstvereine* in

²⁷² 'La Biennale sera consacrée à la génération qui, élevée à l'ombre des Guf (c'est-à-dire des formations des jeunesses fascistes), ne croyait pas dans leur doctrine et s'était détachée, avant le début de la dernière guerre, des tendances artistiques de la génération précédente, pour s'orienter vers une plus ample culture dans le souffle international. Il s'agit de la génération des artistes qui avant la guerre et durant le conflit s'opposèrent à l'esprit bourgeois et se refusèrent à se laisser inféoder à une certaine esthétique naziste prônée surtout par les Prix de Crémone et claironnée par de nombreux critiques. Les Prix de Crémone avaient tenté d'aligner notre peinture sur celle de l'Allemagne, en faisant appel à des idéaux pompeux, l'ordre, le beau, le narratif et l'épique : ils essayaient somme toute d'enrégimenter le goût artistique italien dans le rythme ordonné et euphorique du pas des légions romaines.' Rodolfo Pallucchini, 'Que sera la XXVIe Biennale de Venise ?' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1951, p. 67.

²⁷³ Christian Zervos, 'Réflexions sur la XXVIe Biennale de Venise,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1952, pp. 233-236. Christian Zervos, 'Coup d'œil sur la XXVIe Biennale de Venise,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1952, pp. 273-287. Dora Vallier, 'La XXVIIe Biennale de Venise,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1954, pp. 109-115. Umbro Apollonio, 'Santomaso. A propos de l'Exposition de ses Œuvres à la XXVIIe Biennale de Venise,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1954, p. 264. Christian Zervos, 'Réflexions d'un visiteur de la XXVIIIe Biennale de Venise sur la Jeune Peinture d'Italie,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1956-1957, pp. 395-406. See also Christian Zervos, 'Vu d'ensemble sur l'Art Italien Moderne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1950, pp. 3-8. Umbro Apollonio, 'Peintres Italiens d'Aujourd'hui : Emilio Vedova,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1953, pp. 133-136. See also Adrian Duran, *Painting, Politics, and the New Front of Cold War Italy*, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014, p. 80.

²⁷⁴ 'Je pense faire cette année six numéros des Cahiers d'Art. Dans chacun de ces numéros j'aimerais faire connaître un artiste des Etats-Unis de moins de 45 ans. Vous serait-il possible de choisir ces six artistes et d'écrire sur chacun d'eux un texte court mais indiquant leur esthétique, les étapes déjà franchies et leur orientation actuelle. Chaque artiste serait illustré de 3 reproductions en noir et d'une illustration en couleurs. Pour celle-ci il faudrait que les 4 clichés soient faits sous la surveillance de l'artiste lui-même et à ses frais ou aux frais de la Galerie à laquelle appartient l'artiste.' C. Z., letter to James Johnson Sweeney, 13 February 1952. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. The article never appeared in the magazine.

²⁷⁵ The magazine was sold at 40 Frs in France and 90 Marks (60 Frs) in Germany. See the letters exchanged between Zervos and Theodor Werner, Fondation Theodor and Woty Werner, Berlin. I am thankful to Christian Derouet for communicating the content of these letters to me.

Hamburg and Hanover, which replaced the art dealers, most of whom had died or emigrated.

There aren't any art dealers of premium order in Germany. Günther Franke continues admirably in Munich the heritage of the I.B. Neumann gallery (today in New York); Ferdinand Möller (formerly in Berlin) built in Cologne [...] the most beautiful gallery in Germany today. The small galleries pullulate, but they lack money [...] Berlin has become very poor and its life is handicapped by the interzonal reglement. The prosperity of the former capital is established in the west.²⁷⁶

Cahiers d'Art published commentaries discussing Nay, Camaro, Winter, Nesch, Theodor and Woty Werner.²⁷⁷ A text titled 'La Dernière Génération de l'Art Allemand,' a pessimistic report of the artistic actuality in Germany, never appeared in the magazine.²⁷⁸ Since 1938, Grohmann wrote, many things had changed in Germany more than anyplace else.

The society is to a high degree proletarianised, Hitlerism and the war deranged morals. Among the supporters of living art, a great number migrated around the world and will never come back. The schools, the academies and the universities lost their pre-war éclat, and youth no longer have bases to repose on. Regenerations emerge slowly but yet very modestly. They carry the imprint of the resentment of the old and the desperation of the young [...] Since 1933 there was no way for most artists to see a single piece of good painting. The museums got empty, the collectors hid their treasures, the libraries were purged, and, by official order, reproductions of modern artworks disappeared from the encyclopaedias of art history.²⁷⁹

It is interesting that Zervos did not publish the report although he felt a similar disappointment with the future of contemporary art which he preferred to keep undisclosed. Grohmann maintained his admiration for the generation that had dominated the international art scene in the 1920s and 1930s as was also the case with

²⁷⁶ Will Grohmann, 'Les Expositions en Allemagne,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1952, pp. 97-98. 'Il n'y a plus guère en Allemagne de marchands d'art de premier ordre. Guenther Franke continue, à Munich, admirablement l'héritage de la galerie I.B. Neumann (aujourd'hui à New York); Ferdinand Moeller (autrefois à Berlin) s'est fait bâtir à Cologne, par un architecte moderne, une galerie qui esst la plusbelle d'Allemagne aujourd'hui. Lespetites galeries pullulent, mais elles manquent d'argent et vivent au jour le jour, à Berlin aussi. Berlin est devenu très pauvre et sa vie est handicapée par la réglementation interzonale. La prospérité de la capitale d'autrefois s'est établie à l'ouest.'

²⁷⁷ Will Grohman, 'Theodor Werner (Galerie Möller à Cologne),' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1952, p. 98. Will Grohmann, 'Artistes Allemands d'Aujourd'hui: E. W. Nay, Alexander Camaro,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1952, pp. 219-226. Will Grohmann, 'Artistes Allemands: Fritz Winter, Woty Werner, Rolf Nesch,' *Cahiers d'Art* 1, 1953, pp. 141-150.

²⁷⁸ Two versions of the text were found in Zervos' archive, one in French, the other in German. The French version included correction notes.

²⁷⁹ Will Grohmann, 'La Dernière Génération de l'Art Allemand'. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. For the whole text see APPENDIX 1B.

Zervos. He was however willing, as Martin Schieder has shown, to accept younger artists strategically pairing them with the older ones in his texts.²⁸⁰ The exhibition *De Matisse aux Jeunes* that opened in Zervos' gallery in June 1955, shortly after Matisse's death, followed the same strategy. Zervos brought together Picasso, Braque, Villon, and Matisse with younger artists such as Brauner, Staël, Lam and Hartung.²⁸¹ The show was as a matter of fact a confrontation of aspects of abstraction in the works of two succeeding generations aiming at reconciling the two schools.²⁸² Grohmann likewise admitted in 1955, that German art after 1945 'presents the aspect of fragmentation in individual phenomena.' The foundations nonetheless of all artistic genres and tendencies, he argued, are always the ideas and the realisations of the first half of the century, as was also the case in France.²⁸³ The text was in fact part of a series of articles that proposed to survey the last fifty years of artistic production in France, Germany, Britain, Italy and the United States, published on the occasion of the show *Cinquant Ans d'Art aux Etats-Unis* at the Musée d'Art Moderne which displayed works by 17 artists selected by the MoMA.

²⁸⁰ Martin Schieder, *Im Blick des anderen : Die deutsch-französischen Kunstbeziehungen, 1945-1959*, Oldenbourg Verlag, 2005, pp. 152-153, 131-143. I am indebted to Malcolm Gee for providing me with a summary of the text translated into English.

²⁸¹ An exhibition Nicolas de Staël opened at the Museum of Modern Art in Paris following his death in 1955. The show was negatively received. Zervos published a commentary in defense of the artist arguing that the presentation of his work in the show was incomplete. 'Il ne serait nullement exact, en effet, de soutenir, ainsi que l'on fait plusieurs critiques, que cette manifestation nous a donné une idée complète de l'œuvre de cet artiste prématurément disparu. Elle n'a pas été organisée de façon à rappeler fidèlement ses recherches. Elle n'a pas révélé, tant s'en faut, celles de ses entreprises qui auraient pu mettre au jour et en pleine lumière le côté inventif de l'artiste et les qualités de ses expressions plastiques. Les organisateurs de l'exposition auraient dû réunir les œuvres propres à ajouter à la connaissance profonde de l'artiste, à ce qui fait l'intérêt réel de ses tentatives, à ce qui y paraît un véritable enrichissement de la peinture. Au lieu de faire venir des Etats-Unis les tableaux les plus représentatifs de son talent ils ont abandonné à mi-chemin leur travail, soit qu'ils n'aient pas eu le courage de faire l'effort nécessaire pour réunir les peintures que nous étions en droit d'espérer, soient qu'ils aient jugé suffisant d'exposer, avec les œuvres anciennes, celles qui ont marqué le terme du bref destin de l'artiste, considérées probablement par eux comme autant de témoignages d'épanouissement. Or, quelque intérêt qu'elles présentent pour la connaissance de l'œuvre de Nicolas de Staël, ces peintures inachevées sont loin de faire valoir par ses meilleurs côtés le talent de celui qui les a exécutées.' Christian Zervos, 'Nicolas de Staël,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1955, pp. 265-270.

²⁸² The exhibition presented drawings by two generations. The first included works by Picasso, Braque, Rouault, Léger, Villon, Gris, Delaunay, Kandinsky, Laurens, Matisse and Miró. The second, works by Beaudin, Hartung, Staël, Lam, Hadju, Villeri, Ghika, Brauner, Charbonnier, Fernandez. Zervos explained earlier the equivalences between the two generations in the text 'La Situation faite au Dessin dans l'Art Contemporain,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1953, pp. 161-165. See also Luce Hochtin, 'Dessins Contemporains de Matisse aux Jeunes,' *Arts* 523, July 1955.

²⁸³ Will Grohmann, 'Un demi-siècle d'Art en Allemagne. Heurs et Malheurs de l'Art Contemporain Allemand,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1955, p. 17 (pp. 14-17).

James Thrall Soby commented on American art but discussed quite briefly the Abstract Expressionists headed by Pollock and de Kooning.²⁸⁴ Zervos had denounced the previous year the spiritual desolation of Pollock's empty of content, abstract and dehumanised works but was more sympathetic to Fautrier who would win together with Hartung the Grand Prix of the 1960 Biennale.²⁸⁵ Soby's text rather stressed the influence from Paris. The large scale coloured surfaces by Rothko, he wrote, are reminiscent of Monet's *Nymphéas* panels giving way to an abstract impressionism that gained progressively momentum in New York.²⁸⁶ It was Masson, earlier in 1953, who wrote a commentary in *Verve* about Monet's *Water Lilies*, installed at the Orangery in 1926, that ended up reviving interest in impressionist art that had been scorned for many years in favour of cubism.²⁸⁷ It is interesting that Masson had spent the war years 'in the United States in close contact with the future Abstract Expressionists,' as Golan observed.²⁸⁸ Monet's work was furthermore important for its large scale dimensions that opposed the museum-oriented nature of easel painting, an aspect that the American abstractionists stressed to the limits. A version of the *Nymphéas* was acquired by the MoMA in 1959 from Katia Granoff who exhibited it in Paris in 1956. Even Greenberg revised his earlier polemic in 1957 underlining that Monet's art led to the reconsideration of the 'uncritical adoration' of Cézanne.²⁸⁹

It is likely however, Michael Plante has argued, that the revival of Monet's reputation began in Paris and not in New York, and this happened at least three to four years earlier than 1952.²⁹⁰ The shift in focus to mural painting was pronounced

²⁸⁴ On Soby's positions with regards to the New York School and his views about post war Parisian art see Serge Guilbaut, *Comment New York vola l'Idée d'Art Moderne*, Paris: Hachette, 2006, p. 248-249.

²⁸⁵ Another exhibition had opened in 1953 in the Parisian museum presenting *Douze Peintres et Sculpteurs Américains*. Christian Zervos, 'Coup d'œil sur la Jeune Peinture,' *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1954, p. 126 (pp. 125-130). Breton was sympathetic to Tachisme in which he identified a renovated form of automatism.

²⁸⁶ James Thrall Soby, 'Un demi-siècle d'Art aux Etats-Unis. La Peinture Américaine Moderne et Paris,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1955, p. 24 (pp. 21-24).

²⁸⁷ André Masson, 'Monet le Fondateur,' *Verve* 27-28, 1953, p. 68. Gaston Bachelard, 'Les Nymphéas ou les Surprises d'une Aube d'été,' *Verve* 27-28, 1953, p. 59.

²⁸⁸ Romy Golan, 'L'Eternel Décoratif: French Art in the 1950s,' *Yale French Studies* 98, The French Fifties, 2000, p. 104 (pp. 98-118).

²⁸⁹ 'The rehabilitation of the later Monet has already had an unsettling effect. It may not account for, but it helps clarify an increasing dissatisfaction with van Gogh, as it helps justify impatience with an uncritical adoration of Cézanne.' John O'Brian (ed.), *Clement Greenberg, The Collected Essays and Criticism, vol. 4: Modernism with a Vengeance 1957-1969*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, pp. 3-11.

²⁹⁰ Michael Plante, 'Fashioning Nationality: Sam Francis, Joan Mitchell and American Expatriate Artists in Paris in the 1950s,' in Carol Salus and Laura Felleman Fattal (eds), *Out of Context: American Artists Abroad*, Greenwood Publishing, 2004, p. 141 (pp. 135-146). See also Sarah K. Rich, 'Les Echanges Artistique entre la France et les Etats-Unis, 1950-1968,' *Perspective* 1, 2011, pp. 535-554.

possibly better after the war. In France a significant interest was marked since the inter war years, as Romy Golan has shown, with the revival of tapestry production after cartoons drawn by contemporary artists (Matisse, Léger, Picasso, Rouault etc), an initiative undertaken by Marie Cuttoli.²⁹¹ Only Lurçat and Miró weaved their own drawings, as was also the case with Woty Werner whose work enjoyed great esteem in *Cahiers d'Art*. One might wonder though if the revival of tapestry by Cuttoli, book illumination by Tériade and church decoration by Couturier could not otherwise indicate a concrete revival of the artisanal nature of the highly-esteemed French medieval art? The references to both the primitive and the medieval times continued to exist in the post war years.



30. A liturgist carrying a ram on his shoulders from Ogliastro (Zervos, 1954, plate 377)
31. Picasso, *Homme à l'Agneau*, 1942, *Cahiers d'Art*, 1945-1946, p. 110.

Zervos' contact with Italy altered significantly the nature of his appreciations. He now started commenting on the mannerism of non-figurative artists and the baroque qualities of Laurens' sculpture.²⁹² But was that implying that cubism carried renaissance qualities? His publications also became subject to significant changes now reflecting his scholarly approach to primitive art. Unlike the two previous volumes on Greek and Mesopotamian art, the book on Sardinia aimed to offer to

²⁹¹ See Romy Golan, *Muralnomad: The Paradox of Wall Painting, Europe 1927-1957*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009. Maureen G. Shanahan, 'Tapis/Tapisserie: Marie Cuttoli, Fernand Léger and the Muralnomad,' *Konsthistorik tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 83, 2014, pp. 228-243. Raymond Cogniat, 'Tapisseries pour notre Temps,' *Art et Décoration* 41, 1937, pp. 25-33. William S. Lieberman, 'Modern French Tapestries,' *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 5, January 1948, pp. 142-149.

²⁹² Christian Zervos, 'Exposition Henri Laurens au Musée National d'Art Moderne (Oeuvres de 1914 à 1951),' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1951, pp. 157-161.

researchers studying Sardinian culture an assessment of the archaeological findings that would constitute a core of documentation around which a history of ancient Sardinian culture could be shaped. It is remarkable that now Zervos was less concerned with the aesthetic value of Sardinian art but rather stressed the cultural importance of its civilisation presenting a multilayered documentation covering all aspects of its vestiges in 459 plates announced at the price of 7.000 Frs.²⁹³ He furthermore sought to demonstrate that although this under-investigated period of Sardinian culture was less important than that of Mesopotamia, Egypt and Greece, its industrial monuments were products of profound spirituality. The book was positively received as a manual of site-specific and museified archaeology.²⁹⁴ But it was also commented on in its ideological dimension.

In his review for *Les Lettres Françaises*, Claude Roy remarked that Zervos erroneously avoided any explanation of the purely utilitarian character of proto-Sardinian art. His arguments, he thought, were self-defeating since in the mind of the primitive human the notions of utility and religion were inseparable, a position confirmed by Marx. The primitives not only totemized animals, he argued, they also ate them – a position evoking Bataille's earlier texts. The reproduction of a statuette representing a liturgist carrying a ram on his shoulders from Ogliastro (plate 377) was remarkably reminiscent of Picasso's *Homme à l'Agneau* (**Plate 30**, 1942). The example, Roy thought, highlighted the difference between the two, since the first believed in the Gods, the second in Man.²⁹⁵ Zervos' approach owed much to

²⁹³ The photographs were taken by Hugo Herdeg and Etienne David Weill. The aspects that the book examined were: Le milieu géographique, Le type physique, Sources historiques relatives à la Sardaigne, Le milieu historique d'après les sources grecques et latines, Les fouilles, L'architecture civile et militaire. Grottes et huttes énéolithiques, Le costume et les ornements, L'industrie, L'armement, La céramique, Rites et architectures funéraires, La vie religieuse. Christian Zervos, *La Civilisation de la Sardaigne du début du l'Eneolithique à la Fin de la période Nuragique. Iie millenaire – Ve siècle avant notre ère*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1954.

²⁹⁴ Anon., 'Les petits bronzes énigmatiques de la Sardaigne,' *Le Monde*, 22 June 1954, p. 9. Anon., 'Sardinian archeology,' *The Times*, 18 February 1955, p. 100. Jean Laude, 'La Civilisation de la Sardaigne,' *Les Lettres Nouvelles*, 1954, pp. 250-256. Anon., 'La Sardaigne. Iie millénaire – Ve siècle avant J. C.,' *Arts* 462, May 1954. Giovanni Becatti, 'Si Visitano i Nuraghi senza andare in Sardegna,' *Corriere de la Sera* 165, July 1954, p. 3.

²⁹⁵ 'A ces mérites singuliers, j'en ajouterai un, incidemment : on sait que M. Zervos est un éminent spécialiste de l'œuvre de Picasso et un des hommes les plus sensibles à certaines formes de l'art contemporain où s'accomplissent les noces de l'art moderne avec les arts archaïques. Mais, par une coquetterie raffinée, M. Zervos s'est abstenu, sauf une fois, de songer, devant l'officiant portant sur ses épaules un bélier trouvé à Dolianor, à l'Homme au mouton de Picasso. Il a dédaigné d'indiquer quelles allusions l'art des Protosardes, créant leurs figurines de bronze entre le 15^e siècle et le 2^e siècle avant notre ère, nous propose à celui de Laurens ou de Giacometti [...] Là aussi, selon la formule de Marx, le monde religieux n'est que le reflet du monde réel. Aussi le monde enseveli, que le magnifique album de M. Zervos ressuscite pour nous, n'est-il pas un monde qui nous paraît étranger ou

Frobenius, whom he defended against his peers who doubted the validity of his methods. Frobenius and Friedrich Ratzel, he thought, approached culture as a whole and in confrontation to the universe, an intention that the book attempted to accomplish. The publication has to be understood in terms of an introduction to the books on the Cycladic and Minoan civilisations that succeeded it, for Zervos highlighted the Aegean influence over the eneolithic period and the sub-Mycenean domination over the nuragic era.²⁹⁶ The observation of the prehistoric industrial monuments, he wrote about a year earlier, is timely and could turn to the benefit of young artists through an insightful approach to reality.

The intimacy of the Palaeolithic artist with the real [...] clearly indicates that art loses its authenticity when it approves of the reality that could satisfy the great majority of people, and on the contrary it achieves a veritable progress when artists overcome the moment when they are absorbed by the particular modalities of reality to enrich it which their original desires [...] It is certain that the young could benefit from the lesson of that creator who has the sense of an unconditional absolute.²⁹⁷

These notes, together with a presentation of the history of the collections of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, have to be viewed as an early report of Zervos' research for his subsequent publication *L'Art de l'Epoque*

incompréhensible. Et ce n'est pas seulement son analogie avec les arts non-académiques d'aujourd'hui qui nous le rend si proche, si chaud, si sensible. Mais c'est qu'entre le sculpteur sarde qui fait surgir l'homme au bélier de bronze et Picasso qui fait élever sur la grande place de Vallauris l'homme à l'agneau, tout est différent : l'un croit aux dieux et l'autre à l'homme, l'un exorcise ses peurs et l'autre accomplit ses pouvoirs.' Claude Roy, 'La civilisation de la Sardaigne,' *Les lettres françaises* 523, 1954, p. 8.

²⁹⁶ 'C'est dans l'intention d'accoutumer les hommes à cette efficience des mythes de la littérature ethnologique et de leur faire saisir cette bivalence de l'activité humaine, objective et sacrée, ses valorisations positives ou négatives et son double circuit d'expériences normales ou insolites, que nous avons autrefois ouvert les pages des *Cahiers d'art* à l'ethnologue Frobenius. L'insigne mérite de cet homme, accusé bien à tort par les savants très orthodoxes de vagabondage spirituel, ce fut d'avoir introduit dans ses recherches tous les éléments d'information et d'avoir entretenu le point d'où jaillissent les motifs les plus importants de la vie et de ses créations. Pour Frobenius comme pour un autre ethnologue, Ratzel, non seulement la culture elle-même est un tout mais l'univers en est un aussi en face d'elle.' Christian Zervos, *La Civilisation de la Sardaigne du début du l'Eneolithique à la Fin de la période Nuragique. IIe millenaire – Ve siècle avant notre ère*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1954. See also Christian Zervos, 'Bronzes sardes,' *Plaisir de France* 187, 1954, pp. 34-39.

²⁹⁷ Christian Zervos, 'La Leçon des Monuments de l'Industrie et de l'Art des Temps Quaternaires,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1953, pp. 4, 5. 'Cette intimité de l'artiste du paléolithique avec le réel [...] signifie clairement que l'art perd son authenticité dès qu'il approuve la réalité telle qu'elle pourrait satisfaire la plupart des hommes, et qu'il prend au contraire son véritable essor dès que l'artiste dépasse le moment où il se laisse absorber par les modalités particulières de la réalité pour l'enrichir de ses desirs originaux en se mettant lui-même en question [...] il est certain que les jeunes pourront faire leur profit de la leçon de ce créateur qui a le sens de l'absolu inconditionné.'

du Renne en France (1959).²⁹⁸ The Lascaux cave paintings had been accidentally discovered about a decade earlier, in 1940. Zervos arguably became interested in them after the war and more likely before 1954 when an exhibition of parietal art opened at the Musée de l'Homme displaying photographs from the Lascaux frescos and drawings produced by Breuil.²⁹⁹ The latter had published in 1952 his *Quatre cents siècles d'art pariétal, Les cavernes ornées de l'âge du renne* which could not have escaped Zervos' attention.³⁰⁰ The interest in Lascaux was lively throughout the 1950s. Skira published Bataille's *Lascaux ou La Naissance de l'Art* in 1955. The discovery of Lascaux pointed directly to the origins of humanity but also underlined the primitive progressive passage to an abstract naturalism that served as an example to contemporary wall painting.³⁰¹ Zervos' book included Breuil's seminal essay on the formation of prehistoric science reproducing rich photographic material coming from the collections of several French provincial archaeological museums. It was, according to Vallier, the first publication that brought together material from the entire Palaeolithic era in France.³⁰² The book received significant critical attention,

²⁹⁸ The volume included 502 pages, 20 colour plates and 614 reproductions in black and white. It was sold at 12.000 Frs.

²⁹⁹ Anon., 'Chefs d'œuvre d'Art Pariétal au Musée de l'Homme,' *Arts* 470, July 1954.

³⁰⁰ About the book see Raymond Lantier, 'L'Art Rupestre Naturaliste,' *Journal des Savants* 1, 1952, pp. 12-29. Henri Breuil, 'Description de la Roche Gravée,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1955, pp. 143-152.

³⁰¹ 'Du point de vue esthétique, Christian Zervos souligne l'extrême liberté de ces artistes, dépourvus de toute convention, leur contact hallucinant et halluciné avec la nature. Par suite, leur art animalier, affirme-t-il avec raison, est le plus grand que l'on ait jamais connu, supérieur à celui même des Egyptiens ou des Assyriens. Dans ses conclusions, l'auteur marque avec force le caractère foncièrement réaliste de l'art préhistorique avant la « dégénérescence » de la dernière période, le Magdalénien VI. Alors, pour la première fois, dit-il, on assiste à une disposition progressive de l'art à l'abstraction, phénomène auquel se reconnaissent les fins de civilisation. Venant d'un auteur dont la ferveur pour l'avant-garde est si connue, cette vue profonde sur l'art, leçon d'une enquête prodigieuse, méritera d'être entendue.' Raymond Charmet, 'Le Roman de l'âge du renne,' *Arts* 746, October-November 1959. I am grateful to Christian Derouet for the reference.

³⁰² 'Aux Editions Cahiers d'Art on m'a fait part de votre communication téléphonique au sujet des statuettes de Lespugue et de Vibraye du Musée de l'Homme. Nous vous serions très obligés si vous vouliez nous indiquer comment pourrions-nous nous procurer trois photographies de la Venus de Lespugue (face, dos, profil) et au moins une de la Venus de Vibraye. La photothèque du Musée de l'Homme ne possède qu'une vue de face de la première et aucune de la seconde. Ce serait vraiment dommage qu'une statuette capitale comme celle de Lespugue soit présentée d'une manière incomplète à cote des autres figures humaines qui seront reproduites en grand format, étant donné que le format du livre que nous préparons est 28x38 cm. Cet ouvrage comporte une longue étude introductive du Professeur Henri Breuil et des études de Christian Zervos. L'illustration comporte les trois-quarts des œuvres du Paléolithique du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye et des Musées de Province (Périgueux, Poitiers, Bordeaux, Angoulême, Montauban, Les Eyzies, Saint-Antonin (Tarn-et-Garonne), Agen, Foix, Carcassonne, Lyon), de même que les pièces du British Muséum provenant de France, C'est la première fois que le mobilier du Paléolithique de toute la France sera réuni dans un seul ouvrage. Aussi je vous prie à nouveau de nous indiquer de bonnes reproductions de la statuette de Lespugue et de celle de Vibraye. En principe général, nous sommes d'accord avec vous que ces deux figures ne doivent être jamais photographiées au flash, mais à la lumière du jour sur un verre couché avec une feuille de papier blanc à 30 cm., au-dessous de la plaque verre. C'est ainsi, du reste que nous avons procédé en

highlighting the cultural aspects of French prehistory while it aimed at demonstrating that 'l'art pariétal et rupestre est né et s'est développé dans notre pays qui demeure ainsi le berceau de toutes les civilisations qui ont précédé la nôtre.'³⁰³ Zervos remoteness from non-European primitivism became evident since his first book on pre-classic Greek art. His approach to primitivism now became Eurocentric seeking to present the origins of European civilisation and its links to the contemporary era.

L'Art de la Crète Néolithique et Minoenne was published in 1956. The book stands out for Zervos' unparalleled effort to cite a significant corpus of writings on the period under examination. The help offered by Nicolas Platon, director of the Herakleion museum, and the curator Stylianos Alexiou was remarkable.³⁰⁴ Zervos acknowledged that the close study of Aegean and Helladic art in the museums of Crete, Athens, Corinth, Nauplio, Egina, Chersonia, and Volos brought into light a considerable number of expressions that were remarkably distinct from one another.

photographiant les ivoires mycéniens au Musée National d'Athènes. Enfin, je voudrais vous dire que nous venons de recevoir une lettre du Musée de Bordeaux qui nous fait savoir qu'en attendant le retour des pièces de LAUSSEL, actuellement au Musée de l'Homme, nous pourrions vous demander de les faire photographier à Paris. Comme les photos existantes ne sont pas de la qualité que nous aimerions avoir, est-il possible de faire photographier ces pièces au Musée de l'Homme ?' Dora Vallier, letter to Georges-Henri Rivère, 13 March 1958. Fonds Breuil, Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.

³⁰³ Marc de Fontbrue, letter to Julien Cain, 30 September 1959. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 12, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. See also P. M., Grand, 'l'Art de l'Epoque du renne en France par Christian Zervos,' *L'œil*, November 1959, p. 72. Frank Elgar, 'Les Artistes de notre Pays à l'âge du renne et du mammoth,' *Carrefour*, 4 November 1959. Anon., 'L'Art de la Préhistoire,' *Les Lettres Françaises*, December 1959. Frank Jotterand, 'Aux Sources de l'Art et de la Religion,' *La Gazette Littéraire*, 7-8 May 1960.

³⁰⁴ 'Je ne vous donne pas signe de vie parce que je suis plongé dans l'impression des images du livre de la Crète et dans la rédaction du texte et cela à un tel point que je ne me suis pas donné un jour de vacances, même pas un après-midi. Mais je voudrais tant faire un beau et utile ouvrage. J'aimerais que vous vous renseigniez sur le nom du professeur de préhistoire à l'université d'Athènes et lui demander : [Coumaris, prof. d'Anthropologie]. A-t-on trouvé des traces de paléolithique en Grèce. Il y a plus de 20 ans, sous la direction de Markovitch, on a cru avoir déposé des traces de la civilisation paléolithique dans le Péloponèse et aux environs de Mégare. Qu'en est-il résulté ? S'il y a quelque chose de publié par des Grecs et des savants étrangers me donner la bibliographie aussi complète que possible. Y a-t-il quelque chose d'écrit sur l'état de la Crète à l'époque néolithique : constitution du sol, flore, faune. Je ne connais que deux livres de l'anglaise Dorothe Bates : *Proceedings of the Zoology Society*, London 1905, vol II et *Camping in Crete*, 1913. Il est impossible que des savants grecs n'aient [pas] étudié ces trois questions. Je compte donc uniquement sur toi pour me donner ces renseignements. J'aurais beaucoup voulu introduire dans mon livre des savants grecs qui sont généralement ignorés. Ainsi je me suis aperçu qu'aujourd'hui encore Marinatos, Platon et Alexou ont écrit de très importantes études, ignorées par tout le monde. Comme je lis le grec je ferai une bonne et juste place à leurs études et à leurs fouilles. La mort de Léger m'a terriblement touché. Je l'avais vu deux jours avant sa mort plus en forme et plus « costaud » que jamais. Depuis sa mort je les vois presque tous la nuit. Des artistes sur lesquels j'ai publié des livres : Matisse, Rousseau, Dufy, Léger, Klee, Kandinsky, Manuel de Falla tous sont partis !' C. Z., letter to Ghika, 6 September 1955. Benaki Museum, Athens. I am indebted to Christian Derouet for communicating this letter to me. See also Platon's review Νικόλαος Πλάτων, 'Βιβλιοκρισία: Christian Zervos *L'art de la Crète néolithique et minoenne*,' *Κρητικά Χρονικά* I, 1956, pp. 137-154.

He thereby thought it was pertinent to publish separate volumes each one dealing with Crete, Cyclades, continental Greece and Cyprus. The lesson that these studies carried was Kantian. They aimed to allow creators to 'pass from the exterior significance of things to the state, where, remounting to the transcendental Ego, they can reach the foundation of art and return it to its original truth.'³⁰⁵ Unlike the volume on Sardinia, this book, together with those on Greek art that succeeded it, aimed at presenting to a non-specialised audience the archaeological vestiges of Greek antiquity. Its content was positively received, although specialist reviews underlined its imprecisions and omissions as was the case with the lack of references to the new findings in Phaistos and Gortyna by the Italian Archaeological School.³⁰⁶

L'Art des Cyclades, Du Début à la Fin de l'Age du Bronze 2.500-1.000 avant notre ère followed in 1957. The volume was dedicated to the memory of Christos Tsountas who carried on significant researches in pre-hellenic civilisations. Tsountas was furthermore one of the first scholars to describe in 1898 the - otherwise viewed as 'barbaric' - Cycladic idols as 'amorphous' or in different terms 'abstract.'³⁰⁷ Both volumes were praised as excellent photographic encyclopaedias.³⁰⁸ It was not perhaps a coincidence that the latter was published together with the volume on Brancusi. Germain Bazin underlined the equivalences: 'same forms [...] same profound mystery that surrounds [...] that strange human, who lived like a hermit, beyond theories,

³⁰⁵ Christian Zervos, introduction to *L'Art de la Crète Néolithique et Minoenne*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1956. The volume was announced in four languages: French, English, German, Italian. It was sold at 10.000 Frs including 529 pages, 8 full page colour reproductions, and 1.200 objects reproduced in black and white.

³⁰⁶ Ch. P., 'L'Art de la Crète Néolithique et Minoenne par Christian Zervos,' *Revue Archéologique* 1. January-June 1956, pp. 240-242. See also Pierre Guerre, 'L'Art de la Crète Néolithique et Minoenne,' *Cahiers du Sud*, December 1956.

³⁰⁷ 'Les raisons pour lesquelles le monde cycladique demeure ignoré sont d'une part l'attitude des érudits qui se refusent à reconnaître l'excellence artistique de ses productions et de l'autre le caractère particulier de celles-ci. Il faut reconnaître que la manière dont les oeuvres d'art cycladiques ont été généralement présentées et les commentaires esthétiques sévères qui les ont accompagnées chaque fois en ont éloigné le public plutôt qu'ils ne l'en ont rapproché. Cette civilisation connue depuis peu de temps est accablée par tant de griefs formulés contre ses qualités esthétiques par les spécialistes qu'aujourd'hui encore il est difficile au public d'entrer en intimité avec elle et de s'en faire ainsi un sentiment juste.' Christian Zervos, *L'Art des Cyclades, Du Début à la Fin de l'Age du Bronze 2.500-1.000 avant notre ère*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1957, n.p. About the specialist appreciations of Cycladic idols see Βασιλική Χρυσοβιτσάνου, 'Αρχαιολογία και Ιστορία της Τέχνης: Η Κυκλαδική Τέχνη και η Αισθητική του Μοντερνισμού στον Christian Zervos,' online conference proceedings : http://www.eens.org/EENS_congresses/2014/chrysovitsanou_vassiliki.pdf

³⁰⁸ The volume included 279 pages, 3 colour plates and 206 illustrations presenting approximately 344 objects. It was sold at 8.000 Frs. See also Saul S. Weinberg, 'L'Art des Cyclades by Christian Zervos,' *Archaeology* 4, December 1960, p. 299. 'Idoles Cycladiques,' *Connaissance des Arts* 68, October 1957, pp. 92-97. Christian Zervos, 'L'Art des Cyclades,' *La Gazette Littéraire*, 16-17 November 1957. *Zervos et l'Art des Cyclades*, exhibition catalogue, Musée Zervos, Vézelay, 2011. Emily Townsend Vermeule, 'L'Art des Cyclades,' *American Journal of Archaeology* 4, October 1959, p. 398.

schools and -isms.’³⁰⁹ Zervos’ late activity concerned the publication of popularised albums as was the case with most volumes on modern artists that he published in the 1950s including essential information and rich illustration. The series was described as dealing with the origins and development of Greco-Latin civilisation and was enriched with three additional volumes that eventually appeared in the 1960s more or less accomplishing his intention to publish an Archaeology of Art from the earliest times to the contemporary era.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Germain Bazin, ‘L’Art Mystérieux des Antiques Cyclades peut expliquer celui de Brancusi,’ *Arts* 2-8 April 1958. I am grateful to Christian Derouet for the reference. Christian Zervos, *Constantin Brancusi : Sculptures, Peintures, Fresques, Dessins*, Paris : Cahiers d’Art, 1957.

³¹⁰ See Ch. P., ‘Naissance de la Civilisation en Grèce,’ *Revue Archéologique* 2, July-December 1964, pp. 202-204. Christian Zervos, *Naissance de la Civilisation en Grèce, de la fin du VIIe millénaire à 3200 avant notre ère*, 2 vols, Paris: Cahiers d’Art, 1963. Christian Zervos, *La Civilisation Hellénique du XIe au VIIIe Siècle*, Paris: Cahiers d’Art, 1969. Zervos explained his project as follows : ‘Comme vous le savez j’ai entrepris depuis trente ans la publication d’un cycle d’ouvrages sur les origines et le développement de ce que nous appelons la civilisation gréco-latine. J’ai donné successivement *l’Art en Grèce*, *L’Art de la Mésopotamie*, *La Civilisation de la Sardaigne Nuragique*, *L’Art de la Crète Minoenne*, *L’Art des Cyclades*, et tout récemment *l’Art de l’Epoque du Renne en France*. Vous n’ignorez pas les sacrifices que j’ai du consentir pour l’élaboration de ces volumes dont les deux premiers cités sont épuisés. Pour fermer ce cycle il me reste encore à faire paraître cinq volumes pour lesquels j’ai déjà réuni une grande partie de la documentation photographique. Ce sont *L’Art du Continent Grec*. (1°- *Du Néolithique à la fin du Bronze Ancien*, 2. *de l’Age du Bronze Moyen à l’invasion doriennne*), *l’Art Grec Géométrique*, *l’Art Grec archaïque*, *l’Art Grec Classique*.’ C. Z., letter to the inspecteur des Contributions Directes, Paris, M. Morlet, 22 December 1959. Archives Cahiers d’Art. I am thanful to Christian Derouet for the reference.

Conclusion

The activities of the publishing house continued even after Zervos' death in 1970. The last number of the magazine appeared in 1960. The gallery continued giving shows until 1970.¹ The periodical concluded with Zervos' in-depth reconsideration of Picasso's work identifying his sources in masterpieces of the past, a comprehensive survey of American art by Dore Ashton which was overtly sympathetic to Abstract Expressionism and another by Vallier on the origins of abstract art in Russia (1910-1917), exposing the approaches to abstraction of the two protagonists of the Cold War era.² The position-taking of Zervos was less ideological than formalist. He obviously rejected socialist realism for the benefit of abstraction, but in different terms communism for the benefit of liberalism. He positively received the show *Antagonismes* at the Pavillon Marsan in 1960, which was mainly a confrontation of the art of two succeeding generations, but was highly critical towards the unadvised selection of contemporary artists by the organisers. The show has been considered as a strategic effort to impose the formalist aspects of abstract expressionism on the highly ideologised post war European art scene.³ Zervos' commentary is indicative of his scepticism towards post WorldWar Two art and his rejection of the impersonal character of the art produced in the Atomic Age.⁴ Although he espoused liberal institutional critique turning against the anti-

¹ The gallery re-opened in 2011 by the Swedish collector Staffan Ahrenberg. See Chara Kolokytha, 'Christian Zervos et Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky,' *Konsthistorik tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 82, 2013, pp. 339-342.

² Christian Zervos, 'Confrontations de Picasso avec des Œuvres d'Art d'autrefois,' *Cahiers d'Art* 33-35, 1960, pp. 9-52. Dore Ashton, 'Perspective de la Peinture Américaine,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1960, pp. 203-220. Dora Vallier, 'L'Art Abstrait en Russie. Ses Origines – Ses Premières Manifestations 1910-1917,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1960, pp. 259-285.

³ Exhibition organised by Julien Alvard and François Mathey under the aegis of the Comité des Arts du Congrès pour la Liberté et la Culture. See Brigitte Gilardet, 'L'Action de François Mathey au prisme de trois critiques d'art,' *Critique d'Art* 42, 2014 (on-line : <http://critiquedart.revues.org/13591>)

⁴ 'C'était un excellent projet de montrer côte à côte les tendances esthétiques des aînés et les recherches d'aujourd'hui. Mais les organisateurs ont eu le tort de montrer les artistes les plus accomplis parmi les aînés [...] alors que, de peur sans doute de prendre des risques, ils n'ont pas osé faire un choix parmi la centaine de jeunes plus ou moins connus. Loin de s'attacher aux quelques artistes dont les préoccupations esthétiques présentent de l'intérêt, ils ont ainsi admis le tout-venant [...] Il est parmi eux des sots et des charlatans qui marquent un goût excessif pour l'excentricité et la mystification [...] dans la nébulosité de leur esprit touché par le développement de la science, puisée par eux bien plus dans les livres de science-fiction que dans la pensée lumineuse d'Oppenheimer, le grand savant atomiste [...] ils aboutissent à un art totalement impersonnel qui joue aux nombreux coups du hasard et à la suprématie d'une manière de voir dépourvue de cohérence, sans relation, même lointaine, avec l'ère atomique dont ces jeunes se targuent d'être les porte-enseigne.' Christian Zervos, 'A propos de l'Exposition Antagonismes,' *Cahiers d'Art*, 1960, p. 286.

individualist connotations of socialist realism, he remained attached to particular aspects of abstraction that stemmed from the art of the first decades of the century and the abstract ideogrammatic naturalism of primitive imagery. Together with Tériade, he championed the inherent humanism of the French School and stressed the aspects of internationalism that Paris continued to embody after the war.

Although Zervos initially advocated the omission of the classical Greek, Roman and French neo-classical traditions from the narrative that linked contemporary and pre-historic art, he eventually attempted to reconnect them. A certain role in this was played by his renewed and objective observation of Picasso's work after the Second World War, the appreciation of contemporary art in the context of the museum and his aspiration to become involved in institutional activities. *Cahiers d'Art* registers the history of the institutionalisation of the international École de Paris and Zervos' reconsideration of the history of contemporary art which was now significantly decentralised. Similarly to his publications on primitive cultures Zervos progressively acknowledged that the conception that culture stems from a 'centre' was myopic. Already since the end of the Second World War he envisaged a second revised history of contemporary art enriched with the presentation of Italian Futurism, the German Blau Reiter and the Russian Suprematism and Constructivism, which were now considered as alternative and original expressions of the mentality that gave birth to cubism.⁵ Zervos no longer treated cubism as the source of 20th century modernism. He rather thought that the synthetic mode of expression was

⁵ 'Il s'agit d'une histoire de l'art contemporain en trois volumes de 500 pages chacun et de format 25 x 32 cm. Avant de pressentir nos amis de Cologne et de Londres nous aimerions commencer par vos éditions, car après les artistes français, ce sont les peintres et sculpteurs italiens qui prédominent sur les apports plastiques des autres pays. Dans cette histoire il ne s'agit pas d'une anthologie où chaque artiste est représenté par deux ou trois œuvres comme c'est l'habitude. Nous pensons commencer par Degas, Toulouse-Lautrec, Cézanne et montrer les œuvres de ces artistes qui ont exercé une profonde influence sur les aînés de notre génération : Matisse, Picasso, Villon, etc. ensuite nous examinerons les éléments essentiels de chaque groupe pictural moderne ; pointillisme, fauvisme, cubisme en France, Futurisme en Italie, expressionnisme et groupe du Blau Reiter en Allemagne, Suprématisme et Constructivisme en Russie etc. nous montrerons les œuvres du début de chaque école et ensuite l'aboutissement de ses recherches. Pour chaque artiste nous ne publierons pas des œuvres au hasard, mais celles de ses débuts, de son développement, de ses conclusions. Nous nous proposons de rédiger cette histoire de telle façon que le lecteur puisse se passer de consulter tout autre ouvrage soit sur un mouvement, soit sur un artiste. A cette fin nous publierons pour chaque artiste: 1. Une biographie aussi complète que possible. 2. Une bibliographie complète. De plus nous rédigerons une liste des Musées du monde entier qui ont contribué au développement de l'art contemporain. 3. Une liste des galeries qui depuis le début du siècle, ont accompli un véritable effort pour la propagation de l'art moderne. Nous disposons pour cette édition de 1.500 clichés format 19 x 26 cm et de plus de 800 clichés format 18 x 19 cm, plus une trentaine de reproductions en couleurs. Pour égayer le livre il resterait à faire 50 à 75 clichés en couleurs de façon que chaque artiste puisse être représenté par sa palette.' Marc de Fontbrune, letter to Arnoldo Mondadori, 15 June 1961. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 14, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

symptomatic of the mindset of the century finding diverse expressions in art and life. He furthermore never discussed surrealism as a coherent pictorial tendency but only accepted aspects of plasticity in the art of a restricted number of artists involved with the movement. It is remarkable that he preserved a pointed interest in the collective system of the –isms that disappeared after surrealism but at the same time he was one of the first to stress the aspect of individualism that became a dominant feature among the artists of the younger generation.

Zervos' aesthetic positions changed considerably from one decade to another. Although he started writing his first texts as an exponent of a communal effort to transform modern life through art and architecture, aspects of individualism epitomised in late-19th century romanticist-existentialist discourse were equally present in his writings. Through his observation of Picasso, in particular, Zervos was willing to accept aspects of expressionism and surrealism that he had previously refused through his contemplation of classic/universal values turning into a fervent exponent of individualism in the post war era. *Cahiers d'Art* was highly selective in the presentation of artists of the younger generation after the Second World War and indifferent towards the American Abstract Expressionists. Zervos better accepted the lyrical rather than the geometrical abstraction attempting to redefine the pioneer role of Kandinsky and Mondrian in the development of the two. He in fact sought to reconcile and draw parallels between the inter war School of Paris and the one that succeeded it, although the exponents of the latter insisted that their art was born out of reaction against their predecessors.

Through his effort to inscribe modernism to his conception of history in its universal dimension beyond spatio-temporal boundaries and the cultural hegemony of Athens and Rome, Zervos practically reserved a place for Paris in the conception of the history of art in terms of succeeding centres.⁶ A peripheral cosmopolitan, Zervos had shaped since his early years in Alexandria – a multicultural commercial metropolis and a centre of exchange of ideas - a well informed aesthetic theory but he managed to develop and effectively diffuse his ideas through the role that he subsequently played as a modernist champion in the western capital of modernism,

⁶ Prunel considers the conception of history in terms of succeeding artistic centres as naive but it is true that this conception was established on views that defined the mindset of the century. The idea is interestingly revisionist but the material presented to support it is hardly convincing. Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, 'Provincializing Paris. The Center-Periphery Narrative of Modern Art in Light of Quantitative and Transnational Approaches,' *Artl@s Bulletin* 4, 2015, article 4.

Paris. *Cahiers d'Art* became an international publication with registered subscriptions from around the world.⁷ The evangelical dictum *nul n'est prophète en son pays* that Joyeux Prunel has stressed in her discussion of *fin-de-siècle* Parisian art,⁸ becomes a transparent reality when it comes to the history of the institutionalisation of contemporary art in the French context. *Cahiers d'Art* was one of the very few magazines to report on the institutional 'glory' of Parisian modernism abroad, mainly in Germany and the United States, aiming at exerting pressure over French officials for the creation of a museum of contemporary art in Paris. Zervos' international affairs reflect the same aspiration.

Despite his late interest in artistic decentralisation, Zervos' publications on primitive arts indicate a purely Eurocentric focus on the origins of Greco-Latin civilisation. It is interesting that Zervos' early interest in primitive cultures shifted from African and Polynesian art to Mediterranean primitivism a fact that has to be linked to the increased interest in popular education after the Second World War. Zervos published popularised volumes on both primitive and contemporary art aiming to introduce them to a wider audience. He obviously acknowledged that it was easier for the general public to understand the links of contemporary art with its European origins rather than with the 'Otherness' of non-European primitivism, issues that post-colonial studies later sought to redefine.

Zervos subscribed to the dream of a universal history of art although his early appreciations were centred in Paris and ancient Greece. His most significant reconsideration which owed much to his contact with primitive cultures was that Parisian art of the first decades of the century was indeed of classical tenor in terms of its influential international output, but the tendencies developed simultaneously outside Paris and those that succeeded them were distinct in their development or even contradicted its major principles, as was also the case with the prehistoric and

⁷ Austria, Belgium, Spain, Italy, Greece, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Holland, Hungary, United Kingdom, Luxembourg, Sweden, Switzerland, Ireland, Norway, Slovenia, Serbia, Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Finland, Tunis, Morocco, Syria, Chile, Egypt, Brazil, Mexico, Japan, Australia, United States, Canada, Argentina, Belgian Congo, Mongolia. The subscriptions after the war were reduced to Europe, North and Latin America. The subscriptions from Italy increased significantly while countries from the Eastern bloc disappeared from the list. *Verve* on the other hand was methodically diffused in France and the Anglo-Saxon world but it was launched about a decade later than *Cahiers d'Art* when the institutional triumph of Parisian art was an uncontested reality. Furthermore the material aspects of the two magazines were essentially different. *Verve* was an expensive magazine unconcerned with artistic actuality and was primarily addressed to collectors.

⁸ Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, *Nul n'est Prophète en son Pays? L'Internationalisation de la Peinture des Avant-gardes Parisiennes, 1855-1914*, Paris : Musée d'Orsay, 2009.

classic Greek mainland and islands. His books on primitive cultures were devoted to some of the oldest civilisations in the history of humanity (Greek, Italian, French, Sumerian, and Spanish) but Zervos approached each one of them in a decentralised manner (Cyclades/Crete, Sardinia, Lascaux/Laussel, Catalonia). French civilisation was inscribed to the Greco-Latin tradition. Similar views are to be found among those who sought to revive the French Gothic tradition, as was the case with Tériade, turning their interest to the French provinces. They nonetheless declined the cult of Latinity separating it from French tradition. What distinguished these two essentially anti-academic conceptions that evolved simultaneously was that the first sought for freedom of individual expression serving the ends of post war liberalism, while the second advocated the revival of the medieval artisanal tradition advancing collective efforts that served the French Reconstruction cultural agenda. These two realities epitomise the conditions of art production in France after the Liberation.

The mechanist civilisation led to an undesirable excess of technical and scientific excellence advancing utilitarianism at the expense of spirituality. Though he initially supported the benefits of science and industrial progress as capable of transforming modern society, Zervos soon realised the sterility of mechanist interpretations and the social experiment of setting art in the service of life turning against the preponderance of the technique and the subject-matter which were subject to ideological position-takings. Zervos' views were closer to Hegelian idealism with several references to Kant and Plato which contradicted materialist philosophy. He rejected the utilitarian incorporation of cubist painting in architectural ensembles but thought that every part was an organic entity in its own right. Painting replenished the functional whole with its role being *a priori* spiritual. He in fact supported the passage from the functional to the organic which found its immediate expression in architecture (Nelson). The surrealist technique of automatism was indeed the offspring of the reaction against mechanist interpretations of life highlighting the need for a turn to the inner self in order to serve the exigencies of the spirit.

Social transformation, Zervos thought, could only be achieved through a return to the instincts and the re-appreciation of universal values from the point zero of western culture, the primitive era. The new century was indeed the *Époque des Bâtisseurs* offering the potential for setting the foundations for a new civilisation. Through the example of primitive cultures Zervos sought to demonstrate that archaeological vestiges carried the imprint of their times. Art, architecture, letters,

industry, and popular culture reflected the mentality of the times and the people but Zervos stressed their spiritual aspects. Cahiers d'Art reflect Zervos' aspiration to register and establish the modern aesthetic as a series of individual phenomena transcribing the collective mentality of their times, an aesthetic that epitomised the new civilisation that emerged at the turn of the century. Through the contextual analysis of Cahiers d'Art this study has sought to enrich understanding of Zervos' role in the artworld of his time and through this to open new perspectives for the study of 20th century art, specifically in relation to its interconnections with the past and its interaction with the multifaceted ideological climate that marked the course of the century.

The thesis brings to light cardinal issues associated with the institutional history of French modernism and the Franco-German cultural interactions between the wars as well as particular aspects of popularisation of European modernism and the devising of a historical background for it by tracing its origins in European primitivism. It furthermore brings to light the way in which primitive imagery and its formal simplification brought together theoretically surrealism and lyrical abstraction. This was the result of an obvious resistance to Stalinist orthodoxies and a renewed interest in the spiritual or even metaphysical role of art less than its formalist conception as self-contained or self-referential. The transition from the Mechanist to the Atomic era is central to the examination of these issues. Zervos espoused liberal critique after the Second World War but refrained from adopting Greenberg's monolithic and biased criticism or Barr's aspiration to 'construct a particular history of modern art.'⁹ Zervos' criticism, and especially his appreciations of cubism and the work of Picasso, reflects the pursuit of a formalist critic who had strived indeed to influence the course of modernism by reconstructing the history of its origins and more importantly to study it in its universal dimension as a particular phenomenon, an expression of wider cultural phenomena that defined the course of humanity. Zervos did not seek to reduce his appreciations to the modern era but to set the grounds for the construction of a universal history of art.

⁹ Madeleine Schechter, 'Theorising Modernism in Art: Puzzles of Formalist Aesthetics and the Heritage of Romanticism,' *Assaph: Studies in Art History* 6, 2001, p. 262 (261-284)

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. Supplementary Texts

APPENDIX 2. Christian Zervos: Writings on Art

APPENDIX 3. Tériade: Writings on Art

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APPENDIX 5. The Publishing House

APPENDIX 1. Supplementary Texts

A. Piet Mondrian, letter, Paris, 25 mars 1930, Archives Tériade, Musée Matisse, Le Cateau Cambrésis.

‘Dans l’Intransigeant du 11 mars, M. Tériade s’oppose très justement aux imitations superficielles et vides du cubisme. Mais, comme il le dit lui-même, on peut tout aussi bien se plaindre du fait que toutes les peintures deviennent de mornes schèmes de formules apprises, si, au fond, personne ne répond d’elles. Et, même dans la néoplastique, des créateurs et des imitateurs. En effet. Nulle tendance peut être, ne devint plus vulgarisée et faussement appliquée dans la publicité, la décoration, la construction etc. Mais j’arrive à ce qui me paraît être mal compris par M. Tériade, c’est-à-dire qu’il voit la néoplastique elle-même comme n’étant pas de la vraie peinture et (il dit cela plus clairement encore dans une autre publication récente), comme ‘strictement décorative.’ Or, la néoplastique n’est ni peinture décorative ni peinture géométrique. Elle en a seulement l’apparence. Pour expliquer cela, nous devons démontrer comment elle est née du cubisme. Mais voici encore un point que M. Tériade n’admet pas. Il est bien vrai que ‘l’œuvre’ cubiste n’a pas la faculté d’être continuée, d’être développée : qu’elle est parfaite en elle-même. Mais il n’est pas exact que le cubisme en tant qu’expression plastique ne peut se parfaire ni être continué. Au contraire, l’histoire de l’art nous démontre clairement que la plastique est une évolution continue. Aucun calcul en est la omise : celui-ci, comme M. Tériade le dit, est ‘loin de la création’. L’évolution de la plastique se produit par la création continue. Dans chaque époque il y a des créateurs et des imitateurs. Mais il y a des créateurs de l’espèce de plastique et des créateurs du genre de l’œuvre. Tandis que les derniers ne s’occupent que de ‘l’œuvre’ et ne modifient qu’un peu la plastique créée, les premiers fondent l’espèce de plastique d’une époque. Et cette plastique est continuée par d’autres créateurs de l’époque à venir. Toutefois, jusqu’ici, même les créateurs de l’espèce de plastique (ceux de la néoplastique exclus), n’ont pu que ‘modifier’ l’expression morpho plastique. Dans cette voie, considérant l’échelle historique, les œuvres d’art montrent une culture continue vers la plastique pure. Cette dernière se révèle aujourd’hui comme un ‘renouvellement total’ de la plastique. Par la plastique pure nous entendons la plastique des rapports seuls et cela par la ligne et la couleur également seule, c’est-à-dire, sans aucune forme limitée. Cette dernière trouble toujours l’expression plastique pure et y ajoute une expression descriptive, littéraire. Or, comme M. Zervos l’a dit ‘la gloire de la peinture contemporaine fut d’avoir réussi à se détacher des nécessités de la figuration littérale’. Néanmoins, ni le cubisme ni le purisme n’ont porté cela jusqu’à la réalité. C’est seulement la néoplastique qui a fait cela. De cette façon elle a continué et le cubisme et le purisme, tout comme ces mouvements ont continué l’effort des époques précédentes. Les moyens d’expression et la technique étant l’essentiel de la plastique, le cubisme a été d’une valeur énorme, ayant introduit dans la peinture des éléments purement plastiques et une nouvelle technique. C’est en cela que réside la vraie valeur du cubisme. Il s’en suit clairement que M. Tériade ne voit que l’aspect et non la fonction de l’œuvre cubiste. La valeur de l’œuvre cubiste, que M. Tériade sait si bien apprécier, n’est qu’une valeur secondaire. La valeur de chaque œuvre personnelle n’est qu’une valeur temporaire donc passagère en rapport avec la valeur de cette œuvre dans l’échelle évolution-plastique. L’expression plastique dépend de l’époque, elle en est le produit. La mentalité de chaque époque exige donc une autre plastique.

Ce qui m'empêche que la valeur de chaque œuvre d'art ne se perd pas : autrement les musées seraient ridicules. Mais il est de toute évidence que nous désirons, dans notre plus proche ambiance, des œuvres qui correspondent à notre mentalité. Toutefois, les mentalités même d'une époque, sont très compliquées. Heureusement, nous n'avons pas besoin de tâter dans l'obscurité : si nous observons les expressions plastiques différentes, elles nous montrent les mentalités qui correspondent. Plus grand sera le nombre de ceux qui créent ou cherchent une certaine plastique, plus unie sera la mentalité correspondante. De nos jours, la plastique plus ou moins naturelle est en majorité. Puis, la morphoplastique dans un sens plus ou moins abstrait : le cubisme, le purisme, etc... Ensuite, presque inconnue, la néoplastique se révèle. Elle est si peu comme qu'il est bien naturel que, même M. Tériade, ne voit pas son vrai contenu. Il faut bien connaître l'œuvre néoplasticienne pour savoir qu'elle exprime le rythme de la vie, comme toute autre peinture, mais dans son aspect le plus intense et éternel. La différence entre la morphoplastique et la néoplastique est que cette dernière représente le rythme lui-même, donc d'une façon exacte, et non pas, comme dans la morphoplastique, revêtu de la forme limitée. La conséquence en est que l'œil n'est pas tout d'abord charmé... du moins pour ceux qui cherchent la beauté compliquée de la forme. Ceux-ci ne voient que des lignes droites ou des plans rectangulaires. Mais à ceux qui sont accessibles à une beauté plus intériorisée et qui ne sont pas aveugles ou liés par la tradition, ils subissent l'expression pure du rythme libre sans penser ni savoir ni comprendre. Mais dans ce cas, en est déjà au-delà de la morphoplastique. Tout de même, c'est une longue éducation qui, pratiquement, s'accomplit en comparant les différentes tendances de l'art et, ensuite, par connaissance de l'esthétique – une esthétique toute nouvelle, fondée par les créateurs de la néoplastique après la création de l'œuvre. C'est une esthétique après la création de l'œuvre. C'est une esthétique trop compliquée pour la développer ici, mais issue toute seule de l'œuvre néoplasticienne créée en abstrayant de plus en plus la forme limitée... donc en continuant l'effort cubiste et puriste. Ceci établit clairement que la néoplastique n'est pas née de calculs ni de réflexions philosophiques. Il est donc inexact que 'les imitateurs sur des lieux désertiques, veulent fonder une esthétique et une œuvre', comme M. Tériade s'exprime. En tout cas, seulement l'esthétique, née après l'œuvre des créateurs résultant de celle-ci, est de valeur effective et peut diminuer le danger de reculer vers la plastique naturelle ou de tomber dans une imitation superficielle de 'l'œuvre'. Je ne suis donc pas d'accord, M. Tériade dit, que 'toutes les affirmations exprimées sur la peinture ne valent que pour les vrais peintres, et que ces constatations ne servent à rien.' On ne peut jamais apprécier assez l'effort grandiose du cubisme d'avoir rompu avec l'apparition naturelle des choses et, partiellement, avec la forme limitée. Sa détermination de l'espace par la construction exacte des volumes est prodigieuse. Ainsi le fond a été posé sur lequel une plastique des rapports purs, du rythme libre, jusqu'ici prisonnier de la forme limitée, a pu naître. Si l'on eut été assez conscient pour se rendre compte dans quelle mesure la forme limitée est hostile à la vraie plastique et dans quelle mesure elle est individuelle et tragique, on aurait moins risqué de retomber dans le romantisme ou dans le classicisme, comme le montrent les mouvements modernes en général. La plastique cubiste, poussée à bout, voilà que la néoplastique se trouve 'au bord du gouffre...' C'est bien vrai car toute plastique jusqu'à présent a pu être développée, continuée vers la plastique pure. Mais celle-ci une fois créée, on ne peut aller plus loin, en art. Mais l'art, sera-t-il toujours nécessaire ? N'est-il pas qu'un pauvre artifice, tant que la beauté dans la vie elle-même fait défaut ? La beauté réalisée dans la vie...cela doit être plus ou moins possible dans l'avenir, vu la marche du progrès humain que nous

pouvons constater si notre vision n'est pas trop superficielle. Et alors il est tout naturel que la vie elle-même jettera l'art dans le gouffre, au bord duquel il s'avance déjà de nos jours. Mais cela durera bien longtemps avant que l'art 'soit à sa fin et il continuera encore bien longtemps de nous réconcilier avec cette vie imparfaite que nous connaissons. L'art morphoplastique naturel est encore en pleine floraison, le cubisme, purisme etc... ne sont encore appréciés que très peu, et la néoplastique encore moins... L'art n'est donc pas à sa fin. 'L'art' jeté dans 'le gouffre', son contenu véritable restera. L'art se transformera, se réalisera d'abord dans notre ambiance palpable, ensuite dans la société...dans toute notre vie, qui alors, deviendra 'vraiment humaine.' La néoplastique prépare tout cela. De là, on voit déjà dans nos métropoles tant d'efforts appréciables mais aussi tant de réalisations faibles sortant des idées plus ou moins néoplasticiennes. Probablement cela durera des siècles avant qu'un avenir plus équilibré, donc d'une beauté réelle, soit ni, et quel beau travail encore, pour l'art, de le préparer ! Le bord du gouffre 'n'est donc pas si désertique ; que M. Tériade le voit, et le gouffre lui-même n'est pas un danger pour le contenu véritable de l'art. Il n'y a donc pas lieu, aujourd'hui, de 'dormir un peu ou de s'arrêter'. Et si quelques uns sont fatigués, que d'autres les remplacent...tout comme dans la vie. 'Avançant sans interruption, les yeux fixés sur un but lointain', c'est justement cela que nous avons à faire. Parce que ce but n'est pas 'chimérique' et que l'on ne 's'isole' pas ainsi 'de la vie, de ses apports, de son contrôle, de sa chaleur'. Au contraire, ce but lointain est en relation directe avec la vie actuelle ; il est non seulement clairement tracé dans notre esprit, mais encore réalisé déjà comme art. L'œuvre néoplasticienne est déduite de la vie dont elle est en même temps la production : de la vie continue, qui est 'culture', évolution. Evidemment, l'œuvre cubiste, parfaite en elle-même, ne pouvait se perfectionner encore après sa culmination. Il lui resta deux solutions : ou reculer, côté naturel, ou bien continuer sa plastique vers l'abstrait, c'est-à-dire devenir la néoplastique. Il est logique que les artistes cubistes eux-mêmes ne pouvaient faire ce dernier pas : ce serait nier leur nature. Tout comme, par exemple, ceux avaient succédé à Cézanne, d'autres devraient continuer la plastique cubiste. Et cela a été fait. En général, l'artiste, une fois qu'il a trouvé son expression plastique propre à lui, il ne pousse pas plus loin, bien que cela, jusqu'ici, était possible. Mais dans la néoplastique cela n'est pas possible, parce qu'elle est la limite de l'expression plastique. Les moyens plastiques, c'est-à-dire la ligne droite et la couleur primaire, ne peuvent pas être plus intériorisés et la composition restera toujours nécessaire pour naturaliser ces moyens. Ceux qui tâchent de perfectionner la plastique néoplasticienne ont donc dans l'erreur. Dans la néoplastique il s'agit de perfectionner l'œuvre : donc justement le contraire que dans le cubisme et dans l'art morphoplastique en général. Tandis que la néoplastique se tient dans les limites de son esthétique, l'œuvre néoplasticienne peut apparaître de différentes façons, chaque fois revêtue et renouvelée par la personnalité de l'artiste à laquelle elle doit sa force. La création du rythme libre étant le contenu de la néoplastique, celle-ci est de la vraie peinture. Parce que la volonté et l'effort de réaliser ce rythme, malgré la forme, étaient le contenu de toute peinture. Ce qui le néoplasticisme entend par ce rythme libre qui est opposé au rythme naturel, se comprend un peu en écoutant le jazz américain, où il est si bien approché, mais non réalisé, la mélodie, c'est-à-dire la forme limitée, n'y étant pas tout à fait détruite. L'esthétique néoplasticienne expose toutes les raisons pour lesquelles la néoplastique n'est ni décorative, ni géométrique. Ici il suffit de dire qu'elle ne l'est pas quand l'œuvre néoplasticienne est poussée à son point le plus aigu, c'est-à-dire quand 'tout' est exprimé dans et par la ligne et la couleur et quand tous les rapports dans la composition sont équilibrés. C'est alors que les plans rectangulaires (formés par la

pluralité des lignes droites en opposition rectangulaire et nécessaires pour déterminer la couleur_ se dissolvent par leur caractère uniforme et le rythme en ressort tout seul, laissant les plans là, comme 'un rien.' Si une expression froide et décorative résulte du tableau néoplasticien, la faute en est à l'artiste et non à la plastique néoplasticienne. Toutefois, l'expression ressortant d'un tableau est aussi dépendante de l'observateur. Et en ceci, Kandinsky a bien remarqué que 'le froid' peut devenir 'chaud' (tout comme 'le chaud' peut paraître 'froid') si l'on peut dire. Pour exprimer le rythme libre, c'est une nécessité que de se servir de moyens aussi simples que la ligne droite et la couleur primaire. Et le rapport de position, c'est-à-dire le rapport rectangulaire, est indispensable pour exprimer l'immuable, en opposition du variant des rapports de dimension. Tout cela n'est pas 'se montrer dépourvu d'instinct de conservation (!) et être mené par une cérébralité exaspérée.' Au contraire, c'est 'créer' une réalité concrète et vivante pour nos sens, bien qu'elle soit détachée de la réalité passagère de la forme. C'est pourquoi je tiens beaucoup à indiquer la néoplastique comme le 'superréalisme' en opposition avec le réalisme et le surréalisme. En opposition avec l'emploi des moyens simples et exacts dans la néoplastique, M. Tériade dit ailleurs que 'la recherche puriste de l'invariant, du général, du stable absolu, ne pouvait aboutir que si elle employait dans ce but les moyens les plus variables, les éléments les moins calculés, les faits les plus humblement particuliers, le sentiment enfin, mouvant de la vie. Cela est en contradiction avec la conception logique de la plastique laquelle exprime toute chose par des moyens qui lui correspondent et non par son contraire. S'exprimer par ces contraires est plutôt de l'imagination. Toutefois, s'il est vrai que la recherche puriste était celle de l'intervient, du stable absolu, la néoplastique ne cherche pas cela. La néoplastique tache d'exprimer l'invariant et le variant en même temps et en équivalence. Justement pour cette raison il lui faut un moyen universel. Sa recherche n'est pas celle du stable absolu qui ne peut que s'exprimer 'plastiquement' et elle s'oppose au stable naturel. Bien que la néoplastique, pendant la guerre, soit née en Hollande, elle n'est pas de caractère nordique, justement parce qu'elle est née de mouvements modernes internationaux, surtout du cubisme. Ceci par contact direct ou indirect des orateurs. Leur organe 'De Styl' devint après la guerre encore plus international et certaines des néoplasticismes rentrèrent ou vinrent d'établie à Paris. En effet, tous les mouvements prodigieux de civilisation, de développement. Ce n'est que par les valeurs des peuples et des ces associés que l'esprit nouveau se réalise. Une longue culture cause une tradition puissante qui – étrange contradiction ! – justement s'oppose à ce que cette même culture a créée : c'est-à-dire la conception nouvelle. Mais une jeune culture de produire des œuvres superficielles. Le mouvement néoplasticien était également propagé dans les revues Vouloir et I10 et, actuellement, dans la revue Cercle et Carre. Le groupement (bien que assez restreint) contenant des peintres, des sculpteurs, des architectes, des écrivains, se dispersa de plus en plus comme groupement mais le mouvement ne cessait d'exister et fut, suivant de différentes interprétations, continué jusqu'à présent. C'est entre autres aussi par la peur de trop ressembler que le nombre de néoplasticiciens reste encore restreint. D'abord, la mentalité doit s'orienter vers une conception plus universelle. La néoplastique, ne provenant pas de situations ethniques et n'en étant pas déterminée, est internationale, universelle, et il est de toute évidence que le français, par son sentiment et son instinct admirable d'équilibre, soit le plus apte de la comprendre dans toute sa valeur, aussitôt qu'il sera détaché de sa merveilleuse tradition en art et que son gout esthétique de se sera liberté. A la fin. Je rends hommage à M. Tériade d'avoir défendu le cubisme et par ceci la néoplastique.'

B. Will Grohmann, 'La Dernière Génération de l'Art Allemand'. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 9, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

Depuis 1938 où les Cahiers d'Art publièrent un essai assez long sur l'art vivant en Allemagne, allant jusqu'à Baumeister et Schlemmer, ici comme partout, beaucoup de choses se sont modifiées. En Allemagne plus profondément qu'ailleurs. La société s'est prolétarisée à un haut degré, l'hitlérisme et la guerre ont ébranlé la morale. Parmi les supporteurs de l'art vivant, un grand nombre ont émigré dans tous les pays du monde et ne reviendront plus. Les écoles, les académies et universités ont perdu leur éclat d'avant-guerre, et la jeunesse n'a plus de base où s'appuyer. Les renouveaux se manifestent lentement et très modestement encore. Ils portent l'empreinte du ressentiment des vieux et du désespoir des jeunes. Les uns ne voulant pas comprendre que la catastrophe est de leur faute, les autres ne voulant pas admettre que, toute leur vie, ils devront en subir les conséquences. Beaucoup d'*entre* eux vivent dans une ville qui ne pourra guère être reconstruite avant cinquante années. Ce qu'il y a d'aggravant, c'est la séparation de leur pays en Est et Ouest, les deux parties se disjoignant de plus en plus. Séparation qui atteint les familles aussi bien que l'histoire et la tradition culturelle. C'est ainsi qu'un étudiant de l'Est ne pourra plus être reçu à une université de l'Ouest, et vice versa. A l'heure actuelle, c'est l'Est dont le flot se déverse à l'Ouest ; exode de neuf millions d'hommes qui manqueront à l'Est et obstrueront les possibilités de vie à l'Ouest. La situation se reflète dans le sort des artistes. Il n'y en a guère qui jusqu'ici aient mené une vie normale. Des contre-temps depuis les études entravées jusqu'à la guerre, la captivité, le camp de concentration, la disparition illégale pour des années, ont plus ou moins frappé chacun d'eux. Le peintre Fritz Winter a perdu dix années de la sorte, de 1939 à 49, et il est loin d'être le seul ! Depuis 1933, il n'y eut pas moyen, pour la plupart des artistes, de voir un seul bon tableau. Les musées se vidèrent, les collectionneurs cachèrent leurs trésors, les bibliothèques furent épurées, et, par ordre officiel, les reproductions d'œuvres modernes disparurent des encyclopédies d'histoire d'art. Les bons professeurs furent congédiés, on défendit même à beaucoup d'eux de travailler. Aussi, grande fut la brèche ouverte dans la tradition artistique, et il faudra bien du temps pour la combler. La guerre aérienne détruisit au hasard des œuvres d'art de haute valeur. A la fin des hostilités, les musées de la zone Est furent absolument vidés. A l'Ouest, les œuvres d'art sont actuellement toutes restituées, mais une partie seulement est exposée, faute d'édifices pour leur présentation. Avec l'exposé de toutes ces difficultés, il sera donc aisé de constater qu'en Allemagne les fondements du développement artistique actuel sont beaucoup plus défavorables que dans tout autre pays au monde. Si avec tout cela l'art existe quand même, c'est que dans la vie spirituelle et artistique, il y a des courants souterrains échappant à tout contrôle et que, dans des époques comme celle que nous venons de traverser, se constitue une espèce de communauté secrète où les vides sont compensés. Même après 1933, des cercles ésotériques s'occupaient d'art moderne, où secrètement des reproductions d'œuvres de Picasso ou de Klee ou de Miro circulaient, de la même manière qu'on se passait des livres défendus. Artistes et amateurs travaillaient en cachette, utilisant toutes leurs réserves spirituelles. Tout cela se faisait sous une pression qui était contre nature et les résultats obtenus étaient forcément faussés. Des artistes de la classe des Klee, Kandinsky, Feininger, Beckmann, Kokoschka et Grosz émigrèrent. La mort elle-même accentua ces pertes : Kirchner et Barlach en 1938, Klee en 1940, Blumenthal en 1942, Schlemmer en 1943, Kandinsky en 1944. La plupart des vieux maîtres restés en Allemagne surent défendre

leur position artistique : Nolde, Hofer, Schmidt-Rottluff, Heckel. Baumeister et Werner, Mataré et G. Marcks poursuivent encore leurs travaux avec succès. Leur génération est celle qui est née vers 1890. Après eux vient la phalange des artistes qui n'ont encore atteint aucune position définitive et qui sont ceux qui eurent le plus à souffrir de la tourmente. C'est d'eux que je vais parler. Il s'agit d'une douzaine de peintres et de trois sculpteurs. Le plus âgé en est Gilles, le plus jeune Heiliger. Leur âge moyen est la quarantaine. Quatre d'entre eux sont de Berlin, trois du nord de l'Allemagne, cinq de l'Ouest. Le centre de gravité de cette génération est donc, pour l'âge : quarante ans ; pour le pays : le Rhin et Berlin. Le Rhin acquerrait plus d'importance encore, si le choix avait été parmi les artistes faits moins sévèrement. Auparavant le centre d'intérêt avait été Berlin et la Souabe : Baumeister, Schlemmer et Th. Werner sont des Souabes ; antérieurement encore, ce fut Berlin et la Saxe, d'où le groupe *Brücke* était issu, Beckmann et les véristes tels que Dix. Donc les manifestations spirituelles et artistiques glissent aussi de l'Est à l'Ouest. Seul Berlin est l'invariable point d'intersection de toutes les tendances différentes et demeure en même temps le lieu de consécration pour tout artiste allemand. Les trois sculpteurs sont Hans Uhlmann (né en 1900 à Berlin), Karl Harting (né en 1908 à Hambourg) et Bernard Heiliger (né en 1915 à Stettin). Le cadet ne commença à vraiment travailler que la guerre finie. Il ne fut pas atteint par l'âpreté des discussions sur le sens et la forme de l'art plastique. Heiliger fit ce qui était conforme à sa nature, il élimina tout ce qui était en dehors de sa vie et de son contrôle. Il se rangea à la juste place où l'appelaient son talent et ses expériences. Son ambition fut la figure humaine telle qu'il la concevait, telle que d'autres l'avaient exprimée jusqu'en 1945. L'ascendant pris sur lui par H. Moore fut plus fort que celui qu'exerça son compatriote G. Marcks (né en 1888) qui fut, cependant, le meilleur de la génération précédente. Ainsi Heiliger attendait le mot d'ordre de sa révélation, il l'entendit dans l'œuvre de Moore. A partir de ce moment, il est renseigné sur lui-même, ses expériences se trouvent pour ainsi dire justifiées et il peut vraiment être ce qu'il est. Il est loin d'imiter Moore et n'en serait point capable, n'ayant pas eu les lumières que celui-ci avait eues vers 1925. Heiliger ne sculpte ni le creux ni l'enveloppe, d'où sont nées les grandes créations de Moore. Il ne perfore pas la matière, ses inventions émanent du bloc même, il arrondit, élargit, construit. Il crée de préférence des femmes pour exprimer son univers. Il obtient un premier prix avec l'esquisse faite pour le concours du monument Max Plank à Berlin, où il s'exprime d'une tout autre manière. Ce Plank n'a-t-il pas ce par les sculptures d'Heiliger sont caractéristique ? L'attitude silencieuse au milieu d'un monde où l'on parle toujours. Heiliger n'est pas encore parvenu à réaliser la totalité des relations humanitaires. Peut-être résultera-t-il de sa recherche ainsi faite un art nouveau ; Moore utilisant ses derniers souvenirs pour explorer des horizons nouveaux. Le procédé d'Uhlmann et de Hartung est tout autre. Hartung a de la rapidité et de l'audace ; sachant ce qui se passe dans le monde il agit, souvent en faisant des bonds, mais sans manquer ses buts. Uhlmann est posé et circonspect, il fait des expériences, il se cherche en mettant une pierre sur l'autre ; il se dirige vers deux directions, d'une part, il poursuit la sculpture au vrai sens du mot, de l'autre, il dirige son intérêt vers des créations en fil de fer. Hartung et Uhlmann ont peu de rapports avec la tradition allemande. Ils ne se sont guère occupés de leurs précurseurs, tels Kolbe, Barlach et Marcks au contraire de Blumenthal mort à la guerre). Par contre ils sont tous les deux fort impressionnés par Maillol, Brancusi, Arp. C'est d'eux qu'ils apprirent à connaître la rondeur et la complexité de la plastique, recherches qui peuvent être poussées jusqu'à l'identité avec les formations pures de la nature, avec les blocs erratiques et les cailloux que la mer jette sur la

plage. Picasso, Laurens, Gonzalez, d'autre part, l'incitèrent au relâchement, à la spiritualité et à la contemplation des dernières découvertes des sciences naturelles. Dans ses meilleurs travaux Hartung réussit à entremêler les formes élémentaires organiques avec des créations imaginaires. Il fit des sculptures en bois, en pierre et en bronze, des figures qui, grâce à la religiosité de la main de l'artiste, font croire à une croissance organique expressive d'humanité profonde ; ces créations sont parallèles à celles de la nature, soit qu'il s'agisse d'êtres humains, de pachyderme, soit des sphères mobiles en elles-mêmes. Uhlmann, dans ses travaux sculpturaux reste dans la tradition de l'analyse cubiste, il en exprime la simultanéité des vues et des formes complémentaires du positif et du négatif. Beaucoup de ses esquisses lui suggèrent des formes monumentales. Par contre il semble que, dans ses créations en fil de fer, il travaille en toute indépendance. Contrairement à ceux de Calder, les ouvrages d'Uhlmann ne sont pas des *Mobiles*, ils tiennent ferme, même lorsque, avant d'être montés, leur maintien est souvent ambigu, c'est-à-dire qu'il est toujours possible de les poser d'une manière ou d'une autre. Une fois montés, ils expriment la stabilité. Cependant cet état provient d'un univers régi par d'autres lois que les nôtres. Dans cet univers la notion de volume n'existe plus. La matière est faite de fils de fer où passe le mouvement et l'énergie. Il ne s'agit plus d'un espace trigonométrique, tout y est devenu vivant et hostile à une fixation nette. Ce qui en résulte n'est point une figure, c'est plutôt l'expression d'une puissance née de formules mathématiques bien plus que de périphrases poétiques. Ce qui s'explique facilement pour Uhlmann, car celui-ci, Calder, est ingénieur ; pendant de longues années, il gagna sa vie dans une usine, comme technicien et inventeur de machines à calculer. Mystère de la naissance de l'art ! Car c'est bien d'un art de haute valeur qu'il s'agit. Dans les œuvres d'Uhlmann s'entrelacent comme un jeu le hasard et une loi mathématique insinuant intuition et construction : les deux se complètent mutuellement et nous apportent une perception nouvelle du monde et de l'univers. les émouvantes imaginations qui se manifestent dans les travaux d'Uhlmann nous rendent perceptibles les mouvements les plus simples : monter ou descendre, voler ou planer, tout s'unit dans son œuvre avec la certitude mathématique, et de cette union résulte une beauté qui est profondément de notre temps. Ce que dit le mathématicien Bense peut s'appliquer à Uhlmann : 'Le style pur correspond à ce que, dans les sciences, nous appelons méthode, dans les mathématiques calcul. Chaque style est l'expression concrète d'un esprit qui est essentiellement forme, aussi bien que chaque calcul est le cas concret d'un esprit qui est essentiellement forme. S'il y a une relativité, une absence de norme pour la matière, c'est uniquement à cause du style qui devra se manifester dans la création de l'artiste. Cet art n'admet plus les sentiments privés, ni chez le créateur ni chez l'amateur ; il en est de même dans la musique d'aujourd'hui, le sens naît, là aussi du hasard et de la méthode. La peinture allemande a aujourd'hui un aspect tout autre qu'en 1938, après la perte de ses chefs de file, puisque beaucoup sont morts et que d'autres ont quitté l'Allemagne. Les émigrés sont-ils encore des nôtres ? Kokoschka est aujourd'hui tchèque, Grosz Américain, Vordemberghe-Gildewart Hollandais ; Beckmann vécut dix années en hollande, aujourd'hui il est [dans]aux Etats-Unis. Personne ne veut revenir en Allemagne. N'oublions pas qu'il y eut un temps où Max Ernst était encore Allemand, où Jean Arp s'appelait Hans Arp, où des étrangers tels que Chagall, Pevsner, Archipenko vivaient ici et aimaient l'Allemagne. La catastrophe commença déjà pendant la première guerre, où Marc et Macke moururent au front, où Lehmbruck se suicida en 1919. Dans aucun autre pays l'art n'eut tant de pertes. La continuité avait toujours été quelque peu problématique en Allemagne, au vingtième siècle, elle se dissocie en paliers successifs : *Brücke*, *Blaue Reiter*,

Réalisme magique etc. De toutes ces tendances diverses il subsiste encore des traces, mais il ne s'est pas encore formée de tradition. Abstraction faite des successeurs de l'impressionnisme et de ses modifications dont il y a toujours encore un grand nombre, trois groupes, vu d'ensemble, représentent les tendances de la peinture d'aujourd'hui. Le premier provient de *Brücke* et des expressionnistes, de Kirchner, Schmidt-Rottluff et Nolde, de Hofer, Beckmann et Kokoschka, mais il est artistiquement de peu d'importance. Impossible d'ajouter à la singularité de ces individualistes prononcés qu'ils n'étaient rien que peintres, ayant eux-mêmes atteint les dernières limites des possibilités picturales, vivant d'une exagération du sentiment et d'une transformation du monde réel. Aucune école n'est issue d'eux, bien que la plupart de ces peintres fussent des professeurs. En Allemagne pas plus qu'en Suisse où Kirchner, à Davos, s'efforça de former des élèves. L'influence exercée par Hofer fut assez répandue, mais ses meilleurs élèves, tel E. M. Nay, tendirent vers d'autres caps. Le centre du deuxième groupe est Werner Gilles, fort apprécié en Allemagne, mais presque inconnu à l'étranger. Il ne s'agit pas ici d'une école mais d'un cercle d'amis qui, avant la guerre, se réunissaient Klosterstrasse à Berlin ; parmi eux Werner Gilles, Werner Heldt, Hans Kuhn, Bontjes van Beek, le céramiste, et Gerhard Marcks, le sculpteur. Ce groupe se distingue par un défaut et un mérite qui lui est spécifiquement propre et qui empêche de le ranger dans l'une des tendances européennes du moment. Le défaut est dans la forme qui adopte tout ce qui est, mais sans rien créer. Le mérite est dans le sens poétique et le langage symbolique. Les symbolistes français Mallarmé, Baudelaire et Rimbaud ont incité à Gilles à créer des variations sur des thèmes poétiques, tel *Ophélie* de Shakespeare, le mythe antique *Orphée*. Il ne s'agit point d'illustrations, mais de créer des paraboles. Le modèle choisi ne fournit guère plus à cet artiste que le nom et l'atmosphère, la direction du procédé symbolique. Ses deux cycles d'Orphée deviennent ainsi des variations sur la vie et la mort, l'amour et la haine, les anges et les démons. Il s'y mêle son désir de s'intégrer dans un monde *humanitaire béatifiant* pour décider les démons à devenir des anges. Tout le problème est dans la transposition. L'Allemand tend à l'ambiguïté, suite de son irrésolution par rapport à la forme ; le français a la précision à cause de son sentiment accentué de la forme nette. Chez ce dernier le pluralisme des formes se manifeste successivement, chez l'Allemand simultanément. Ainsi on voit chez Gilles s'approcher et s'entrecroiser des éléments conformes à la nature ou s'en éloigner. Des images symboliques s'accrochent à des images concrètes ; des formes déterminées sont reprises dans des imaginations, des rêves et des archaïsmes qui les détournent des faits réels. C'est là que réside évidemment le charme de ces créations, des siennes tout aussi bien que de celles de ses amis. Nous le constatons sans nous dissimuler toutefois qu'il viendra un jour où l'artiste devra se décider pour le passé ou pour l'avenir, regarder en arrière vers le romantisme, ou aller en avant dans un symbolisme métaphorique. Le cas Hans Kuhn (né en 1905) est encore plus compliqué, étant donné que son intellect est plus fort et sa compréhension pour tout ce qui concerne l'art plus vaste. Il connaît très bien l'art moderne en France, en Allemagne et en Italie et il a un bon jugement. Fait qui rend plus difficile son propre travail. Trop d'autres voix s'adressent à lui ; parfois il se soustrait à leur conseil en tranchant le nœud gordien, par des à-coups de personnalité. Il en résulte des séries d'aquarelles et de tableaux où, oubliant tout, Hans Kuhn se livre à la seule impulsion de créer. Alors viennent des choses qui expriment la plénitude de ses expériences, des fragments p. ex. de ses souvenirs d'Italie. Le paysage méridional vit en lui tel un décor d'opéra, animé par des figures de ballet (*Ballet de Fantômes* 1947). *Le Bonheur* devient une espèce de spectre sur une sphère, dans un tourbillon de figures et d'évènements, sans qu'on

puisse y retrouver la syntaxe convaincante et la forme précise. Kuhn la cherche pourtant et parfois il l'approche, comme dans son tableau *Planant* (1949), où il a établi un accord harmonieux d'où se dégage sa personnalité. Werner Heldt (né en 1904) est plus primitif et plus vigoureux. Tout chez lui est né de l'instinct et de la seule impression : Berlin. Berlin est devenu le grand thème de son art, tel Paris pour Utrillo. Avec la différence que Heldt est encore plus exclusif et presque fanatique. Berlin est métropole, amas de bâtiments, destin humain et histoire. Toutefois l'on ne voit pas toutes ces choses sur ces toiles, par ci par là des accessoires, et il s'en dégage une impression émouvante, tant elles sont perdues dans la vaste solitude. Avec tout cela, les pierres parlent, les murs, les cubes des maisons, les rues vides. De la même manière qu'ils l'avaient fait avant la destruction. Sens prophétique ? Pourquoi pas. Heldt intitule un tableau *Berlin sur la Mer*, et en effet, la ville est située sur la mer, bien qu'il y ait jusqu'à la côte deux cents kilomètres. C'est ici que commence la vaste étendue, vers l'eau, vers l'Est. Car l'Est y est aussi. Berlin est une ville vraiment orientale, et ce n'est pas en tant que centre spirituel qu'il y existe encore autre chose. Le secret est dans la manière dont Heldt sait l'exprimer, car ce qui est représenté pourrait s'adapter à une ville de province quelconque. Mais rien qu'extérieurement. Des cubes tels que nous les voyons dans *Après Midi de Dimanche* (1949), ces couleurs cruelles, ces orbites mortes, tout cela n'aurait nulle part aucun sens qu'à Berlin. Ces blocs erratiques, tels un repoussoir, placés au premier plan et prenant souvent la forme d'instruments de musique fossiles (*Composition* 1947), ce n'est imaginable que fondé sur une mentalité propre aux grandes villes. Si l'on regarde, en parallèle, *Été précoce* de 1937, on se rend compte du chemin qui mène à cette magie de grande cité ; ce qui auparavant était naïf et presque enfantin est devenu origine et symbole. Hans Jaenisch (né en 1907) est entre les camps. Il tend au rêve métaphorique et l'on voit le jour où il aura substitué au sujet, le thème. L'abondance des événements (la guerre, l'Afrique, Arizona) le tourna vers le reportage, et ce n'est qu'en 1946 que commença son vrai travail. Comme chez les autres artistes, la doctrine ne joua guère de rôle pour lui, il s'abandonna plutôt à l'idée conductrice. Il connaît bien Klee, il a moins étudié les Français ; mais ce n'est pas tant l'esprit qu'il recherche que le procédé. La manière p. ex. de donner la première couche ou d'inventer des formes ou de les varier à l'aide d'expériences techniques. Il en résulte des formes plastiques et de ces formes se dégagent des paysages, des hommes, des animaux. L'une d'elles devient indépendante et se transforme en danseur (dans *Chanson Dansante* 1948). Ces créations se concrétisent en êtres volants, en oiseaux et en appareils ou en *crapauds* ; alors apparaissent des symboles métaphoriques, comparables au *Taotieh* des Chinois ou aux dessins déroulés des vases du Pérou. Jaenisch a ceci de caractéristique que l'intitulé de ses inventions et de ses méthodes parvient à hausser une *Scène d'enclos* (1948) jusqu'à la sphère d'invention de formes pures. L'aile marchande de l'avant-garde en Allemagne est constituée par le groupe des peintres où se retrouve l'esprit du *Bauhaus*. Là, jusqu'en 1933, fut le centre de jonction de toutes les tendances artistiques internationales. Grâce à Gropius, Klee, Kandinsky, Feininger, Schlemmer, Moholy-Nagy et Albers, s'y rassemblèrent presque tous les fils de toutes les doctrines et de toutes les théories du moment. Si le cubisme y fut admis, comme une méthode nouvelle de voir, l'art des Mondrian, Lissitzky, Max Ernst fut aussi à l'honneur. La plupart des jeunes peintres n'ont pas été en rapport direct avec le *Bauhaus*, à l'exception de Fritz Winter (né en 1905), élève de Klee à Dessau jusqu'en 1930, de Heinz Trökes (né en 1913), élève de Itten à Zürich de 1933 à 36, de Gerhard Fietz, (né en 1910), élève de Schlemmer à Breslau et de Nauen à Düsseldorf. D'autre part E. W. Nay (né en 1902) vient de l'atelier de

Hofer, Marc Zimmermann (né en 1912) d'une école quelconque des arts décoratifs de même que Otto Goetz (né en 1914). Ce n'est que par ouï-dire que ces artistes connaissent l'époque qui précéda 1933. Ce n'est que par hasard qu'ils rencontrèrent au cours de leur développement tel ou tel artiste ou qu'ils purent admirer leurs œuvres dans une collection privée. Klee exerça sur eux l'influence la plus forte – on vit de lui des œuvres originales – puis ce fut Picasso dont ils ne purent, malheureusement, voir que des reproductions. A côté de ces chefs de file, Kandinsky et Miro, Arp et Max Ernst exercèrent leur influence. Baumeister inspira Fietz et Goetz par ses ouvrages récents d'aspiration archéologique. Dans les ateliers de la peinture, les expositions et les musées furent remplacés par des revues et des cartes postales. Les problèmes de l'art furent étudiés en commun. Les artistes, d'une part, se délivrèrent ainsi du joug des écoles, d'un autre côté, ils eurent à subir un isolement excessif, surtout lorsqu'ils vivaient à la campagne, comme Winter, Fietz ou Goetz. Le danger était qu'ils sombrèrent dans une impasse, ou se perdent en longs détours. Ce qui aggravait encore les pertes subies par la suppression de la liberté et par la guerre. E. W. Nay est l'aîné de ce groupe. Il fréquenta Schulpforta, l'un des plus célèbres lycées. Il renonça aux études universitaires auxquelles il était destiné. Avant de fréquenter l'académie du professeur Hofer, il peignait déjà et faisait ses propres expériences, avec une totale liberté. Après des tentatives non-figuratives il s'approcha de Munch et de Kirchner (1936 et 37), les toiles de cette époque sont des plus belles et celles qui ont eu le plus de succès. Elles tendent essentiellement vers des formes libres et symboliques ; il recommença son œuvre en 1939. Nay est de ces peintres qui mettent une volonté déterminée dans tout ce qu'ils font et qui profitent de leurs expériences anciennes pour aller à de nouvelles recherches. La forme absolue telle quelle ne lui suffit pas, il tend à la joindre avec un fait réel et de valeur générale. Un homme sur une échelle cueillant des fruits devient pour lui le rêve de Jacob et délivre la promesse de Dieu. La forme s'y adapte. L'expression est ainsi organisée qu'elle peut aussi bien détenir des démons que délivrer des anges, et le sujet ne sert que de support à la métaphore. Cette recherche de symbolisme rapproche Nay de Gilles. Le langage personnel de Nay s'exprime surtout par le coloris, par certaines tensions symboliques de la couleur, où cependant l'artiste en néglige ni l'expression de l'espace, qui apparaît dans la différenciation de la couleur, ni le *sujet* lui-même qui, cependant, n'est plus guère reconnaissable dans sa signification objective. Une harmonie se crée entre l'expression plastique et l'inspiration primitive. L'admiration de Nay pour Juan Gris est particulièrement caractéristique, le jeune artiste trouve chez son aîné cette harmonie de la forme pure et de l'expérience complexe. Comme Gris, il s'installe dans le plan, malgré l'attraction dynamique de l'espace. Comme lui, il balance les contrastes et les ruptures par un réseau d'ornements qui ne sont point cependant des décorations gratuites, mais des développements du thème et de la composition, qui en sont, pour ainsi dire, les modulations. A partir de Nay, l'influence des grands modèles s'efface. Même chez Winter qui frise la cinquantaine il ne s'agit plus de la poursuite de l'un ou de l'autre séparément, mais la formation de l'artiste naît de l'ambiance créée par les maîtres à partir de 1900. Cependant au début ce fut Klee, peu après Arp qui, pendant les dernières années du Bauhaus, exercèrent une influence de plus en plus grande sur la jeune génération, par contre-coup elle toucha Winter. Lorsque Marc apparaît, Winter s'imprègne de son sentiment de la nature. La guerre et la captivité causent à Winter une interruption du travail de dix années ; en 1949 il fait une rentrée nouvelle. Winter reconnaît que, vue avec du recul, l'histoire des beaux-arts un air aussi inquiétant ni aussi impératif. En Russie il s'était sentie enfermé en lui-même, sur l'extrême bord d'une existence scabreuse à l'excès. La nature, le ciel

avec les astres et les planètes lui apparaîent. L'homme n'a aucune réalité particulière. Il ne le trouve nulle part, à moins qu'il ne soit comme qu'une expression de l'univers, de ses lois rythmiques auxquelles l'espace et le temps sont soumis. Il en résulte que l'homme et l'univers de Winter *sont* faits de signes que l'artiste capte, de signes qui sont encore beaucoup plus étranges que ceux de Miro qui figurent tout de même encore des éléments reconnaissables, tels un oiseau, ou une vraie lune pour enfants. Chez Winter, les chemins venus du néant ou d'un univers abstrait mènent au néant. Cela s'installe dans des orbites planétaires ou des constellations qui mettent le monde en mouvement. Il y subsiste des souvenirs de matière, par ci par là, qui peuvent signifier soit la terre, soit la forêt vierge, soit une côte au bord de la mer. Ce qui domine cependant le plus souvent ses compositions c'est l'épouvante ou l'angoisse mêlées d'un vague espoir. Nous croyons que Winter va, lui aussi, se rapprocher de la vie et se trouver lui-même. Mais de quelle vie se saisira son étreinte ? La création de Winter serait-elle faite pour la mort ? Espérons le contraire, car malgré l'inquiétude qui la cause, elle porte en elle une grande puissance. Goetz (né en 1914) est le plus jeune des peintres modernes. Il a, comme Winter, le sens du cosmique, mais d'une façon théorique. Pendant des années, Goetz était opérateur de radio, il s'intéressa aussi dans ses débuts à la réalisation du film abstrait. Sa prédilection pour l'abstraction de l'art et pour le surréalisme formèrent son style, où la physique et la psychanalyse s'exprimèrent aisément. Jamais on ne pense chez Goetz, comme chez Winter, aux formes de l'univers ou à la situation précaire de l'homme. Ses œuvres suggèrent plutôt un laboratoire moderne où, avec des méthodes presque scientifiques, sont développées les hypothèses spirituelles et techniques de la création artistique. Dans son *Tryptichon* (1949) l'invention des figures et des objets prédomine. D'innombrables séries de variations ont développé le même thème. C'est dans des créations de cet ordre qu'il manifeste la plus grande liberté et la plus riche imagination. Elles portent la marque du technicien, mais s'affirment avec plasticité. Nous approchons des toutes dernières tentatives des jeunes artistes allemands en parlant de Fietz (né en 1910), de Trökes (né en 1913) et de Zimmermann (né en 1912). Tous reprirent leur pinceau en 1945, avec le désir d'oublier et de ressaisir leur art aussi vite que possible. Jamais autant que dans les dernières dizaines d'années, l'art des Picasso, Klee et Miro n'avait parlé avec autant d'autorité que durant ces mois de désespoir où chacun sentait en lui-même cet enjeu comme le dernier possible. Comme les peintres, les amis des arts suivirent ce mouvement avec une parfaite intelligence et une grande compréhension. Cependant le public allemand, dans son ensemble, resta sceptique et insensible à l'art. Les artistes réagirent contre lui parfois d'une façon quelque peu brusque et exagérée. Fritz, tout au début, avait voulu fidèlement reproduire la nature. La guerre et l'interruption qui en découla changea sa première manière. La réalité fut effacée, il en construisit une autre, primitive, mais indépendante. Puis il se sentit sollicité par des forces nouvelles. D'où viennent-elles ? Il ne le sait pas lui-même. Dans un tel besoin de nouvelle expression la reproduction la plus élémentaire de Klee ou de Miro peut lui apporter la révélation. Fietz est modeste, il lui suffit d'un petit format pour s'exprimer, ce n'est qu'en 1948 qu'il l'élargit. Alors il fait d'assez grandes gouaches et des tableaux qui, jusque dans leurs détails, sont puissants et osés. Au début la sensibilité y est prédominante. Les pages de 1947 sont de délicates miniatures, des toiles d'araignée faites de fils et de lavis. *Devant ses œuvres* on se souvient de tableaux chinois peuplés de fantômes et de démons (1947, 118). Les peintures qui suivent renforcent encore cette violence et cette tension. Il ne s'agit plus de composer, mais de prendre note de ce qui paraît essentiel. Procédés de grafisme [sic] et de coloris pareil à ceux de A. Schönberg, lui

aussi doit incessamment créer à nouveau son vocabulaire et sa syntaxe afin de pouvoir toujours exprimer une vérité nouvelle. Dur travail, bien peu apprécié de ceux qui préfèrent la routine. La recherche des moyens appropriés n'est pas seulement une contrainte, elle aiguillonne aussi l'activité. Jusqu'à quelle distance l'artiste approchera-t-il de la vérité ? Ce n'est probablement pas l'art seul qui le décidera, mais le monde transformé vers lequel nous allons. Le cas Trökes est semblable, sauf *en ce* qu'il a les nerfs plus forts et [qu'] il dispose d'un matériel plus aigu. Ce peintre a beaucoup voyagé, il connaît les hommes, les tableaux et les livres. Dans ses débuts, il donne *Barbaropa* (1947) : l'âge de pierre, troglodyte, Magie. On ne peut pas s'arrêter à ces premières productions, Trökes s'en affranchit en dessinant. D'abord *Palafittes* et *Oiseaux de pierre*, ensuite des griffonnages d'un caractère enjoué et qui n'oblige pas, enfin des dessins d'une précision cristalline. Ses caprices surréalistes (Trökes aime Max Ernst) le cèdent peu à peu à des fantaisies cosmiques. Et enfin une espèce de romantisme nouveau prédomine, celui de la *Ville engloutie* (1949) ou des *Possibilités cosmiques* (1949). Mais ce romantisme ne connaît point *la fleur bleue*. Il préfère les sagesses d'un Pasqual Jordan ou d'un V. v. Weizsäcker, pour ce qu'elles sont de plus de transcendantales que les *Rêves d'un Nécroman*. Pour Trökes un monde nouveau prend naissance, et cela avec les moyens qu'il invente et emploie. Son monde de formes est analogue à celui des hiéroglyphes. Les hommes cherchent à retrouver le sens de la vérité du monde ; de ce monde que créent les artistes. Trouveront-ils la réponse à ces questions émouvantes ? L'homme quel qu'il soit a achevé son rôle. Chez Trökes il n'existe point du tout. Chez son ami Zimmermann il apparaît comme un vestige du passé. Dans son *Déploiement des Ruines* (1948) il y a un entrecroisement de réminiscences barbaresques et d'allusions mathématiques. Pareil à Trökes, ses caprices surréalistes sont subitement transformés en constructions et opérations arithmétiques. Dans l'autres tableaux, comme dans ceux de la première époque de Masson, un monde d'insectes prends ses débats, et ce n'est point un hasard que les *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide sont le livre de prédilection de Zimmermann. (*Daphné et Apollon* 1948). Zimmermann est au fond plus dessinateur que peintre, tous ses travaux se préparent dans de nombreuses esquisses et il arrive souvent que seule la dernière note graphique [sic] exprime le résultat définitif (*En visite chez Picasso* 1947). Woty Werner (née en 1903) représente un cas unique ; c'est la seule femme parmi les jeunes artistes, et son moyen d'expression est le métier à tisser. Elle refuse catégoriquement à ses travaux d'être comptés parmi les arts industriels, disant que ce qu'elle fait est aussi bien de l'art libre que de la peinture, et que les moyens sont chose secondaire. Et elle a raison, l'essentiel c'est la conception, non la technique de la réalisation. Et dès le début, elle présenta ses œuvres avec les peintres et les sculpteurs. Ses tissages sont sa propre invention ; une petite note dessinée précède, une espèce d'appui mnémotechnique, mais le véritable travail naît sur le métier, sans être fixé auparavant. De la sorte la prédominance de l'art textile s'accroît, de même la contrainte exercée par la trame et la chaîne, et aussi le plan d'ensemble, mais repousse tout élément reproductif pour lui-même. D'abord ses esquisses étaient pareilles à l'art imaginatif tel celui de Munch et de Paula Modersohn-Becker. Consciencieusement Woty Werner ne se permit pas d'écarts. Enfin elle osa faire le saut dans la direction où l'entraînaient ses préférences artistiques : Klee, Picasso, Braque, Gris, Miro. Pendant les dernières cinq années, elle créa des tissages où, cas singulier, l'esquisse et la réalisation coïncident. Un ouvrage tel le *Paysage chinois* de 1948 laisse en suspens la similitude. Difficile à dire ce qui est figure, ce qui est paysage. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'une réalisation apparaît qui indique, plus que toute autre allusion, l'idée de la Chine. *Petit coq* de 1947 fait l'effet

d'un persiflage de la vanité, *Clownerie* de 1949 a la même liberté dans l'interprétation absolue du sujet et de l'invention et un humour analogue aux travaux de Miro. L'humour était toujours rare et l'est devenu plus encore, en Allemagne il est presque éteint. D'autant plus surprenant que, à coup sûr, il ne provient pas d'une disposition sereine, mais est plutôt une compensation. Chez aucun des artistes ci-mentionnés il ne joue de rôle, ni ouvertement ni en cachette, comme chez Klee. Woty Werner y fait aussi une exception et complète ainsi pour le plus avantageux l'aspect de l'art de nos jours. On voit que la situation des beaux arts n'est point autre que celle de la musique et de la poésie dans l'Allemagne d'aujourd'hui. Elles aussi ont eu leurs débuts décisifs peu après 1900, et parmi les jeunes il n'y a point de personnages de la qualité des Thomas Mann et Kafka, des Rilke et Trakl, des Schönberg et Hindemith, quelques-uns sont morts, les autres ont émigré. Ceux qui vinrent plus tard, le compositeur Boris Blacher ou le poète Kassak, sont émanés d'eux, aussi bien que les jeunes peintres et sculpteurs sont issus de la génération des Picasso, Klee, Kirchner. Ce qui s'y ajoute de nouveau c'est qu'on poursuit les incitations qui étaient données sans être exécutées, l'élément cosmologique chez Klee, la mythologie chez Picasso, la négation de la causalité chez Kandinsky p. ex. Ensuite, que l'on voit revivre chez l'Allemand le profond étonnement devant l'univers ; étonnement inné à sa race et qui contient le plus souvent un côté mystique, celui qui, depuis Grünewald, a fait naître et renaître des figurations expressives conformes à l'esprit du siècle. Dans d'autres pays, c'est à peu près la même chose. Néanmoins il n'y a pas *de* raison de scepticisme. Après de grandes révolutions il s'agit toujours d'achever ; de tous temps il en était ainsi. Il y aura en quelque façon comme un nivellement ; les quelques artistes individualistes se trouveront remplacés par un assez grand nombre de talents qui élargiront le génie des précurseurs. Peu probable que, dans un avenir plus ou moins rapproché, apparaissent des personnages qui puissent donner une autre tournure à la situation. Impossible même, paraît-il, dans la physique, domaine qui a effectué le plus profond revirement de nos idées sur le monde. Toutefois l'indolence qu'a le public vis-à-vis de tout ce qui concerne l'art est causée par d'autres motifs que le manque de conceptions foncièrement nouvelles. En premier lieu l'on était gâté par l'abondance des événements pendant les premières dizaines d'années de notre siècle, lesquels étaient, pour beaucoup, des sensations plutôt que des révélations. Deuxièmement tous se sentent agacés par la politique d'art des Etats totalitaires ; politique qui ne sait pas que l'art même est un procédé dialectique au lieu d'en être le reflet. Et enfin, il faut considérer le fait que beaucoup d'hommes notables qui, autrefois, avaient soutenu l'art moderne se sont détourné de l'art d'aujourd'hui, et qu'il en résulte une incertitude. Il arrive souvent que des secousses et des catastrophes fassent naître une résignation et une réaction. Il faudra donc que les artistes redoublent de forces aussi bien que les amis de l'art, pour surmonter cet état de stagnation, qu'il soit réel ou imaginaire, attendu que l'art représente l'apport suprême d'un monde qui, après comme avant, destiné aux situations précaires, est encore loin d'avoir surmonté tous les obstacles.'

C. Contract sent to C. Z. by Curt Valentin, 15 January 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

‘Vertrag. Zwischen. Herrn Christian Zervos, Edition Cahiers d'Art Paris XX, 40, rue Bonaparte im nachfolgenden A genannt Herrn Curt Valentin, Berlin W 15 Meierottostr. 6 im nachfolgenden B genannt. Und Herrn Willi Pferdekamp, Berlin W 50, Nürnbergerstr. 46 wurde am heutigen Tage wie folgt vereinbart: A, B und C gründen mit Wirkung für den 15. Januar 1927 eine geschlossene Handelsgesellschaft unter dem Namen Kunsthefte-Verlag, im folgenden Gesellschaft genannt, in Form eines Verlages der zum Zweck hat, sämtliche Verlagswerke der Firma des A in deutscher Sprache herzustellen, zu veröffentlichen und zu vertreiben. Herr B hat in dieser Gesellschaft die Rolle eines stillen Teilhabers, der nach aussen hin als solcher nicht in Erscheinung treten darf. Herr A verpflichtet sich, der neuen Gesellschaft seine sämtlichen Verlagswerke gegen eine später zu vereinbarende Entschädigung zur Verfügung zu stellen. Das Verlagsrecht der oben beschriebenen Werke für Deutschland und für das deutschsprechende Ausland wird hiermit auf die neue Gesellschaft übertragen. Herr ist verpflichtet, für die Zeitschriften des Verlages verantwortlich zu zeichnen und in seiner Eigenschaft als verantwortlicher Herausgeber bei sämtlichen Rechtsstreitigkeiten für die Gesellschaft einzutreten. Im Falle des Ausscheidens des Herrn C aus der geschlossenen Handelsgesellschaft gehen die Pflichten aus vorhergehendem Absatz auf Herrn B über. Jeder Teilhaber ist einzeln berechtigt für die Gesellschaft zu zeichnen, und sämtliche Rechtsgeschäfte rechtsgültig auszuführen. Es ist hiermit beschlossen worden, die Gesellschaft unter dem Namen: Kunsthefte-Verlag beim Amtgericht Berlin Mitte handelsgerichtlich eintragen zu lassen. Den drei Beteiligten ist der Text des Antrages auf handelsgerichtliche Eintragung bekannt. Als Gerichtsstand wurde hiermit das Seine Departement Paris für alle Rechtsstreitigkeiten als zuständig vereinbart. Der Vertrag ist jährlich jeweils am 1. Januar mit Wirkung auf den 31. Dezember desselben Jahres kündbar. Die Verrechnungen erfolgen nach besonderen Abmachungen in noch festzusetzenden Zwischenräumen. Herr B hat die Pflicht, an den redaktionellen Arbeiten teilzunehmen. Antrag auf Eintragung in das Handelsregister beim Amtgericht Berlin Mitte. Auf Grund beiliegenden Vertrages, geschlossen am zwischen Christian Zervos, Curt Valentin und Willi Pferdekamp, beantragen wir hiermit unsere Zulassung als Verleger am Platze Berlin und unsere Eintragung in das Handelsregister. Der Verlag hat die Herstellung und Verbreitung von kunsthistorischem Wissen zum Zweck. Er soll nicht nur Bücher, sondern auch Zeitschriften herausgeben. Die von uns zu gründende Verlagsgesellschaft soll den Namen: Kunsthefte-Verlag tragen und wir bitten die Eintragung in das Handelsregister unter diesem Namen vornehmen zu wollen. Adresse des Verlages ist: Courbierestr. 3p. Als Beweis unserer Sachverstandnis und unserer Vorbildung bringen wir folgende Zeugnisse bei: Für Herrn Willi Pferdekamp, der als verantwortlicher Redakteur in Erscheinung tritt: No.1 Das Einjährigen Zeugnis. 2. Das Zeugnis der in Berlin erscheinenden Zeitung Tagliche Rundschau. 3. Das Zeugnis der in Paris erscheinenden Zeitschrift L'Esprit Nouveau über seine redaktionelle Mitarbeit. 4. Leumundszeugnis. 5. Geburtsurkunde. Für Herrn Christian Zervos: Die Bestätigung des Pariser Handelsgerichtes, dass er am Platze Paris seit dem 1. Januar 1926 als Verleger zugelassen und handelsgerichtlich eingetragen ist. Das Gründungskapital der Gesellschaft betragt RM 2000, und wird von Herrn Christian Zervos gestellt.’

D. Curt Valentin, letter to C. Z., 22 January 1928. Fonds Cahiers d'Art, CAPROV 29, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

‘Je viens de recevoir votre lettre du 19.cr. dont la tenue me cause une surprise assez grande après avoir attendu vos nouvelles depuis assez longtemps. Je cherche en vain de m’expliquer le ton très peu aimable de votre lettre d’aujourd’hui et il me vient l’idée que mes lettres ne vous sont parvenues ou que votre ami qui est chargé les traduire a fourni une déformation complète des points principaux. Ni M. Flechtheim que je tiens naturellement comme c’est mon devoir au courant de nos pourparlers et qui a pris connaissance de votre lettre ni Mme. Caspari que je suis allé voir et à qui j’ai également montré les lettres changées entre nous deux ne peuvent s’expliquer le ton indigné de votre dernière lettre. Il me reste que de vous établir encore une fois dès leur début le contredit [sic] de nos pourparlers et je vous prie de bien vouloir suivre mes explications : Je n’ai pas besoin de vous rappeler en détail tout ce qui a été convenu entre nous deux pendant votre séjour à Berlin : Je me suis mis volontiers à votre disposition de travailler pour votre revue en Allemagne, de surveiller les travaux du bureau que vous avez loué à cet égard. Je me suis fait fort d’engager quelqu’un qui est dans le bureau toute la journée, qui s’occupe de l’acquisition des abonnés et de la publicité et de la distribution de la revue. Tout cela était fait. Je devais en outre de vous venir en aide pour réunir la matière nécessaire en ce qui considère l’art allemand. L’employer du bureau devait toucher Mk. 150. – par mois tandis que moi spontanément me suis mis à votre disposition sans vous demander la moindre rémunération. Dans une de vos lettres de premiers jours de moi janvier [sic] vous m’écriviez : ‘Formalités à remplir : Voulez vous me faire savoir s’il y a des formalités à remplir pour une revue éditée en France et traduite en langue allemande. A Berlin on ne fait que la distribution.’ J’ai pris des renseignements auprès d’un jurisconsulte qui m’est déclaré que toute entreprise entretenant un bureau a besoin de l’autorisation du tribunal de commerce et de l’inscription dans le registre. Pour bute [sic] de cette inscription devait exister un traité, ne fut ce que pour la forme. Je me suis procuré le texte d’un tel traité semblant que je vous ai envoyé. Je vous écrivais en même temps (7 janvier) que ‘que ce traité n’existe que sur le papier en vue d’obtenir l’inscription dans le registre.’ A cette lettre vous me répondiez par votre télégramme sur lequel de ma part je vous faisais parvenir une lettre à la main et une autre lettre affirmant la première dans laquelle je vous écrivais: ‘La seule explication pour me faire comprendre votre télégramme je vois dans un malentendu de ma lettre du dimanche dernier. Il nous faut absolument l’inscription dans le registre du tribunal de commerce et en outre un dirigeant du bureau à Paris dont la signature est légalisée. Vous connaissez les raisons pour lesquelles je ne veux pas encore d’être nommé en rapport de votre revue. Pour l’inscription nous avons absolument besoin de présenter un traité comme un jurisconsulte à Berlin m’a expliqué. Dans ce traité doit figurer le nom de M. Pferdekamp enfin que sa signature soit légalisée. J’ai déjà insisté dans ma dernière lettre que ce traité [...] n’existe pas pour nous deux.’ Je recevais votre lettre du 10.cr. que vous deviez relire dans lequel vous disiez à la fin : ‘je vous serais bien obligé si vous voudriez me faire savoir franchement votre point de vue sur tout cela et le plus tôt possible. J’attends votre réponse pour décider mon voyage à Berlin.’ Je répondais dans ma lettre de 14.cr. ainsi (traduit) : ‘En tout cas vous avez complètement malentendu ma lettre. Peut être l’homme de droit que j’ai consulté a su également une fausse conception de ce que je lui ai demandé. Selon ses conseils j’ai fait effectué un traité pour la pure forme lequel j’avais besoin pour le tribunal de commerce enfin obtenir l’inscription dans le registre. Le nom de M. Pferdekamp devait figurer dans le

traité pour légaliser la signature. Je n'ai pas un moment eu l'idée de m'introduire ni moi ni M. Pferdekamp comme associés. Je ne voulais en rien revenir sur nos engagements pris à Berlin. M. Pfederkamp ne doit être que l'employé de la revue. Moi-même rien que votre aide dans la surveillance du bureau. Tout reste comme cela était convenu entre nous deux et je n'ai jamais eu l'intention d'y toucher. J'espère de m'avoir expliqué précisément et que vous avez saisis pourquoi [sic] doit servir le soi-disant traité dont le terme reste sur le papier et qui en vérité nous engage à rien.' Je n'entendais plus rien de tout jusqu'à ce qu'aujourd'hui votre lettre tomba entre mes mains. Je n'ai pas à vous assurer de nouveau tout mon désintéressement personnel en ce qui concerne le coti financier. Je répète encore une fois que le traité me paraissait nécessaire seulement pour le but indiqué. J'ai du reste approfondi le coti judiciaire et un avocat que j'ai consulté à ce sujet m'a assuré qu'une entreprise qui à son siège à Paris et qu'un simple bureau pour la distribution et la publicité à Berlin pourrait se passer de l'inscription dans le registre. J'ai parlé aujourd'hui à M. Pferdekamp du cours de l'affaire et il sait que son engagement ne sera que parfait le jour où vous serez à Berlin vous-mêmes. Enfin il vous attend pour la reprise des travaux. Le téléphone a été commandé parce que pour l'installation il faut attendre toujours quelques semaines. On peut toujours la décommander ce que je ferai demain. Mme. Caspari se rendra au bureau pour prendre les clés. Vous devez comprendre que vos reproches immérités me doivent être profondément pénibles. Je travaille depuis quatre semaines pour vous, je m'occupe de la publicité etc. sans arrière penser par dévouement pour la chose commune. J'ai taché d'arranger tout le mieux. Il faut toujours mettre en considération que je ne peux mettre à votre disposition que mon temps libre et que je croyais que le bureau pouvait travailler bientôt pour accélérer la marche des affaires. (L'article que vous réclamez de nouveau doit être longtemps en vos mains. S'il n'est pas tombé en vos mains je peux mettre une copie à votre disposition. Malgré mes différentes réclamations urgentes je n'ai pas encore pu obtenir les photos). Résumé: Je regrette infiniment que vous renoncez de si léger cœur à ma collaboration que je vous ai offert gracieusement et spontanément. Mais un [sic] collaboration est possible quand il y a confiance entière entre les deux parties. Je dois toute même vous dire qu'il serait regrettable que tous les projets pour lequel nous avons travaillé depuis quelques semaines tombaient à l'eau.'

E. Centre International d'Architecture et d'Aménagement Intérieur, Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 221, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

‘Organisme destiné à faire connaître à Paris, par des expositions permanentes et des expositions temporaires les matériaux concernant la construction, les principaux éléments d’un bâtiment, les meubles, les objets d’aménagement intérieur fabriqués dans tous les pays. Par son rayonnement naturel aussi bien que par sa situation géographique, Paris constitue un centre d’attraction pour tous les grands courants européens et extra-européens. Une foule innombrable y vient constamment chercher des indications et des renseignements. Mais si elle y trouve d’innombrables galeries de tableaux pour se tenir au courant de toutes les manifestations artistiques, elle chercherait en vain des organismes analogues dans le domaine de la construction et de l’aménagement intérieur. A une époque comme la notre où les goûts et les besoins sont en perpétuel changement, où de tous les côtes et dans tous les pays, des inventeurs et des fabricants consacrent leur activité à améliorer la vie matérielle de l’homme, à lui permettre de vivre mieux, dans un cadre plus pratique et plus artistique à la fois, où dans les plus petites choses comme dans les plus grandes, chaque jour voit naître un progrès, un perfectionnement, il y a d’immenses efforts perdus à cause de l’impossibilité où sont les inventeurs et les industriels de tenir le public français au courant de leurs travaux. Il a paru à Cahiers d’Art que Paris devait posséder un grand centre où se trouvent réunis et groupés au fur et à mesure de leur création, toutes les nouveautés concernant la construction et l’aménagement de toutes sortes d’intérieurs. Ce centre, de caractère absolument international servira : EXPOSITIONS PERMANENTES 1. À organiser des expositions permanentes de matériaux de construction, de revêtements muraux, d’éléments d’architecture tels que portes glissantes, fenêtres métalliques basculantes ou coulissantes etc, de meubles, de tissus, de papiers de caoutchoucs, de linoleums, d’appareils d’hygiène, de cuisine etc, et tout l’appareillage électrique. EXPOSITIONS TEMPORAIRES 2. À organiser des expositions temporaires concernant des objets déterminés : études d’urbanisme et de constructions diverses ; études pour l’amélioration des matériaux existants et des méthodes de construction ; projets d’hôtels, de cliniques etc, disposition et aménagements de pièces comme un bureau, une chambre d’enfant etc et cela jusque dans les plus petits détails ; groupement de meubles ayant un même caractère pratique et esthétique etc. SALLE D’ECHANTILLONS 3. À réunir le plus grand nombre possible d’échantillons, de tissus divers, de papiers muraux, de caoutchoucs, de linoleums et tous objets pouvant être présentés sous un petit volume ; et des documents photographiques sur des objets ne figurant pas dans les salles d’exposition, afin que le visiteur puisse trouver tout ce qui l’intéresse. BUREAU D’INFORMATION 4. À constituer un bureau d’information où le visiteur soit assuré d’obtenir facilement et rapidement tous les renseignements qui pourraient lui être utiles et qui se charge de mettre l’acheteur en relation directe avec le fabricant. SALLE DE CONFERENCES ET DE PROJECTIONS Le Centre organisera des conférences accompagnées de projections auxquelles seront convoqués, pour être mis au courant des grands travaux entrepris dans tous les pays, tous ceux que ces questions intéressent : administrateurs de villes, architectes, entrepreneurs etc. En plus la salle de projections sera mise à la disposition des industriels désireux à faire connaître leurs produits. EDITION D’UN CATALOGUE Le Centre éditera un catalogue trimestriel illustré, donnant les dernières créations de ses exposants et qui sera distribué à tous les abonnés de Cahiers d’Art à Paris et à l’étranger, aux

architectes, entrepreneurs et décorateurs de France et a tous ceux qui en feront la demande. **CONSEILLERS TECHNIQUES** Les objets faisant partie des expositions permanentes seront choisis dans chaque pays par des conseillers techniques pris parmi les compétences les plus indiscutées de ce pays. **CONCEPTION DU CENTRE** Cet organisme ne sera en aucune façon un organisme commercial et ne fera pas double emploi avec les bureaux de représentation. Au contraire, les représentants des maisons exposantes disposeront désormais d'un moyen pratique de faire connaître leurs produits dans les meilleures conditions en les montrant dans des salles bien aménagées et spécialement destinées à cet usage. Les clients seront envoyés par le Centre au représentant qualifié ou mis en rapport directement avec les maisons qui n'auraient pas de représentants à Paris. L'INTERET d'une telle création apparaît évident pour tous les fabricants, pour tous ceux qui s'intéressent réellement au développement des arts concernant la construction et l'aménagement des intérieurs, et cela particulièrement à la veille de l'effort que la France se prépare à accomplir dans le domaine de la construction (grands travaux de la ville de Paris, réalisation des projets d'extension de Paris vers l'Ouest, création par des Compagnies des Chemins de fer et des Transports en Commun de cités ouvrières, aménagements de Marseille etc.)' A second document mentioned: 'Pour obtenir les moyens matériels nécessaires à l'organisation du Centre International nous supposons qu'il faudrait obtenir l'adhésion de 10 Maisons de premier ordre à 1000 RM par mois (Frs 720.000), 50 Maisons exposants des meubles ou des ensembles à 500 RM les 5m² (Frs 1.800.000), 100 Maisons exposant des objets comme lampes etc 150 RM par mois (Frs 1.080.000), 100 Maisons exposant des petits objets tels serrurerie à 50 RM par mois (Frs 360.000), Echantillonnage pour 10 échantillons 100 exposants à 300 RM par an (Frs 180.000), 30 vitrines à 250 RM par mois (Frs 540.000). Frs 4.680.000.'

F. Fonds Cahiers d'Art CAPROV 220, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

‘Comité d'expositions à l'intérieur de l'APAM : Il a été créé, à l'intérieur de l'A.P.A.M. un comité de quatre membres composé de : Madame Zervos Yvonne, Mademoiselle Rousseau Madeleine, M. Fernandez Louis et un représentant des organisations syndicales. Ce comité a pour but d'organiser à l'intention des masses une série coordonnée de manifestations artistiques susceptibles de développer leur sensibilité et de leur permettre ainsi de mieux pénétrer le domaine de la jouissance esthétique. En complétant les efforts déjà faits dans ce sens, le comité espère lutter efficacement contre les préjugés de toutes sortes qui n'opposent encore à la simplicité de la compréhension des œuvres d'art. L'activité du comité embrassera l'ensemble des arts plastiques : peinture, sculpture, architecture, décor intérieur, objets usuels. En vue de créer un contact direct entre les œuvres d'art et le peuple, le comité organisera ses expositions de préférence dans les locaux syndicaux et dans des quartiers ouvriers [...] Dans ce même but le comité facilitera aux visiteurs des expositions l'acquisition dans les meilleures conditions possibles, de belles estampes ainsi que des photographies et des moulages des meilleurs œuvres du passé et de notre temps, afin que l'action éducatrice des expositions soit prolongée dans la vie quotidienne des classes laborieuses. Il est encore dans les intentions du comité de demander aux autorités compétentes la gratuité pour le peuple de l'accès des Musées, l'ouverture de ceux-ci une partie de la nuit à des jours fixes pour permettre aux ouvriers de les visiter après leur travail, enfin l'aménagement de quelques salles d'exposition en vue d'une présentation intime et agréable des œuvres d'art. Le comité se propose en outre de faire demander aux Musées étrangers des prêts temporaires permettant au peuple de connaître des pièces capitales dont l'équivalent ne se trouve pas dans nos collections nationales donnant la même opportunité aux masses des pays avec lesquels des échanges seraient établis. L'action du comité qui s'exercera d'abord à Paris et dans sa banlieue, s'étendra progressivement dans toute la France. Cette action se manifestera par deux sortes d'expositions, une exposition circulante avec des reproductions et une exposition d'œuvres originales. A. Exposition Circulante : Cette exposition sera faite dans un local des syndicats et sera transférée à tour de rôle dans plusieurs arrondissements de Paris et dans sa banlieue. On y présentera des moulages, des agrandissements photographiques et des reproductions en couleurs. Pendant la durée de chaque exposition des conférences seront faites dans un esprit tel qu'elles seront à la portée du plus grand nombre possible de visiteurs. En outre de jeunes savants, choisis par le comité, se tiendront en permanence à la disposition du public, pour le renseigner individuellement sur toute question posée. Des imprimés portant des questions relatives à l'exposition seront remis au public. Lors de la clôture de celle-ci M. Georges Salles, directeur des Musées de France, fera une causerie sur les observations recueillies. Une brochure sera gratuitement distribuée aux visiteurs. Elle contiendra les explications indispensables à la compréhension des œuvres exposées et comportera deux parties. La première partie, extrêmement succincte, s'adresserait à ceux qui voudraient avoir une idée d'ensemble de l'exposition ; la seconde, plus développée et comprenant une bibliographie, aux visiteurs désireux d'étendre leur savoir. L'ensemble des brochures consacrées à chaque exposition constituerait une petite encyclopédie de l'art à l'usage du peuple. L'entrée de l'exposition sera gratuite. Les jours et les heures d'ouverture seront fixés de façon à permettre aux travailleurs de s'y rendre en dehors de leur temps de travail. Une intense publicité sera faite autour de chaque exposition. Les reproductions de grand format seront apposées sur

les murs et dans certaines stations du métropolitain. Le résumé de la première partie de la brochure accompagnera les reproductions. Des communiqués seront diffusés à la radio. Les articles seront publiés dans les revues et les journaux spécialisés, dans la presse quotidienne ainsi que dans la presse syndicale. Les conférences faites dans les salles d'exposition seront répétées à la radio. On utilisera aussi, dans toute la mesure du possible, la publicité par le cinéma. B. Exposition d'œuvres originales : Pour compléter l'éducation artistique des musées le comité juge indispensable d'organiser des expositions d'œuvres originales. La première de ces expositions serait consacrée à la peinture et à la sculpture contemporaine. Elle aiderait les travailleurs à comprendre que les problèmes artistiques de leur temps ne sont pas étrangers à leurs préoccupations actuelles. L'organisation de cette exposition sera en tous points identique à celles des expositions circulants. Les manifestations organisées par le comité seront placées sous le patronage officiel de la Direction des Musées de France. Ce programme a été arrêté d'accord avec M. Georges Salles, directeur des Musées de France, et soumis aux dirigeants de la C. G. T. qui sont disposés à mettre en œuvre tous les moyens de diffusion et de propagande en leur pouvoir pour donner à cette entreprise le maximum d'extension. Le comité recevra les subventions nécessaires à la réalisation de son programme de la Direction des Musées de France qui aura le contrôle de leur emploi. 9 August 1948.'

APPENDIX 2. Christian Zervos: Writings on Art

1908-1911

Χ. Ζερβός, trans., Fr. Mistral, 'Ο θάνατος του θεριστή,' *Νέα Ζωή*, τευχ.47-48, 8 Ιουλίου 1908, Αλεξάνδρεια, σελ. 909-911.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, trans, Oscar Wilde, 'The Ballad of Reading Gaol,' *Νέα Ζωή*, τεύχ. 50, Οκτώβριος 1908, Αλεξάνδρεια, σελ. 51-56.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Πέτρου Βλαστού: Στον ήσκιο της Συκιάς,' *Σεράπιον*, έτος Α΄, αρ. Α΄, Αλεξάνδρεια, Ιανουάριος 1909, σελ. 30-32.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Απ' το Περιβόλι του πόνου - πεζοτράγουδα,' *Σεράπιον*, έτος Α΄, αρ. Β΄, Αλεξάνδρεια, Φεβρουάριος 1909, σελ. 33-35.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Λάμπρος Πορφύρας – δοκίμιον,' *Σεράπιον*, έτος Α΄, αρ. Β΄, Αλεξάνδρεια, Φεβρουάριος 1909, σελ. 48-52.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Σημειώματα – αισθητικό δοκίμιον,' *Σεράπιον*, έτος Α΄, αρ. Δ΄, Αλεξάνδρεια, Απρίλιος 1909, σελ. 117-121.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Σημειώματα – αισθητικό δοκίμιον – συνέχεια εκ του προηγούμενου τεύχους,' *Σεράπιον*, έτος Α΄, αρ. Ε΄, Αλεξάνδρεια, Μάιος 1909, σελ. 156-162.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Τραγούδια στο πεζό: Στην Όλγα μου, Χωρισμός, Διονυσιακή λύρα - πεζοτράγουδα,' *Σεράπιον*, έτος Α΄, αρ. VII, Αλεξάνδρεια, Αλωνάρης 1909, σελ. 205-207.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Σημειώματα: Δ. Π. Ταγκοπούλου, Στην οξώπορτα: Η ηθική στη ζωή και στην τέχνη – κριτική μελέτη,' *Σεράπιον*, έτος Α΄, αρ.VIII, Αλεξάνδρεια, Αύγουστος 1909, σελ. 227-233.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Από τους Ψιθύρους της Ηδονής: Μελιδώρα - πεζοτράγουδο,' *Σεράπιον*, έτος Α΄, αρ. XI, Αλεξάνδρεια, Νοέβρης 1909, σελ. 323-324.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Το Όραμα του Λάμπρου - μελέτη,' *Σεράπιον*, έτος Β΄, τ. Β΄, Αλεξάνδρεια. Ιανουάριος 1910, σελ. 48-55.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Μικρά Χρονικά,' *Γράμματα*, τ.1, αρ.1, Αλεξάνδρεια 1911, σελ. 4-6.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Σ. Σκίπη: οί Τσιγγανόθει,' *Γράμματα*, τ.1, αρ.1, Αλεξάνδρεια 1911, σελ. 24-29.

Χ. Ζερβός, Χ. Σάλαμπι, μετ. Αμπού Αλαλαα Ελμααρι, 'Απόσπασμα από το Σακτ Αλ Ζιντ,' *Γράμματα*, τ.1, αρ.2, Μάρτιος 1911, Αλεξάνδρεια, σελ. 48-51.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Ηδονή και Ρυθμός,' *Γράμματα*, τ.1, αρ.2, Αλεξάνδρεια 1911, σελ. 52-53.

Χρίστος Ζερβός, 'Ομάρ Καγιάμ,' *Γράμματα*, τ.1, αρ.3, Αλεξάνδρεια 1911, σελ. 72-83.

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E. Tériade, 'Les dessins italiens de l'Orangerie aux achats étrangers du Jeu de Paume,' *l'Intransigeant*, 23 November 1931.

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E. Tériade, 'Au profit de l'Union des Arts, l'animal à travers les arts,' *l'Intransigeant*, 2 November 1932.

E. Tériade, 'Expositions; gravures,' *l'Intransigeant*, 2 November 1932.

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Les Deux Aveugles, 'Provisoire : l'âge d'or de la punaise,' *l'Intransigeant*, 24 April 1933.

Les Deux Aveugles, 'Le passé qui dure et celui qui se raccroche, l'envers du décor de la IIIe République,' *l'Intransigeant*, 1 May 1933.

Les Deux Aveugles, 'Du Muséum à l'exposition horticole, fleurs domestiques et fleurs sauvages,' *l'Intransigeant*, 9 May 1933.

Les Deux Aveugles, 'Provisoire nous avons fait un beau voyage ou Château d'Espagne,' *l'Intransigeant*, 15 May 1933.

E. T[ériade], 'On Expose: Exposition Xceron,' *l'Intransigeant*, 15 May 1933.

E. Tériade, 'Chronique : Peintures,' *Minotaure* 1, June 1933, p. 2.

E. Tériade, 'Les présages,' *Minotaure* 1, June 1933, p. 5.

E. Tériade, 'Valeur plastique du mouvement,' *Minotaure* 1, June 1933, p. 45..

E. Tériade, 'Une exposition – un ballet, à travers l'actualité artistique,' *l'Intransigeant*, 19 June 1933.

E. Tériade, 'Deux expositions, à travers l'actualité artistique,' *l'Intransigeant*, 28 June 1933.

E. Tériade, 'A l'Orangerie, Renoir sans Renoir,' *l'Intransigeant*, 3 July 1933.
Les Deux Aveugles, 'Distributions de prix,' *l'Intransigeant*, 18 July 1933.
E. Tériade, 'Emancipation de la peinture,' *Minotaure* 3-4, December 1933, pp. 9-20.

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E. Tériade, 'Aspects actuels de l'expression plastique,' *Minotaure* 5, May 1934, pp. 33-44.
E. T., 'On sait qu'en fondant Minotaure...', *Minotaure* 5, May 1934, n.p.
E. Tériade texts in *Les Trésors de la Peinture Française, XVIIe siècle*, Paris : Skira, 1934.
E. Tériade, 'Réhabilitation du chef-d'œuvre,' *Minotaure* 6, December 1934, p. 60.

1935

Les Deux Aveugles, 'Paris s'em...', *La Bête Noire* 1, 1 April 1935.
Tériade, 'A propos de la rétrospective du Cubisme, La question est la...', *La Bête Noire* 1, 1 April 1935.
Les Deux Aveugles, 'Fêtes et défaits de Paris,' *La Bête Noire* 2, 1 May 1935.
Tériade, 'Compte rendu analytique des expositions du mois,' *La Bête Noire* 2, 1 May 1935.
E. Tériade, 'La peau de la peinture,' *Minotaure* 7, June 1935, p. 1.
Les Deux Aveugles, 'La France donne à l'Italie une leçon de modestie,' *La Bête Noire* 3, 1 June 1935.
Tériade, 'Exposition Rattner,' *La Bête Noire* 4, 1 July 1935.
Tériade, 'Compte rendu analytique des expositions du mois,' *La Bête Noire* 4, 1 July 1935.
Tériade, 'Ένας μεγάλος άγνωστος ζωγράφος,' *Το Φως*, Μυτιλήνη, 7 Αυγούστου, 1935.
Tériade, 'Σύγχρονη ζωγραφική,' *Αθηναϊκά Νέα*, 19 Σεπτεμβρίου 1935.
Tériade, 'Παλαιά και Νέα Τέχνη,' *Αθηναϊκά Νέα*, 20 Σεπτεμβρίου 1935.
Tériade, 'Μια καλλιτεχνική αποκάλυψη. Ένας άγνωστος μεγάλος Έλλην ζωγράφος ο Θεόφιλος Χατζημιχαήλ,' *Αθηναϊκά Νέα*, 21 Σεπτεμβρίου 1935.
Les Deux Aveugles, 'Esquisse d'un projet pour une exposition d'Art français à Rome,' *La Bête Noire* 5, 1 October 1935.
Tériade, 'Compte rendu analytique des expositions du mois,' *La Bête Noire* 7, 1 December 1935.
Tériade, 'Solitude de la Grèce,' *Le voyage en Grèce* 2, 1935, p. 15.
Tériade, 'L'été grec,' *Le voyage en Grèce* 3, 1935, pp. 13-14.
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1936

Tériade, 'Notes sur les arbres,' *Le voyage en Grèce* 4, 1936, p. 17.

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- Tériade, 'Le point de vue de la nature,' *Arts et métiers graphiques* 54, 15 August 1936.
- E. Tériade, 'Constance du Fauvisme,' *Minotaure* 9, October 1936, pp. 1-3.

1947-1953

- E. Tériade, *Menkès, Across Twenty Years 1926-1946*, exhibition catalogue, N.Y., Associated American Artists, 1947.
- E. Tériade, 'Théophilos: Greek primitive painter,' *Harper's Bazaar*, January 1951.
- E. Tériade, 'Matisse speaks,' *Art News* 7-8, November-December 1951.
- E. Tériade, 'Matisse speaks,' *Art News Annual* 21, 1952.
- E. Tériade, *Galerie Denise René, Le Corbusier, dessins et lavis Jeanneret: 1918-1928*, exhibition catalogue, Paris, 1952.
- E. Tériade, 'Henri Matisse *papiers découpés*,' Paris : Berggruen et Cie, 1953.

1954-1964

- E. Tériade, 'Henri Laurens, a personal tribute,' *Harper's Bazar*, August 1954, pp. 114-115.
- E. Tériade, *Borès*, exhibition catalogue, Paris : Galerie Louis Carré, April -May 1954.
- E. Tériade, *Le Corbusier ; les travaux*, exhibition catalogue, N. Y.: Pierre Matisse Galerie, 1956.
- E. Tériade, *Borès*, exhibition catalogue N.Y.: Albert Loeb Galerie, February-March 1960.
- E. Tériade, *Griechische Bauernmaler Theophilos*, exhibition catalogue, Kunsthalle, Bern, 1960.
- E. Tériade, post-scriptum dans la reproduction en fac-simile de *Jazz*, Munich: Piper&Co, 1961.
- E. Tériade, *Théophilos*, exhibition catalogue, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Pavillon Marsan, June-September 1961.
- Tériade, στο *Anton Zwemmer: Tributes from some of his friends on the occasion of his 70th Birthday*, privately printed, 1962, p. 44.
- E. Ελευθεριάδης, 'Η ανακάλυψη του Γκρέκο, έργο του εικοστού αιώνας,' *Ζυγός* 103-104, Αθήνα, 1964, pp. 21-32.

1973-1980

- E. Tériade, 'Chagall et la peinture romantique,' *Chagall monumental*, Paris : Soc. International d'Art XX siècle, 1973. [text originally published in *Cahiers d'Art*, 1926]
- E. Tériade, *La Serna*, exhibition catalogue, Paris : Musée d' Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, March-April 1974. (originally published in *Cahiers d'Art* 2, 1927, pp. 55-63).

E. Tériade, 'Sculptures métalliques de Pablo Gargallo,' *Pablo Gargallo 1881-1934*, exhibition catalogue, Paris : Musée d' Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, December 1979 - March 1980.

APPENDIX 4. The Gallery²

1927:

- *Exposition Annuelle d'un Groupe de Sculpteurs*, Galerie Jacques Darnetal, Paris.
Organised by Tériade and Zervos.

(Works by Laurens, Maillol, Tombros, Brancusi, Despiau, Gargallo, Zadkine, Laurens, Gimond).

1928:

- *Exposition La Figure* at the Galerie Zak, Paris. Organised by Tériade.

(Works by Baudin, Borès, Gromaire, La Serna, Lurçat, Menkes, Viñes, Gounaro)

1929:

- *Exposition d'Aquarelles de Wassily Kandinsky*, Galerie Zak, 15-29 January.

- *Paul Klee*, Galerie Georges Bernheim, 1-15 February 1929.

- *Exposition Internationale de Sculpture Contemporaine*, Galerie Georges Bernheim, 3-17 December. Organised by Tériade, Zervos and Flechtheim. (Works by Laurens, Maillol, Tombros, Brancusi, Despiau, Gargallo, Zadkine, Laurens, Gimond, Manolo, Renoir, Bourdelle, Giacometti, Lipchitz, Belling, Sintenis, Edzard, Haller, de Fiori, Kolbe, Lehbruck, Mataré).

1930 :

- *Exposition Kandinsky*, Galerie de France, 14 – 31 March.

1934:

- *Exposition d'Architecture*, photographs and maquettes of works by Chareau, Le Corbusier, Nelson, Mallard, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 3-19 May.

- *Exposition Minotaure*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 12 May-3 June. Organised by Tériade and Skira (Works by Arp, Balthus, Beaudin, Bores, Brancusi, Braque, Brauner, Chirico, Dali, Derain, Despiau, Duchamp, Ernst, Gargallo, Giacometti, Valentine Hugo, Kandinsky, Klee, Laurens, Lipchitz, Magritte, Maillol, Matisse, Miro, Picasso, Rattner, Man Ray, Suzanne Roger, Roux, Tanguy).

- *Kandinsky, Peintures de toutes les Epoques, Aquarelles, Dessins*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 23 May – 9 June.

- *Max Ernst, Œuvres Récentes*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 14-30 June.

- *Les Quatre Noms : Arp, Ghika, Hélion, S.H. Taeuber-Arp*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, July.

- *Julio Gonzalez, Sculptures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 20 November – December.

1935:

- *Exposition d'Architecture* (Bossu, Beaugé, Gatepac, Laurens, Le Ricolais and Klein, Miquel, Meldhardt, Perriand, Poursain, Praesens, U, Roux, Stever, Streb, Tecton, Weissmann, Woog, Rod), Galerie Cahiers d'Art, February-March.

- *Max Ernst, Dernières Œuvres*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 18-31 May.

- *Kandinsky, Nouvelles toiles, Aquarelles, Dessins*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 21 June.

² The list constitutes a partially enriched version of the list originally published in Christian Derouet (ed.), *Zervos et les Cahiers d'Art, Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris: Hazan, 2011.

-*Man Ray, Peintures et Objets*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 15-30 November.

1936:

-*Hélion, Tableaux Récents*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 25 February-14 March.

-*Œuvres récentes de Picasso, Gonzalez, Miro, Fernandez*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 26 June-20 July.

1940:

-*Art Représentatif de notre Temps*, Galerie M.A.I., 26 January-26 February. (Paintings by Braque, Chagall, Dali, Ernst, Gris, Helion, Klee, Lam, Leger, Masson, Matisse, Miro, Mondrian, Picasso, Tanguy. Sculptures by Arp, Calder, Giacometti, Gonzalez, Laurens.)

-*Chagall, Oeuvres Récentes*, Galerie M.A.I., 26 January-26 February.

-*Fernand Léger*, Galerie M.A.I., 1-30 March.

-*Pablo Picasso, Dessins*, Galerie M.A.I., 19 April- 20 May.

1946:

-*Les Sacrifices de la Grèce pour la Liberté du Monde*, travelling exhibition organised by Yvonne in collaboration with Tzelepi, Char and Eluard.

1947:

- *Victor Brauner (Peintures, Sculptures) – Yves Tanguy (Peintures-Gouaches)*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 16 July – 9 August.

- *Exposition d'Art Contemporain*, Palais des Papes, Avignon, 27 June-30 September.

-*Jacques Hérold*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, October.

1950:

-*Victor Brauner, La Suite des Victors*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 19 May-12 June.

-*Theodor Werner, Tableaux et Dessins*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 3 November – 3 December.

1951:

-*Jesse Reichek, Peintures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 2-18 May.

-*Woty (Werner), Peintures Récentes*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 5-9 June.

1952 :

-*Victor Brauner, Dessins et Aquarelles*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 6-24 May.

-*Gino Severini, Mosaïques Récentes*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 27 May – 28 June.

1953:

-*Domela, Tableaux, Objet, Gouaches*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 19 May – 20 June.

1954:

-*Calder, Gouaches Récentes*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 5-29 May.

-*Ghika, Peintures Récentes*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 11 June – 10 July.

-*Oscar Nitzschke, Dessins, Maquettes pour la Cathédrale de San Salvador*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 7-21 October.

1955:

-*Victor Brauner, Œuvres Récentes*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 10 May – 10 June.

-*De Matisse aux Jeunes, Dessins Contemporains*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 24 June – end July.

-*Paul Valet, Peintures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 15 November – 3 December.

-*René Magritte, Peintures et Gouaches*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 21 December 1955 – 31 January 1956.

1956:

-*Fernandez, Peintures et Dessins*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 10 February – 10 March.

-*Pierre Charbonnier, Peintures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 6-30 April.

-*Laurens, Dessins et Sculptures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 2 May – 2 June.

-*Hélion, Peintures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 5-30 June.

1957:

-*Theodor Werner, Peintures et Gouaches*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 25 January – 28 February.

-*Giacomo Balla, Peintures, Gouaches, Dessins*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 12 April – 11 May.

-*Jean Hugo, Peintures et Gouaches*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 17 May-15 June.

List of works retrieved by Christian Derouet

Gouaches:

1. Grenades, raisins, pommes
2. Ficus elastica
3. Pichet et magnolia
4. Vase noir, grenades et noix
5. Vase noir, pichet et fruits
6. Vase blanc, pichet et fruits
7. Jasmin d'hiver dans un vase blanc
8. Grenades, figues et noix. **Vendu à Marie-Laure de Noailles, 35 000Frs.**
9. Pichet et grenades
10. Le potier
11. Femme au plant de murier
12. Jeanne d'Arc. **Vendu à Marie-Laure de Noailles, 35 000Frs.**
13. Centaure et taureau
14. Centaure, taureaux et cheval. **Vendu à Marie-Laure de Noailles, 35 000Frs.**
15. Le Thauet
16. Paysage anglais (Cumberland)
17. Verger normand
18. Paysage béarnais
19. La Haye de Routot
20. Paysage du Chablais
21. Escalier
22. Marronnier en août
23. Le Pont-neuf. **Vendu à M. Cachin-Jacquier 50 000Frs.**
24. Verdun-sur-le-Doubs
25. Paysage des Dombes
26. Paysage Albigeois, un personnage
27. Paysage Albigeois, deux personnages
28. Castelnau de Levis
29. Usine en Catalogne
30. Le Cap Creus

31. Paysage de l'Ampourdan
32. La mule blanche
33. Village de Biscaye
34. Le golfe de St Tropez
35. Paysage du Ségalas
36. Paysage aux muriers
37. Paysage jaune
38. Coucher de soleil
39. Paysage rouge, au cycliste
40. Paysage rouge, trois maisons
41. Paysage rouge, ciel bleu
42. Paysage rouge, ciel mauve. **Vendu à M. Veyron-Lacroix, 35 000Frs.**
43. Paysage rouge, ciel blanc
44. Paysage rouge, et violet
45. Paysage rouge, bleu et jaune
46. Paysage rouge, aux platanes
47. Paysage rouge, aux muriers
48. L'amandier en fleurs
49. Le quartier de la Rose
50. Paysage aux platanes. **Vendu à Mme Tezenas, 35 000Frs.**
51. Garrigue aux trois chevaux blancs. **Vendu à M. Michel Sager, 35 000Frs.**
52. Garrigue au maset jaune. **Vendu à M. René Char, 35 000Frs.**
53. L'étang de Thau. **Vendu à Philipanie, 60 000Frs.**
54. La Sorgue
55. La Sorgue, en plus petit
56. Paysage provençal, trois muriers l'hiver
57. Paysage provençal, trois amandiers
58. Paysage provençal, deux muriers, un cheval
59. Paysage provençal, deux muriers au printemps.
60. Paysage provençal, champ de légumes. **Vendu à M. Hersent 35 000Frs.**
61. Paysage provençal, au clair de lune
62. Paysage provençal, vert
63. Paysage provençal, femme en robe claire
64. Homme sur un chemin
65. Calafell
66. Paysage rond. **Vendu à M. Marcel Achard, 50 000Frs.**
67. L'île de la Grande Jatte
68. Sainte Maxime. 8 gouaches
69. Le Thauet, à la barque
70. Paysage angevin
71. Paysage angevin, mur jaune
72. Samoussay
73. La maison jaune
74. Paysage au cyprès
75. Paysage à la vieille femme
76. Port de Tarragone
77. Plage de Calafell
78. L'île aux chiens
79. Le col de la Futa
80. Esparraguera
81. Jardins à Hyères. **Vendu à Mme Richard Gregory, 130 000Frs.**
82. Le champ de maïs
83. Banlieue de Montpellier
84. La neige à Lunel
85. Les terrils de Mons. **Vendu à M. Roland Caillaud, 65 000Frs.**

86. Hyèges, jaune et rouge
87. Route, dans paysage jaune et rouge
88. Plaine d'Estartit
89. La table bleue
90. Village au cyprès. **Vendu à Mariane Fischer, 56 000Frs.**
91. Vase d'arums et pichet

Peintures à l'huile :

92. La pompe à essence
93. Aubergine et raves
94. Grenades et gargoulette
95. Aubergines, piments, poireaux
96. Aubergine, rave et toupin
97. Raves et piment
98. Le Tour de France
99. La chapelle Sainte Colombe
100. Le port de Granville
101. Le vagabond
102. Paysage au broc jaune
103. Paysage de Cornouaille
104. Paysage des Cotswolds
105. Le quartier de la Rose
106. Jardins de Cadaquès
107. Les carrières de Beaulieu
108. Les trois laboureurs

-*Corpora, Peintures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 18 June-20 July.

-*Wifredo Lam, Dessins et Pastels*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 25 October – 30 November.

1958:

-*René Magritte*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 24 January – 22 February.

-*Ghika, Peintures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 25 February – 18 March.

-*Calliannis, Aquarelles*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 11-28 April.

-*Héliou*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 14 November-6 December.

1959:

-*Jesse Reichel, Dessins Récents*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 13 November – 12 December.

-*Corpora, Peintures de 1951 à 1957*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art.

1960:

- *Arpad Szenès*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, December.

Reviews :

D. C., 'Szenès,' *Aujourd'hui, art et architecture* 29, décembre 1960.

Michel Courtois, 'Szenès : Délicat,' *Arts* 801, 21- 27 décembre 1960.

G. B. [Georges Boudaille], 'Szenès,' *Cimaise* 51. Janvier-février 1961.

-*Philippe Bonnet*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 22 March-30 April.

Reviews :

L. H. [Luce Hocin], 'Philippe Bonnet,' *Arts* 768, 30 mars - 5 avril 1960.

-*Charbonnier*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 17 May-18 June.

Reviews :

L. Hoctin, 'Pierre Charbonnier,' *Le Jardin des Arts* 68, Juin 1960, p. 56.

1961:

-Brauner, *Gouaches, Dessins*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 14 April-13 May.

-Philippe Bonnet, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 16 May-6 June.

-Hélion, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 9-30 June.

Reviews :

R.C., 'Hélion reconversion,' *Arts*, 14 -21 juin.

John Ashbery, 'Avant-Gardist Jean Hélion at Galerie Cahiers d'Art,' *New-York Herald Tribune*, 14 juin 1961.

Jean-Jacques Lévêque, 'À propos d'Hélion, Bitran, Sam Francis,' *L'Information* 24 juin 1961.

-Serge Charchoune, *Peintures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 7 November-2 December.

-Boyan, *Sculptures Récentes*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 5 December 1961-15 February 1962.

1962:

-Luce Ferry, *Dessins Récents*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 20 February-17 March.

Reviews :

René Barotte, 'Luce Ferry,' *L'Intransigeant*, 28 février 1962.

Jean-Jacques Leveque, 'Luce Ferry,' *Arts* 859, 7-13 mars 1962.

M. C.-L., 'A travers les galeries,' *Le Monde*, 8 mars 1962.

-Gaston Louis Roux, *Peintures Récentes*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 15 May-16 June.

1963:

-Alec Kontopoulos, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, February.

-Sima, *Peintures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 26 March – 30 April.

-Arp, Boyan, Giacometti, Gonzalez, Hadju, Laurens, Sklavos, *Sculptures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, June.

-Hommage à Valentine Hugo, Galliera, 4 July.

-Pierre Charbonnier, *Peintures Récentes*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 26 November-28 December.

1964:

-Picasso, *Eaux-Fortes, Pointes Sèches, Aquatintes, Gravures tirées sur terre cuite, Reliefs en pate blanche*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 28 April-26 May.

-Picasso, *Linogravures en Couleurs*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 26 May-27 June.

-Picasso, *Lithographies*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 30 June-end of July.

-Domela, *Reliefs Récents*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 27 November-24 December.

1965:

-Luce Ferry, *Peintures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 2 February-6 March.

-Byzantios, *Peintures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 12 May-12 June.

-Arpad Szènes, *Gouaches*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 30 November-31 December.

1966:

-Anna Eva Bergmann, *Peintures Recentes*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 25 January-19 February.

-Guy Weelen, *Dessins Récents*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 2 March-2 April.

-Boyan, *Sculptures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 7-30 June.

1967:

-Subirè-Puig, *Sculptures*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 7 February-11 March.

-Domela, *Tableaux-Reliefs*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 11 April-13 May.

-Jesse Reichel, *Peintures Récentes*, 19 May-17 June.

1968:

-Sklavos, *Grandes Sculptures*, Parc du Musée Rodin, 20 March-22 April.

-Gerasimos Sklavos, *Petites Sculptures et Dessins*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 22 March-4 May.

1969:

-Antonio Corpora, *Peintures Récentes*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 20 May-14 June.

-Picasso, *Figure Peintes entre le 30 Janvier et le 7 Mai 1969*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 17 June-19 July.

-Arpad Szenès, *Gouaches*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 14 November-13 December.

1970:

-Pablo Picasso, *Peintures et Dessins (1969-1970)*, Palais des Papes, Avignon, 1 May-30 September.

-Pierre-André Benoit, *Gouaches*, Galerie Cahiers d'Art, 12 May-13 June.

APPENDIX 5. The Publishing House³

Henry Russel Hitchcock Jr., *Frank Loyd Wright*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1928.

Tériade, *Fernand Léger*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1928.

Sonnets de Gongora, trans. Z. Milner, illustr. I. de la Serna, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1928.

Will Grohmann, *Paul Klee*, Œuvres de 1907 à 1929, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1929.

Roland Manuel, *Manuel de Falla*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1929.

Leo Frobenius and Henri Breuil, *L'Afrique Préhistorique*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1931.

Will Grohmann, *Kandinsky*, Œuvres de 1909 à 1929, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1931.

Henry Russel Hitchcock, *J.J.P. Oud*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1931.

Georges Hugnet, *Enfances*, illustr. J. Miro, Paris : Cahiers d'Art 1933.

Paul Nelson, *Cité Hospitalière de Lille*, phot. Man Ray, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1933.

André Breton, *L'Air de l'Eau*, illustr. A. Giacometti, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1934.

Man Ray, *Photographies 1920-1934*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1934.

Pierre Gueguen, *La Chasse du faon rose*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1935.

André and Marcel Jean, *Mourir pour la Patrie*, Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1935.

Paul Eluard, *La Barre d'appui*, illustr. P. Picasso, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1936.

Max Ernst, *Œuvres de 1919 à 1936*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1937.

Georges Auric, *La Victoire de Guernica*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1937.

Paul Eluard, *Le Livre Ouvert I*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1941.

Paul Eluard, *Le Livre Ouvert II*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1942.

Roger Bernard, *Ma Faim noire déjà*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1945.

René Char, *Héraclite d'Ephese*, trans. Y. Battistini, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1947.

Tiggie Ghika, *Le Bleu de l'Aile*, trans. By R. Char, illustr. H. Laurens, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1948.

Sarane Alexandrian, *Victor Brauner*, *l'Illuminateur*, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1954.

³ The list excludes Zervos' books published by Cahiers d'Art which are presented in the list of his writings on art. The present list constitutes a slightly altered version of the list presented in Christian Derouet (ed.) *Zervos et les Cahiers d'Art*, *Archives de la Bibliothèque Kandinsky*, Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2011.

Tiggie Ghika, *La Soif du Jonc*, trans. Jacques Dupin, illustr. J. Villon, Paris : Cahiers d'Art, 1955.

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